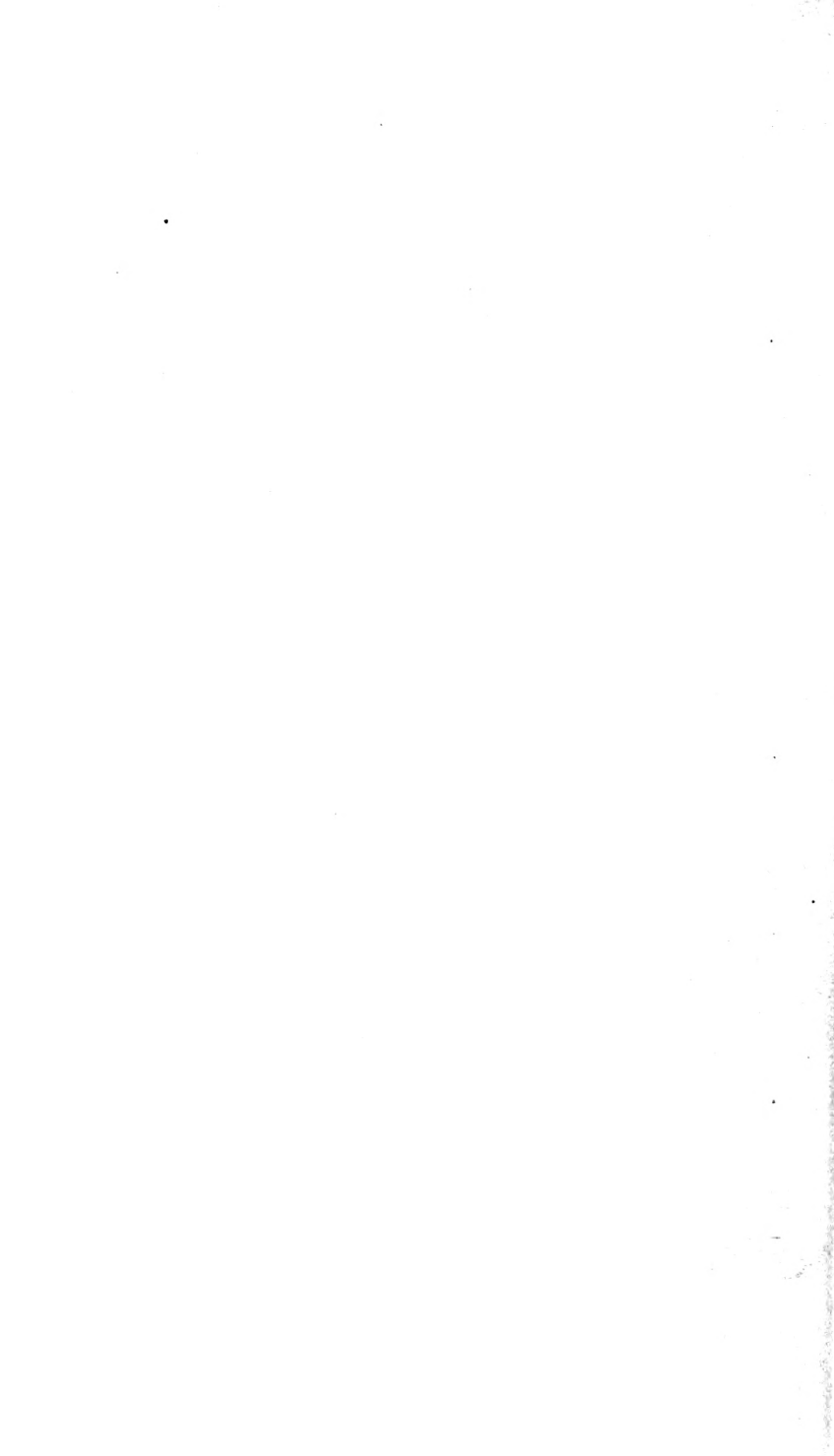


III. D.







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BELLIGERENT RIGHTS AT SEA.¹

IN dealing with the enormous pretensions of certain neutrals Sir William Scott supposed it highly probable that those nations who most exaggerated neutral rights might "remember to forget" them when they happened themselves to be belligerents.² The American war has remarkably illustrated his prevision. That it should fall to the lot of the United States to stretch to the utmost the most offensive belligerent rights, to exceed them occasionally, and to carry on war by the confiscation of the property of private individuals, by invoking a servile war, by destroying, or by attempting to destroy, harbours, by burning open and undefended towns, and by laying vast tracts of country under water, would not perhaps have been expected by a simple-minded and credulous reader of previous American despatches; but the fact is one which would have occasioned no surprise to Lord Stowell himself; nor would he have doubted that this barbarous and excessive use of belligerent rights, or this lawless infraction of the law of nations, as the case may be, would meet with the sym-

¹ *Lawrence's Wheaton. Elements of International Law.* By Henry Wheaton, LL.D. Second annotated edition, by William Beach Lawrence London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

² Sir W. Scott, in the case of the *Maria*, reported 1 Rob. 340.

pathy and support of few men except avowed philanthropists, and those lovers of peace who, by the same analogy, are the most mischievous manufacturers of war.

The very largest rule of belligerent right limits the voluntary destruction of life and property by the necessity of the occasion and the object of the war. Bynkershoek and Wolf insist that every thing done against the enemy is lawful, and admit fraud, poison, and the murder, as we should call it, of non-combatants, as permissible expedients for attaining the object of the war. But these are the writers who lay the foundations of the law of nations in reason and custom, and ignore that perception and judgment of right and wrong which God has communicated to man. It is true that, for the most part, and practically, we know the law of nations by reason and usage; but this law is founded not on that by which we know its decisions, but on justice; and reason must admit, and usage must adopt, whatever is clearly shown to be just and right, however this may be against precedent, and what has hitherto been held to be sound reason. There is no law without justice, nor any justice without conscience, nor any conscience without God. Grotius thus admirably expresses himself: "*Jus naturale est dictatum rectæ rationis, indicans actui aliqui, ex ejus convenientiâ aut disconvenientiâ cum ipsâ naturâ rationali, inesse moralem turpitudinem, aut necessitatem moralem, ac consequenter ab auctore naturæ, Deo, talem actum vetari aut præcipi. Actus, de quibus tale extat dictatum, debiti sunt aut illiciti per se, atque ideo a Deo necessario præcepti aut vetiti intelliguntur.*"³ And this principle obtains greater force from the objections which have been made to it, and the efforts to establish another foundation for the law of nations. Thus the principle of utility is only a feeble attempt to give another name to the law of justice which God has implanted in His creatures; and to pretend to found a law on general usage and tacit consent is to mistake the evidence of justice for justice itself.

But the application of the soundest possible principles is, perhaps, a greater difficulty than the ascertainment of the principles themselves; and it is in this application that the rights called the law of nations consist.

In the case of hostile acts directed immediately and finally against the enemy, there may be a greater infraction of the natural law of justice than in acts of hostility which, though directed against the enemy, immediately involve the rights

³ *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, l. i. c. i. § x. nn. 1 et 2.

and interests of neutrals. The former are examined by surrounding nations with less jealousy, and each has less interest in vindicating the law, than where themselves or other neutrals are the immediate or very proximate sufferers. The atrocities committed by such miscreants as General M'Neil and Colonel Turchin awaken horror, but are not made the subject of remonstrance. The confiscation of private property at New Orleans more nearly touched rights which neutrals were interested in maintaining, and was made the subject of diplomatic correspondence. The attempt to destroy the harbour of Charleston called forth an earnest remonstrance from Lord Russell, which Mr. Seward was fain to meet by traversing the fact. But the seizure of neutral ships bound to neutral ports has aroused all the activity of diplomacy; and, whilst we are writing, the public are discussing the probabilities of satisfactory explanations which may justify such seizures, of ample satisfaction if wrong has been done, or of war. Thus we see that, though on abstract principles it may be as much against the law of nations to burn an undefended town, or to murder prisoners of war, as to confiscate property in which neutrals may be interested, or to destroy a port which is useful to the commerce of neutrals (and which, though blockaded, they have a right to enter in stress of weather), or to capture a neutral ship on the high seas without sufficient grounds of suspicion, yet these several acts meet with very different degrees of examination and resistance on the part of neutrals, according as they are more or less directly interested in them. In fact, the more nearly and directly the rights of neutrals are affected by the hostile acts of belligerents, the more clearly defined become the rights of all parties by the law of nations. In the case of the capture and confiscation of neutral ships and cargoes, we enter upon that part of belligerent rights which is most clearly defined, inasmuch as the law which limits the general right of injuring an enemy by cutting off his advantageous communications with the outer world has been fixed and illustrated by the largest body of authoritative decisions, and has been discussed under all its phases by the jurists of all nations.

It is to this branch of the law of nations that we propose at present to confine ourselves; and with respect to this we propose to consider consecutively the rights of belligerents with respect to (1) blockades, (2) contraband of war, (3) enemies' property at sea, and (4) right of visitation, search, and capture.

1. *Blockades*.—There is no belligerent right more incontestable, or which has been less contested, than that of blockading the enemies' ports. Neither is there any difference of opinion as to what a blockade is: it is the closing of the enemies' port by a naval force sufficient to prevent the ingress and the egress of vessels.

There is much popular misconception of the doctrine which has been upheld in the English prize-courts with respect to what have been called 'paper blockades;' and the declaration of the plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Treaty of Paris has been considered to have affirmed a doctrine not previously held by the jurists of this country, or, at least, in opposition to English practice. In fact, in becoming a party to that declaration, this country has been considered to have yielded up something it had previously contended for with reference to the validity of blockades. But a careful comparison of the declaration with English decisions will not bear out this view.

The fourth article of the maritime declaration of 1856 says that blockades to be obligatory must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent the access of ships to the enemy's coast.

These words, taken in their most absolute sense, might seem to import that a blockade to be valid must be uniformly successful, and even that the *access*, as distinguished from the *successful entry*, of a neutral ship to the enemy's port, would destroy the effective character, and so the validity, of the blockade. But this interpretation would be unreasonable, and beyond the pretensions of those powers who have most strongly insisted on the quality of *efficiency* as necessary to the *validity* of a blockade. Russia, who was the principal party to the confederacy called the armed neutrality, described a place to be in a state of blockade "when it is *dangerous* to attempt to enter it." This doctrine is identical with that which has always been maintained in the English prize-courts. In the case of the *Betsy*⁴ (December the 18th, 1798) Sir W. Scott distinctly lays down that the first thing to be proved on a question of breach of blockade is "the existence of an *actual* blockade;" and he pronounces against the captors of the vessel on the ground that the island of Guadaloupe was not, at the time the *Betsy* entered the port (in which she was subsequently captured on the taking of the island), in a state of "complete investment and blockade," as was pre-

⁴ 1 Rob. 93.

tended by the captors. He says: "The word *complete* is a word of great energy; and we might expect from it to find that a number of vessels were stationed round the entrance of the port to cut off all communication." He observed that the captors entertained but a very loose notion of the nature of a blockade when they pretended that the islands of Martinique, Ste. Lucie, and Guadaloupe could be completely blockaded by such forces as were employed against them. And in another case, that of the *Arthur*⁵ (June the 21st, 1814), the same judge says, speaking of that sort of irregular blockade which has been called a *paper blockade*: "The blockade imposed by it [the Order in Council of 26 April 1809] is applicable to a very great extent of coast, and was never intended to be maintained *according to the usual and regular mode of enforcing blockades*, by stationing a number of ships, and forming as it were an arch of circumvallation, round the mouth of the prohibited port. There, *if the arch fails in any one part, the blockade itself fails altogether.*"

These definitions and the maritime declaration of 1856 are to be understood in the same sense, so far as the usual and ordinary blockade is concerned. They both affirm a doctrine which has always been held by English jurists—that a blockade to be valid against neutrals must be supported by a force competent to prevent the ingress and egress of vessels. They neither of them affirm that this competency must be in every case effectual and successful, nor that an accidental intermission of *actual* blockade, as by stress of weather, puts an end to it.

But such a declaration may plausibly, if not conclusively, be considered to mean something beyond the recognition of a universally admitted law. And if so, this could hardly have been any thing but the denial of the validity of the unusual and irregular blockade declared and enforced by this country under the Orders in Council of 1809; or, at the very least, the admission of a principle which involved the surrender of the rights—if they were rights—previously exercised by this country. That is, in effect, to say, that, in defining a valid blockade, the English Government (so far as they are bound by a declaration in which their plenipotentiaries joined, but which is no part of the Treaty of Paris, nor has ever received the ratification of the Crown) have given up the right of that unusual and irregular blockade which was never con-

⁵ 1 Dodson, 425.

sidered by our courts, nor by the Government of the time, as properly a blockade, but as a *retaliatory act of hostility*, which would have been against the law of nations if it had not been retaliatory. In point of fact, those acts of hostility directed by the Orders in Council were not properly a blockade, nor would ever have been called so but that there happened to be no word in usage in the belligerent vocabulary which came so near to them. This was never lost sight of by Sir W. Scott, who speaks continually of "this *species* of blockade" and of "this *retaliatory* blockade," and defends it only on the ground that, by the hostile act of France, England had acquired a right *which she would not otherwise have possessed*.

This question of paper blockades being of importance, the principle involved in them of still more importance, and the use of the word 'blockade' as applicable to the description of hostilities called a paper blockade being the subject of so much misconception, it may be worth while to consider what the blockade (improperly, as we think) so called, imposed by the Orders in Council of 1809, was, and what principle of right, or of the law of nations, it was founded on.

We have already quoted Lord Stowell's dictum in the case of the *Arthur*, in which he contrasts the two kinds of blockade. In another case he lays down, with admirable perspicuity, the state of facts out of which this irregular blockade grew, and the grounds on which alone it could be defended. In the case of the *Success*⁶ he says: "The relative situations of British subjects to Sweden must depend upon the Order in Council, by which *not only the countries with which we are actually at war, but those also from which the British flag is excluded*, are placed in a state of blockade. The blockade which has thus been imposed is certainly of a *new and extended* kind, but has arisen *necessarily* out of the extraordinary decrees issued by the ruler of France against the commerce of this country, and *subsists*, therefore, in the apprehension of the court at least, *in perfect justice*." He here pleads *necessity*, from which he infers the *justice* of the proceeding, which he acknowledges to be *new*, and an *extension* of the ordinary proceeding, just as he had before called it in effect unusual and irregular. Sir W. Scott would not have given effect, as against neutral commerce, to any Order in Council which was contrary to the law of nations, in a court in which the law of nations was the supreme law. "The seat of judicial authority is indeed locally here," he observed on one occasion, "in the belligerent country, according to the known law and practice

⁶ 1 Dod. 133.

of nations ; but the law itself has no locality. It is the duty of the person who sits here to determine this question exactly as he would determine the same question if sitting at Stockholm ; to assert no pretensions on the part of Great Britain which he would not allow to Sweden in the same circumstances ; and to impose no duties on Sweden, as a neutral country, which he would not admit to belong to Great Britain in the same character. If, therefore, I mistake the law in this matter, I mistake that which I consider, and which I mean should be considered, as *universal law* upon the question.”⁷

The fact was that, by the hostility of France and the subservience of the European powers, the English flag was excluded from neutral ports, and as a retaliatory measure England excluded, as far as she could, other neutral flags from those ports. Neutrals having to a certain extent joined in a hostile act to England, she to a certain extent retaliated. She said, If my flag is excluded, others shall be.

No blockade, regular or irregular, or of any kind whatever, injuriously affecting, as it does, the commerce of neutrals, is defensible on any other ground than that it is judged necessary by a belligerent ; and the belligerent is the judge of the necessity to deprive the enemy of the benefit of trade and to weaken his resources, as means of procuring a just termination of the war. In the case of a regular blockade, acts such as search, seizure, and confiscation, in themselves hostile, but not directed against a neutral with a hostile *animus* (in which case they would constitute acts of irregular but complete hostility), are and must be submitted to by neutrals, because it is right and just, and conducive to the peace and welfare of the world, that the belligerent should carry on war. If that is denied, it is another question, which must be raised on its merits ; but whilst the neutral continues a neutral,—a looker-on, and not a party to the war,—he cannot plead the loss or inconvenience to himself as giving a character of hostility to the acts by which he is injured. If any thing beyond ordinary acts of hostility are committed by one belligerent, the enemy acquires the right of retaliation ; and those neutrals who, without a hostile *animus*, suffer the exercise in their own case of the extraordinary acts of hostility which constitute what may be called the provocation, cannot justly complain if they suffer from the retaliation.

Those who will be ready to admit that Sweden, for in-

⁷ The *Maria*, 1 Rob. 350.

stance, in allowing English commerce to be excluded from her ports, had laid herself fairly open to the attempt of England to exclude other commerce also, will at first sight perhaps hesitate to admit that the commerce of a neutral—the United States of America, for instance—who had not shown the same subserviency to the enemy of England, ought in justice to suffer any part of the loss or inconvenience which Sweden could not justly complain of. But if this retaliatory measure of blockade were justifiable as respects Sweden, it must be justifiable as respects the United States of America, on the same ground that unoffending neutrals must put up with the losses and inconveniences of a blockade of the usual and unexceptional kind. The damage to Sweden may be looked at as a sort of reprisal; that to the United States of America as the inevitable consequence only of a justifiable act of hostility to France, and of reprisal as against Sweden.

It is to be hoped that no meaning can be attached to the maritime declaration of 1856 subversive of the rights of belligerents to such retaliatory acts as those which have been improperly called paper blockades. If England were *primâ facie* committed by such a declaration to any restriction of her rights under the law of nations, it would be well worth while to examine into its efficacy and validity. Without doing this, we may suggest that the declaration of plenipotentiaries, who had no powers *ad hoc*, cannot, without the ratification of the sovereign, be held to outweigh the great interests which are protected by the law of nations, or to deprive this country of the benefit of the application of the principles on which it is founded.

Dismissing the subject of paper blockades, and returning to the blockade proper, it is now universally admitted that to constitute the offence of the violation of a blockade, the ordinary penalty of which is confiscation, three things must be shown: 1st, that the blockade was actual and effective; 2dly, that it was known to the party charged with violating it; 3dly, that some *act* of violation was committed.⁷

The knowledge of the party violating a blockade need not be absolutely proved; it is sufficient if he were in circumstances to know it: as that he came from a port at which it was well known, or that it had been notified to the sovereign whose subject he is, previous to the departure of the vessel.

An *act* of violation is the doing of any thing whatever to-

⁷ The *Betsy* (1798), 1 Rob. 93.

wards entering the blockaded port—as sailing for it. Thus a vessel sailing for Charleston may be as justly captured outside English jurisdiction off one of our own ports as if it were found in the channel of Charleston harbour evidently intending to steal in. The *intention of violation* followed by *some act* in furtherance of the intention, and the vessel being outside the territorial jurisdiction of a neutral sovereign, subject it to capture.

The validity of the blockade itself depends, as we have seen, on its effective character.⁸ It is better and more regular that it should be notified to neutral sovereigns, but this is a convenience and a benefit, not a necessity.

The blockade may be temporarily interrupted by unavoidable accident (as the dispersion of the blockading force by storm), without losing its character of validity, provided the commander of the blockading force uses due diligence, and succeeds in restoring its effective character. That is to say, no neutral actually captured in the interval of inefficiency, or on the return of a sufficient force, can successfully plead the insufficiency of the blockade.⁹

But if the blockade be broken by the superior force of the enemy, its inefficiency is conclusively established, and there is an end of it. If the belligerent become strong enough afterwards to blockade the port, he must begin *de novo*.¹⁰

As respects the validity of a blockade, and the power thence derived of capturing and confiscating a neutral vessel which knowingly commits an act of violation, there is no

⁸ In the case of the *Mercurius* (1798), Sir W. Scott says: "It is said this passage to the Zuyder Zee was not in a state of blockade; but the ship was seized immediately on entering it; and I know not what else is necessary to constitute blockade. The powers who formed the armed neutrality in the last war understood blockade in this sense; and Russia, who was the principal party in that confederacy, described a place to be in a state of blockade *when it is dangerous to attempt to enter into it.*" *Rob. Adm. Rep.* i. 84.

⁹ It is not an accidental absence of the blockading force, nor the circumstance of being blown off by wind (if the suspension and the reason of the suspension are known), that will be sufficient in law to remove a blockade." *The Frederick Molke*, *Rob.* i. 87; see also the *Columbia*, *ib.* 154.

¹⁰ "When a squadron is driven off," says Sir W. Scott, "by accidents of weather, which must have entered into the contemplation of the belligerent imposing the blockade, there is no reason to suppose that such a circumstance would create a change of *system*, since it could not be expected that any blockade would continue many months without being liable to such temporary interruptions. But when a squadron is driven off by a superior force, a new course of events arises. . . . In such a case, the neutral merchant is not bound to foresee or to conjecture that the blockade will be resumed; and therefore, if it is to be renewed, it must proceed *de novo*, by the usual course, and without reference to the former state of facts, which has been so effectually interrupted." *The Hoffnung*, 6 *Rob.* 117; see also the *Triheten*, 6 *Rob.* 65.

point of more importance than its *universality*. It is a belligerent right to cut off *all* neutrals from trade with the enemy's ports, if the belligerent is able to do it effectually; but there is no right to distinguish between one neutral and another. This character may be thus expressed: A blockade is a blockade, and not partly a blockade and partly not. And not only must the blockade be absolute, and undistinguishing as to vessels considered as classed under the denominations of neutral sovereignties, but it must be absolute and universal as respects the vessels of any neutral sovereign. And for the purposes of a blockade the subjects of the belligerent sovereign are classed with neutrals; or rather, perhaps, any relaxation of the blockade in their favour would, if degrees were possible in an absolute rule, be more fatal to the validity of a blockade than a relaxation in favour of other interests. A blockade must *be enforced in fact*, or it ceases to be one. The *intention* of blockading, and the presence of *an adequate force*, are essential, but not sufficient: the *force* must be *used*, and the *intention* must be *carried out*.

In the case of the *Juffrow Maria Schroeder*¹¹ Sir W. Scott assumed the *intention* of the Government and the Admiralty, but it appeared that the blockade was not *in fact* enforced. Ships were stopped and examined, and suffered to go into the port pretended to be blockaded. "If," said Sir W. Scott, "the ships stationed on the spot to keep up the blockade will not use their force for that purpose, it is impossible for a court of justice to say there was a blockade actually existing at that time."¹² In another case, that of the *Rolla*, he says: "For what is a blockade but a *uniform universal exclusion* of all vessels not privileged by law? If some are permitted to pass, others will have a right to infer that the blockade is raised. If it was shown, therefore, that ships not privileged by law have been allowed to enter or come out, from motives of civility or other considerations, I should be disposed to admit that other parties would be justified in presuming that the blockade had been taken off."¹³

We believe that, if this subject is looked at more broadly, it will be seen that what really lies at the bottom of the exemption of the neutral master from the penalty for violation of a blockade supported by a sufficient force, is that the action of the commander in allowing some vessels to pass proves the

¹¹ 3 Rob. 147.

¹² *Ib.* 156.

¹³ 6 Rob. 372; see also the *Christina Margareta*, 6 Rob. 62, and the *Vrow Barbara* and the *Henricus*, cited in the note, 3 Rob. 158, 159.

absence of the *intention* of blockading; so that, in point of fact, we may modify what has just been said, by requiring only for a valid blockade the intention of blockading and the presence of a sufficient force. If the force were not used, this is not the absence of a third necessary condition to the validity of a blockade, but conclusive evidence of the absence of intention—of one of the two essential characters of a blockade.

If a blockade is not universally enforced, the neutral master has a right, as it is generally put, to expect that he will be allowed to enter. But the reason of this seems to be that he has a right to conclude that there is really no blockade, because the intention of blockading is evidently wanting. If others go in, he is in a position not so much merely to hope that he will be allowed to enter, as to enter on the ground that there is no blockade. He might be stopped, and if informed of the existence of a blockade dating from that moment he must go elsewhere, but he has not incurred the penalty of forfeiture. If he were stopped and forbidden to enter, on the ground of the preëxistence and continuation of the pretended blockade, and were captured on persevering in his attempt to enter the port, we conceive that he would not be condemned by a prize-court, judging the case in accordance with the law of nations.

We cannot follow the right of blockade and the penalties of violation with any minuteness. It is rather our object to discuss its principles, and to consider their application to any cases of present public interest. We shall therefore say nothing on the penalties of violation or the consequences of illegitimate capture, as between captors and the neutral owners of vessels, nor about those mixed cases in which the vessel and the cargo fare differently in a prize-court.

A blockade and all its incidents, down to the confiscation of neutral property are high acts of sovereign authority, which can be tried over again by no earthly tribunal of appeal. They are finally decided by the prize-court constituted by the belligerent sovereign, and acting under his authority. Diplomacy may question the legality of the acts of a belligerent, or may argue against the findings of his prize-courts, as against the commonly received and the best-considered interpretations of the law of nations; but if diplomacy fail to induce a sovereign belligerent to revoke or modify his own judgments, it cannot cite him to any other regularly constituted tribunal. The only appeal is to the sword.

The better the law of nations is understood, and the more

widely an intelligent acceptance of its decisions is spread, the less likely is any sovereign state to disregard it; for, though it be quite true, as we have just said, that the only appeal against a sovereign decision is to the sword, yet the acceptance of any law by mankind, and especially by the most moral and enlightened portion of mankind, gives great practical force to it, and an intelligent public opinion may be said almost to constitute that court of appeal which it would be so desirable to see interposed between a headstrong belligerent and the law of justice.

In the case of the *Trent*, this intelligent acceptance of previous decisions, as evidenced in the remonstrances addressed to the Federal Government by other neutrals than ourselves, who were the immediate parties to the dispute, no doubt played an important part in the pacific settlement of the affair; and the remonstrances of the Emperors of Austria, France, and Russia, and of the King of Prussia and the Queen of Spain, seemed almost to constitute the sentence of a court of review. But it would be greatly to exaggerate the excellent effect of these solemn appeals to law and usage, if we were not to attribute the sulky, truculent, and ungracious compliance of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet with our demands to the visible and near prospect of war. The remonstrances of neutral powers no doubt had their effect; but we suspect that it was the half-drawn sword which really and materially inclined the balance to the side of justice.

Another incident in the American war shortly afterwards fixed public attention in England, and was made the subject of remonstrance by Lord Russell, through Lord Lyons, to the Federal Government. This incident comes immediately under our consideration in treating of blockades. We allude to the attempted closing of the entrance to Charleston harbour by sinking vessels laden with stones in the main and only deep channel to the port. It was objected to by Lord Russell as an act of cruelty which would seem to imply despair of success in the restoration of the Union; as a measure purely of revenge and irremediable injury to an enemy; as a plot against the commerce of nations, and worthy only of barbarous times. Mr. Seward answered in effect by traversing the main fact. 'It was altogether a mistake,' he said, 'to suppose that this plan had been devised with a view to injure the harbour permanently. It was simply a temporary measure, adopted to aid the blockade. The Government of the United States had last spring, with a navy very little prepared for so extensive an operation, undertaken to blockade

upwards of 3000 miles of coast. The Secretary of the Navy had reported that he could stop up the 'large holes' by means of his ships, but that he could not stop up the 'small ones.' It had been found necessary, therefore, to close some of the numerous small inlets by sinking vessels in the channels. It would be the duty of the Government of the United States to remove all these obstructions as soon as the Union was restored. . . . At the end of the war with Great Britain that Government had been called upon to remove a vessel, . . . and had recognised the obligation. . . Vessels had been sunk by the rebels to prevent the access to their ports of the cruisers of the United States. The same measure has been adopted by the United States in order to make the blockade complete. When the war was ended, the removal of all these obstructions would be a mere matter of expense; there would be no great difficulty in removing them effectually.'

It is not worth while to enquire into the truth of these allegations of fact. It may be that the Federals had only stopped up some "small holes," and not the main channel from the sea to the port of Charleston, and that the Confederates had adopted a similar system of defence there or elsewhere; but supposing that the facts were as originally represented by Lord Russell, and triumphantly, if rather vindictively, proclaimed by the Northern press, and that the port of Charleston had been destroyed, it may be worth while to consider how far such an act would have been allowable by the law of nations.

We must first observe that the claim set up by Bynerkshoek and Wolf that *every thing*—fraud, poison, and the murder, as we should call it, of prisoners and unarmed persons—done against an enemy, is lawful, would not, if allowed, —and we are far from allowing it—settle the question. The dominion of the land, and the sovereign disposal of its inhabitants, are for those who may win them. The charity of the Christian and the chivalry of the soldier may reprove such acts as the devastation of the Palatinate by Lewis XIV., or the submersion of such vast tracts of country as have lately been laid under water in Louisiana. In such acts of ferocity neutrals are only indirectly concerned; but the case is otherwise where any act touches on the rights of neutrals to the free navigation of the high seas, which belong to no one. Territorial sovereignty extends so far out at sea as may ensure the undisturbed dominion of the land. This has been fixed by custom at three miles from the coast; but only because that distance has been thought sufficient for the

purpose. This sovereignty cannot, however, be exercised to the detriment of the use of the high seas by neutrals; and this use of the high seas involves the asylum of harbours.

In point of fact, the rights of a blockading belligerent cease before the fury of the elements, and a neutral has the right to enter a blockaded port for necessary shelter, and to avoid destruction. In presence of a danger in no degree due to the will of man, whether neutral or belligerent, the law of nations, in the interest of humanity, and in deference to a higher power, restrains belligerent rights, and allows to neutrals the chance of safety. By the destruction of a natural channel to a port the belligerent at once attacks this right of asylum, and, so far, the right to the use and enjoyment of the high seas.

If it be averred, as between two belligerents, that the blockaded enemy had himself resorted to similar expedients, this is no defence for a like act on the part of the blockader. For those who defend what they possess have larger rights than those who attack the possessions of others. If Holland might cut her dykes and lay waste her territory, that precedent will not cover the Federal attempt to submerge Louisiana, and substitute the dynasty of crocodiles for the reign of man. An act may be lawful, even heroic, in self-defence, which the universal sentiment of civilised men would condemn as diabolical on the part of an invader. It is the larger right of self-defence than of attack which permits reprisals by acts in themselves unlawful. Thus, had the Federals carried out their threat of executing the captain and crew of a privateer which they had captured, and the captain and crew of which were prisoners of war, this would have been murder; but the Confederates would have been justified in hanging an equal number of prisoners, or, if necessary, a larger number, by way of reprisals, *i. e.* in self-defence, and to prevent the repetition of similar crimes.

This no doubt assumes that the law of nations is the expression of natural justice, and that the rights of belligerents against each other have some natural limit, in harmony with the dictates of conscience and the natural sentiments of humanity. On our side is Grotius with respect to the fundamental principle, and the conclusion deduced from it as to the limit to belligerent rights. Vattel also agrees with the conclusion, though he bases it on another theory. Wolf and Bynkershoek set no limit to the destructive powers of a belligerent. We appeal from them to the practically universal opinion of mankind. If the intention or *animus* of such acts

as the destruction of natural harbours, and the submersion of reclaimed and civilised territories, be admitted to be malicious, and not really directed to the acquisition or recovery of rights, and if it be also admitted that the law of nations is either directly founded on the natural perception of right and wrong, or, being only in harmony with conscience, is derived from considerations of utility, it must be also admitted that malice, which is neither right nor useful, must carry the taint of its illegality into any exercise of it. But if the motive of such acts is alleged to be not malice but the permissible desire of obtaining an end which is legitimate as judged by the law of nations, they must still be condemned on the ground that they are bad in themselves, as directly depriving neutrals, in the case of the destruction of harbours, of one of their rights, and as directed against the well-being of mankind, in the destruction of the use of the land by the human race, in the case of the actual and direct submersion of fertile tracts of country.

A discussion of some interest will probably shortly arise in our courts of law as to how far neutral traders are bound by the law of nations to respect a blockade, and whether, if English traders break it or attempt to break it, they are by the common law acting within the limits of legality.

There is no doubt that a neutral sovereign is bound to stand by and permit the vessels of his subjects to be searched, captured, and, if the owners are convicted of any act incurring such penalty, confiscated. The neutral sovereign is bound not to assist them in such acts, nor to step in to shelter them from their consequences. Such acts as are infractions of the law of nations relating to blockades incur penalties which it is the right of the belligerent to exact; but the vessel must be taken *in delicto*, and during the continuance of the blockade, or no penalty can be exacted. We see, then, that by the law of nations itself, there is no penalty, and so no right of capture, for *having run a blockade*—for an offence which is past and completed. The offence is the *present intention*, and some *act in course of being done* in furtherance of the intention. When the act is done, and the intention successfully carried out, no stain of illegality remains. The further question arises, whether the intention to break a blockade, and an act in furtherance of the intention, is an offence against the municipal law, or such a wrong as imposes any penalty or legal disability on the trader who commits it.

No one, we believe, has ever pretended that by our municipal law any penalty as for *an offence* is incurred by a trader who breaks, or attempts to break, a blockade; but it seems to have been assumed in our courts of law that the act is *illegal*, and entails all the consequences of illegality as respects contracts.

Sir Joseph Arnould is as express as possible on the point as applied to the contract of insurance. "It is an invariable principle," he says, "of the law of nations, that if a neutral violates a blockade . . . he is guilty of an offence against the laws of war, and thereby renders his ship and cargo liable to confiscation." So far, so good; but he adds, "all insurances, consequently, upon voyages or trading adventures commenced or carried out with a fixed purpose of violating, or in actual violation of, the laws of blockade are wholly void and incapable of being enforced."¹⁴

In the case of *Harratt v. Wise*,¹⁵ a policy of insurance on goods to a foreign port had been effected after notice in the *London Gazette* that that port was in a state of blockade. The ship had sailed before this notice, and had touched at a port at which the blockade was known. She was captured by the blockading squadron, and the insured brought an action against the underwriters for the loss. The plaintiff obtained a verdict at *Nisi Prius*; and the defendant obtained a rule *nisi* for a nonsuit, on the ground that the policy was illegal, having been effected after notice of the blockade, and in contravention of the law of nations. The court held that, unless it were proved that the master had knowledge of the blockade, the policy was good. In this case it seems to have been assumed all through, that if the master had known of the blockade, the insured could not have recovered. But the point was not argued.

In the case of *Winder v. Wise*,¹⁶ at *Nisi Prius*, the circumstances were similar, except that there was evidence that, after sailing, the master had heard of the blockade. The attorney-general, for the plaintiff, declined to go to the jury on the facts, and, after an intimation from the court that a vessel which heard of a blockade during her voyage could not proceed to the blockaded port, elected to be nonsuited. Here again illegality was assumed, not argued.

In *Naylor v. Taylor*,¹⁷ it was distinctly held by the court

¹⁴ *Arnould on Marine Insurance*, i. 766, 767.

¹⁵ *Danson and Lloyd*, 237.

¹⁶ *Ib.* 238.

¹⁷ 7 Bing. 718.

that it was not illegal to sail for a blockaded port, if it were intended to enquire as to the continuance of the blockade before entering. This would seem to imply that it would have been illegal to sail without such an intention.

In all these cases "illegal" must be understood as meaning illegal by our own municipal law. That what is illegal by the law of nations is illegal by our municipal law, is throughout assumed. This, we think, admits of argument, and we are inclined to the opinion that, when the question is fully considered, it will be decided that no illegality attaches to contracts contemplating a breach of blockade; and we propose to discuss this point.

It must be premised that to trade with any port which, by the municipal law of the country in which it is situated, is an open one, is a natural right. A state of war interferes with this right only to a certain definite extent. If the port is blockaded, neutral vessels cannot enter; not because it is wrong or illegal to enter, but because the blockading squadron is there to prevent their entering. If the squadron were not there, they might enter; and if they entered in such large numbers as to make it evident that the blockading force was unable to keep up an effectual blockade,—*i.e.* to make it evident that it was dangerous to enter,—the blockade would be at an end, and the right of capture and confiscation would end with it. This capture and confiscation is, we contend, the only penalty to which the neutral trader who attempts to break a blockade is subject; and he is only so far subject to it as the belligerent has the power to inflict it without the assistance of any neutral sovereign, who loses his character of neutrality by aiding one belligerent to blockade the ports of the other. It is not only not the duty of a neutral sovereign to aid the belligerent in enforcing his belligerent rights, but he would be guilty (if the word may be used) of an act of hostility to the blockaded enemy if he were to do so; and it would no doubt be a very great aid, if, through his courts of law, he visited an attempt to enter the blockaded port by refusing to entertain a suit between his subjects relating to a marine adventure, if one of them had broken, or attempted to break, the blockade in the course of that adventure.

To break, or to attempt to break, a blockade is a *delictum* only, involving no *personal penalty*. The penalty is most strictly limited to the ship and cargo, and to them only in the prize-courts of the capturing belligerent, sitting in his own territory or in that of a *belligerent* ally. The persons of

the master and crew are not answerable. They may be detained to give evidence ; but they come before the court as witnesses only, not parties. But in our municipal courts the persons interested in the adventure are parties ; and although the sovereign, as a neutral, is bound to look with a perfectly equal eye on both belligerents, his courts (on the hypothesis under consideration) practically enforce the blockade established by one against the other, by refusing to give effect to a contract, say of indemnity against a certain risk, because the party who has suffered the loss against which he effected an insurance has incurred that loss by attempting to break a blockade to which the sovereign was no party, and which, by the law of nations, the neutral trader might break *if he could*. If he offends against any law primarily, it is clearly against the law of nations ; and it would be to take an unnatural and extreme view to suppose that any municipal law, other than a statute of his country, should be more than coextensive with the law of nations, and should view the act in any other light than as a *delictum* to which a definite penalty is attached, and which, if he escape it, leaves no taint on either person or property. No one contends that there is any English statute by which the act or intention of breaking a blockade is illegal, and the only question is, whether it is so at common law.

As a relief to a mere abstract view of the subject we will put a case. A ship is insured in the present state of things in the North American continent, from London to any port¹⁸ of North America, and sails to a blockaded port—say Charleston. Let us suppose that no concealment is made, but that the particular port had not been selected at the moment of effecting the policy. We believe this to be immaterial, but we do not wish to discuss a question, in maintaining the validity of the insurance, foreign to our subject. Having arrived near Charleston the vessel is captured, and, we will suppose, condemned and confiscated. Or it succeeds in entering, but suffers damage in doing so, for which, in any ordinary case, the underwriters would be liable. In either case, the owners come upon the underwriters :—in one case, for total loss by capture ; in the other, for repairs in the way of average. The underwriters plead that the loss was not occasioned by any of the perils insured against, but by the illegal act of the master ; and the insured join issue on the question of illegality.

We will not pretend to say what authority the court

¹⁸ Any port means, undoubtedly, any lawful port.

would allow to the decisions already quoted, in which the illegal nature of the act of breaking a blockade was assumed, but not argued. We incline to believe that the court would not hold themselves bound by those decisions. If, however, they held by those decisions, and not on the argument that the act was illegal, we have only further to suppose that the case was carried before a court of appeal, which would review the whole case independently of the decisions of an inferior court.

Before such a court the defendants (the underwriters) would argue that the act of the master was against the law of nations, and that this law was a part of the common law of England. Forestalling a not very formidable objection, they might perhaps say that it was not illegal to embark in an adventure against the revenue-laws of another country, but that we were no parties to those laws, whilst all nations are parties to and subject to the law of nations.

The plaintiffs, admitting that the law of nations was a part of the common law, would perhaps argue much as we have done against its action extending further than the exaction of the immediate penalty. To enter a blockaded port is not an act *malum in se*, but only a *delictum*, for which the penalty had been exacted if the ship had been confiscated, and which had not been incurred if the ship had got into port, but had received damage in getting in; for the penalty is conditional on capture, and no capture had been made, and the ship was no longer liable, even by the law of nations, to any penalty. They might, perhaps, also argue that if this and most other masters had been successful in getting in, they could not properly be subject to any penalty, even in the prize-court of the belligerent, for the facts would show that there was no actual blockade. If the capture of a vessel was *pro tanto* evidence of a blockade, the entry of one was *pro tanto* evidence of there being no blockade. But admitting the law of nations to be part of the common law, it might, we think, be triumphantly argued that the parties to the law of nations were not individuals but sovereigns, or sovereign communities; and that subjects were only parties through their sovereigns. That the subjects of any sovereign in unarmed ships should break a blockade can be no *casus belli* between their sovereign and the belligerent power; it would not, in point of fact, be any breach of the law of nations on the part of the sovereign or of his subjects, who have a right, even by the law of nations, to get into a blockaded port *if they can*. The operation of the law of nations in the matter of blockades is simply to

confer on the blockading belligerent the right to search the ships of neutrals; and if he find grounds for suspecting them of an intention of breaking the blockade, to capture them, and to send them before a prize-court of his own sovereign for adjudication. The sovereign of the neutral trader is bound to stand by and permit this, and has no ground of complaint if, by the rightful sentence of the prize-court, the vessels and cargoes of his subjects are confiscated. But he is not bound to go a step further and aid the blockading belligerent, and thereby injure the blockaded enemy. The merchant who despatches goods to a blockaded port commits no act of hostility—no breach of neutrality. He acts in the ordinary exercise of his calling, in going to a good market, and has the right to take his chance of getting in. If he fails, no question is raised but one between him and the prize-court of the captors. The law of nations, as far as it relates to him, begins and leaves off with conferring on the belligerent the right, without committing an act of hostility against the neutral trader's sovereign, to capture his subject's vessel and cargo *if he can*, and to confiscate them if he can make out that the adventure was, not illegal, but an attempted breach of the blockade.

To supply either side with arms and other contraband of war is in the same way perfectly legal; but the law of nations confers on either belligerent the right to confiscate such merchandise *in transitu*. Any cargo whatever in a vessel bound from Liverpool to Charleston is in the same predicament with a cargo of rifles bound to New York. In each case the trade is perfectly legal, and the only bearing of the law of nations upon either is that the property is subject to capture and confiscation. The law of nations presses, in fact, less hardly on the goods on their way to a blockaded port than on military stores on their way to an open port of the enemy. The latter are immediately and hopelessly confiscated; the former are restored if it be clearly proved that they were innocently on board. Neither the law of nations nor the common law of this country forbid either adventure or make it illegal; but, by the law of nations, the cargo in either case may be confiscated. When it is captured, there is a total loss under the policy, which can only be avoided by the pretended illegality of the adventure; and we think we have shown that there is no illegality, properly so called, in it by the law of nations, and that even if there were, the common law cannot be invoked to assist the belligerent blockader by imposing a difficulty in the way of trade with the blockaded port, which

to some persons might be, as it ought to be, more formidable than the risk of capture.

If adventures of the nature in question were illegal, it would also follow that persons combining to accomplish them would be guilty of conspiracy, and indictable for that offence. Thus the owner who undertook to run the blockade of Charleston or to convey rifles to New York, the merchant who consigned the goods, and the underwriter who, knowing their destination, insured them, might be subjected to fine and imprisonment. And, if by the common law such adventures are illegal, the Federal Government might as properly call on our Government to take such a step as to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act.

We think that the plaintiffs would have the best of the argument, and that the decision of the court must maintain that the neutral trader may lawfully run the risk of capture *if he likes*, and that the law of nations simply arms the belligerent with the right to capture *if he can*, and creates neither obligation nor offence as against neutrals.

2. *Contraband of war*.—All commerce of neutrals with an open port of a belligerent is lawful except in contraband of war.

The list of articles which are contraband of war is necessarily variable. Arms and gunpowder are always contraband; sail-cloth and timber for ship-building are by some authors considered contraband if sent to a port of naval equipment, but not if sent to a commercial port. But there is much difference of opinion as to these and other articles *incipit usus*.

Grotius and Vattel are in the main agreed not only that arms and munitions of war are contraband, but that the circumstances of the time may make articles *incipit usus* contraband also. Bynkershoek would limit contraband to arms, munitions of war, and military persons; but he nevertheless admits that materials for ship-building, and even, in some cases, provisions may become so.

The different opinions which have been maintained or enforced on the question of contraband would seem to express rather the tendency of writers or governments to extend or contract the actual admitted list of contraband, than to formulate any essentially different principle by which to test the quality of merchandise as free or contraband. If we might venture to enunciate a rule most in accordance with the great

text-writers and with judicial decisions, it would be that what is directly and immediately useful to belligerents in carrying on war, and is not ordinarily useful in peace,—what is evidently meant for soldiers and not for civilians,—is contraband; and that what is an ordinary article of utility and consumption to a peaceful community, and is only useful to soldiers in common with others,—as food, clothing, fuel, and materials for building or manufacture,—is free, or that at most, and in very exceptional circumstances, the belligerent has only the right of preëmption over it.

Any right of visit, seizure, and confiscation, which accrues to belligerents as against neutrals is founded on the principle that the belligerents may see to the observance of neutrality by the subjects of a neutral sovereign, either within the limits of their own territorial jurisdiction, or *outside the territorial sovereignty of the sovereign, and other neutral powers, i.e.* on the high seas. It is clearly a taking part in hostilities to put into the hands of either party a warlike weapon, a ship-of-war, or warlike stores. This involves, however, no offence on the part of a neutral trader; because he is supposed to do it only in the pursuit of trade, and in the ordinary spirit of his avocation, and not with a hostile *animus*. His object as a trader is presumed to be to make a good bargain of his commodities by carrying them to a good market. If a sovereign were to supply either party with arms, it would be an undoubted breach of neutrality, involving a hostile *animus*.

We might perhaps express the relations between neutral traders and belligerents by supposing that the law of nations implies a contract on the part of the former not to participate in hostilities by furnishing military aid to either party, and limiting the right of vindication to such measures of redress as the belligerent may be able to apply on the high seas,—the common property of all nations,—or in his own territory by virtue of his own local sovereignty, but without usurping any right of sovereignty over *persons*—the subjects of other sovereigns—further than is necessary and allowed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the *delictum* has been committed, or, as we are now putting it, whether the contract has been broken.

Now the supply of arms to an open port of the enemy is direct military aid. The supply of merchandise to a blockaded port tends directly to defeat the object of the belligerent in subjecting the port to a blockade; it is like supplying a besieged place with provisions when cutting-off its supply

of food is one of the lawful means employed for its reduction.

But the aid in either case must be *direct*. No doubt all commercial intercourse with belligerents is some aid to them in carrying on the war; and the enemy may, in point of fact, be better aided in carrying on the war by the prosecution of a perfectly unimpeachable trade than by being supplied with a cargo of rifles. But since no belligerent will himself give up all neutral trade, he cannot impose abstinence from it on neutrals; even if, in a particular case, he were ready to do this, he cannot impose a new law on neutrals outside the established implied contract, in the interpretation of which usage is a material element. Any supplies or aid furnished otherwise than by sea form no portion of our subject; but it is a principle of vast importance that the aid furnished by sea should be *direct*. Thus, suppose it to be certain that a great trade existed in smuggling arms from an open port of the United States to the Confederate States, and suppose that the value and importance of this supply were as great as possible, arms consigned to a neutral merchant at the United States port from which this smuggling was carried on could not be seized on the high seas, and confiscated *in transitu* to the open port of the United States. By a municipal law, arms might be made contraband of entry, and a cargo seized on arrival; and if such were the legal penalty, they might be forfeited, but they could not be made contraband of war, and seized on the high seas.

3. *Enemies' property at sea.*—There is no doubt at all that a belligerent has the right to seize what may reasonably be suspected to be enemies' property on the high seas, and to confiscate it by the sentence of his prize-court: and this under whatever flag it may be found.

The Maritime Declaration of 1856 modifies this right between the parties to that declaration, supposing it to have been accepted by the sovereigns represented by the plenipotentiaries. By the 2d Art. it is declared that "the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war."

Those who contend for the universal application of this rule usually do so upon grounds which may very properly be urged as available for the foundation of special international engagements or treaties, but which are inadmissible as means of determining the law of nations. They speak of its inexpediency as injuring the commerce of the belligerent who

avails himself of his rights; and they allege the inviolability of private property on land as an admitted principle with which capture at sea is inconsistent. But all war inflicts great injury on the belligerent, which he sustains with the object of inflicting still greater injury on the enemy; and the belligerent, not the judge of the law of nations, is the judge of how much inconvenience or injury he will put up with to attain his object. The sovereign who exposes the lives of his subjects may well also incur some risk of commercial loss; and the trader who suffers will loyally bear his share of that burden of war which cannot be equally shared by the whole community.

The inviolability of the property of the enemy on land may be conceded, although as a principle we cannot find it in the law of nations, without admitting any inconsistency between the practice on land and at sea. In the former case the property is inactive, and as it were neutral; in the latter it is sent out on an active mission of profit, and passes out of the jurisdiction of the sovereign to whom the trader is subject. It becomes in fact aggressive, and may well be seized on the high seas, when it would have been respected at home.

We see, then, that all access to blockaded ports is by the law of nations illegal; and so, that *all goods* on their way to such a port are—to coin a word—contraband of blockade. There is no occasion to enquire into the nature of the goods; *all goods* are shut out. We see also that *some* goods to an open port of a belligerent are contraband of war; that some other goods may be enemy's property; but that *all other goods are free*.

Thus, with respect to the free intercourse between neutrals and the enemy, the law of nations confers on the belligerent the power:—(1) of blockading his ports against the entry and exit of all trading vessels and all cargoes; (2) of preventing the entry of contraband of war into those ports of the enemy which are open and accessible to all other merchandise because not blockaded; (3) of seizing the property of the enemy on the high seas.

But the law of nations gives to the belligerent no right of interference with the commerce between neutrals and neutrals. It confers and limits the right of interference in the trade of neutrals *with the enemy*, as has been laid down; but it confers no right of interference whatever with the trade of neutrals with each other, or between neutral ports; nor between the open port of an enemy and a neutral port; except

inasmuch as the necessary means of exercising belligerent rights may indirectly interfere with the perfectly unobstructed exercise of the commercial rights of neutrals.

4. *The right of visitation, search, and capture.*—The right of a belligerent to visit neutral merchant-ships, and to search them, so as to ascertain their nationality, destination, and, if their destination is to an open port of the enemy, the nature of their cargoes, is undoubted. If the result of the search is to fix on them the suspicion of being bound to a blockaded port of the enemy, of being bound to an open port of the enemy with contraband of war, or of having enemy's property on board although bound to a neutral port, the belligerent acquires the further right of capture, and must, if it be possible, send the vessel and cargo at once before a prize-court to determine the questions raised.

It has been pretended that this belligerent right ceases in the presence of a ship-of-war of the neutral sovereign acting as convoy of the vessel of his subject. This case of exception was tried in the case of the *Maria*¹⁹ (1799), and it was decided, so far as the judgment of a prize-court can decide a principle, that the convoy of a vessel-of-war of a neutral sovereign did not protect the vessel of his subject from any exercise of the belligerent rights of another sovereign who was a belligerent.

That, in all ordinary cases, the resistance of a neutral trader to visitation, search, or capture, involves capture and condemnation, was not disputed in this case, the leading facts of which were as follows: Commodore Lawford fell in, in the British Channel, with a fleet of Swedish merchantmen, which, as it subsequently appeared, were laden with contraband of war, if destined for an open hostile port. These vessels were under the convoy of a Swedish frigate whose commander was instructed—and he communicated his instructions to Commodore Lawford—to resist by force any attempt to visit and search the vessels under convoy. Commodore Lawford applied to the Admiralty for instructions, and was ordered to capture the vessels, except the frigate, which he did, but not without acts of resistance on the part of both frigate and merchantmen; and it was for this resistance that the latter were brought before the Court of Admiralty, sitting as a court of prize, and condemned.

This case is so high an authority, that we shall not hesitate to give the more important points of Sir Wm. Scott's

¹⁹ 1 Rob. 340.

judgment in his own words. After reciting the facts, he says: "1st. That the right of visiting and searching merchant-ships upon the high seas, whatever be the cargoes, whatever be the destinations, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation. I say, be the ships, the cargoes, and the destinations what they may, because, till they are visited and searched, it does not appear what the ships, or the cargoes, or the destinations are; and it is for the purpose of ascertaining these points that the necessity of this right of visitation and search exists. This right is so clear in principle, that no man can deny it who admits the legality of maritime capture, because, if you are not at liberty to ascertain by sufficient enquiry whether there is property that can legally be captured, it is impossible to capture. . . . The right is equally clear in practice, for practice is uniform and universal upon the subject. The many European treaties which refer to this right, refer to it as preëxisting, and merely regulate the exercise of it. All writers upon the law of nations unanimously acknowledge it, without the exception even of Hubner himself, the great champion of neutral privileges. . . . 2d. That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any manner of mere force cannot *legally* vary the rights of a lawfully commissioned belligerent cruiser; I say *legally*, because what may be given, or be fit to be given, in the administration of this species of law, to considerations of comity or of national policy, are views of the matter which, sitting in this Court, I have no right to entertain. . . . Two sovereigns may unquestionably agree, if they think fit (as in some instances they have agreed),²⁰ by special covenant, that the presence of one of their armed ships along with their merchant-ships shall be mutually understood to imply that nothing is to be found in that convoy of merchant-ships inconsistent with amity or neutrality; and if they consent to accept this pledge, no third party has a right to quarrel with it, any more than with any other pledge which they may agree mutually to accept. But surely no sovereign can legally compel the acceptance of such a security by mere force. The only security known to the law of nations upon this subject, independent of all special covenant, is the right of personal visitation and search, to be exercised by those who have the interest in making it. . . . 3d. That the penalty for the violent contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so

²⁰ It is made an article of treaty between America and Holland, an. 1782, article 10. Mart. Tr. vol. ii. p. 255.

withheld from visitation and search. For the proof of this I need only refer to *Vattel*, one of the most correct, and certainly not the least indulgent, of modern professors of public law. In book iii. c. vii. sect. 114, he expresses himself thus: 'On ne peut empêcher le transport des effets de contrabande, si l'on ne visite pas les vaisseaux neutres que l'on rencontre en mer. On est donc en droit de les visiter. Quelques nations puissantes ont refusé en différens tems de se soumettre à cette visite; *aujourd'hui un vaisseau neutre qui refuseroit de souffrir la visite, se feroit condamner par cela seul, comme étant de bonne prise.*' . . . Conformably to this we find in the celebrated French Ordinance of 1681, now in force, article 12, 'That every vessel shall be good prize in case of resistance and combat;' and *Valin*, in his smaller commentary, p. 81, says expressly that, although the expression is in the conjunctive, yet that the *resistance alone is sufficient.*"

All writers are agreed as to the right of the belligerent to visit and search neutral merchant-ships; but it has been contended that the right ceases in presence of a ship of war of the sovereign of the neutral trader acting as convoy. There is no doubt that the belligerent has no right to visit and search a neutral ship of war; and it has been plausibly put forth that the neutral trader when under convoy is as much within the jurisdiction of his own sovereign as if he were within his territorial jurisdiction, and that it is an offence against the comity of nations to suppose that the neutral sovereign would take such part in a breach of the law of nations as would be implied in affording the protection of his flag to a subject engaged in any traffic which the belligerent has the right to interrupt.

But we think that the general acceptance of the doctrine laid down by Lord Stowell is based on conclusive grounds; that it would be too great a pretension of a neutral sovereign to usurp the right of jurisdiction on the high seas in a matter in which the belligerent, and not himself, is interested; that, if such a practice existed, its duties would probably be carelessly exercised; and that any breach of neutrality committed by the trader, and not prevented by the due diligence of the commander of the convoy, would implicate the neutral sovereign, and be a fruitful source of misunderstandings, and so of war.

The law on the point, by the acceptance of Lord Stowell's judgment, may be considered as settled, and we think settled rightly. But just now, if it be true, as has been said, that English trading vessels have been convoyed past American

cruisers in the West Indies, we have certainly been near either a great humiliation if the English ship-of-war had, after making so threatening a demonstration, permitted search, and perhaps capture, or one of those acts of hostility which inaugurate a war, if our own cruiser had offered forcible resistance. It is all very well to say that ample satisfaction might have been offered to the Federal Government for the indiscretion of a naval officer; but in such cases there are usually indiscretions and irregularities on both sides, which complicate the question, and prevent each party, after blood has once been shed, from offering ample satisfaction for its own share of wrong.

Much irritation, and, where the feeling did not amount to irritation, much jealous apprehension has arisen in this country with respect to the capture of vessels with an avowed destination to a neutral port. These feelings appeared to reach their climax on the arrival of the news of the capture of the *Peterhoff*, and found an energetic exponent in Mr. Roebuck. The Press exhibited its usual ready sympathy with the popular feeling; the opposition papers naturally felt less restrained from fanning the flame of discontent than the ministerial organs, which as naturally endeavoured to support the Foreign Minister, who had expressed himself with more reticence than suited the public taste, and with less accuracy and completeness than was needed to satisfy those who had studied the questions involved. "Historicus," whose letters in the *Times*, with whatever talent and knowledge they have been written, have usually avoided the more pregnant considerations bearing on the points at issue, blamed the popular feeling, and rebuked those who had given expression to it.²¹ But he altogether mistook the ground of the irritation and outcry which had arisen.

The capture of several ships bound ostensibly from this

²¹ "In some of my former letters" (says "Historicus") "I ventured to protest against the unreasonable irritation existing on the other side of the Atlantic. . . . I regret to perceive that there is growing up in this country a spirit of exasperation, provoked, as it seems to me, by an ignorance of the legal rights of the respective parties There is no spectacle less dignified than that of a nation in a passion, especially if it should be so unfortunate as to have at hand spokesmen to interpret its wrath who have as little regard for decency, moderation, and justice as has been exhibited by some recent orators in the House of Commons." And in another place he says: "But it is not in the language of braggart, and it may be uncalled-for defiance, that so terrible an issue" (*i. e.* as war) "is to be approached. And of this I am sure, that it is not to those who bully the loudest that we shall look in the hour of difficulty and danger to maintain the dignity and the honour of a proud and generous people." *Times*, April 30, 1863.

country to Matamoras, and laden, as was affirmed, with the most ordinary cargoes,—such captures having been made by the squadron under the orders of Admiral Wilkes,—was said, and we believe generally believed, to have been made without fair ground of suspicion that the ships were not in fact bound to Matamoras, but to a blockaded port; and the circumstances of the appointment of an officer with the antecedents of Admiral Wilkes to a post requiring much moderation and discretion, and of such captures tending to produce, and, as was said, actually producing, the transfer of the Mexican trade to American bottoms, were alleged as showing that such seizures had not been made in good faith, with the fair object of enforcing the blockade of Confederate ports, but with a hostile *animus* to English commerce.

“Historicus” however treated this question much as he had already done that of the recognition of the Confederate States. In that case he ignored the justice of the claim of the Confederate States for recognition on the ground of their sovereignty and right of secession, and, assuming that they were rebels, proceeded to allege precedents against recognition. In the case now before us he omitted to discuss whether these seizures were in point of fact made with good faith, or even from an excusable excess of suspicion and activity on the part of Federal naval officers, or whether there were reasons to believe that, under cover of belligerent rights, the Federal authorities were engaged in oppressing English commerce. The “exasperation” of which he complained, he attributed to “an ignorance of the legal rights of the respective parties;” and he triumphantly vindicated belligerent rights which had never been called in question, by proving that the legality of the seizures was a matter for the consideration of a prize-court. This is quite true so long as the belligerent observes good faith, and directs his operations against the enemy; but the case passes beyond the jurisdiction of a prize-court, and becomes a question between two sovereign powers, if one of them, being a belligerent, exercises the powers conferred on him by the law of nations, with a hostile *animus* to the subjects of the other sovereign who is a neutral. This is no case for the decision of a prize-court, but first for diplomacy, and then for the sword if diplomacy should fail.

Who does not see that, if a belligerent has a hostile *animus* against a neutral, and desires to injure his commerce, the neutral trader, who is the immediate sufferer, may have ample justice done him by the prize-court of the belligerent,—may obtain restitution and ample damages,—and yet that

at the cheap price of the damages the belligerent may fully secure his hostile object, and destroy the commerce of the neutral. The *modus operandi* of this is evident, and was well exemplified by the consequences of the seizures of vessels bound to Matamoras. Some merchants were at once deterred from the trade to that port by the risk of seizure: they did not choose to encounter the delay and possibility of injustice from an American prize-court, where they believed, with at least some show of plausibility, that justice between the Federal Government and neutrals was not to be expected. Other merchants, who were willing to continue their trade, found that the rates of freight and insurance diminished or annihilated their profits, and were obliged to contract or discontinue their consignments, and see a larger portion than before of the Mexican trade carried on in French and Federal-American bottoms, whose trade it was expected that the Federal Government would, though from widely different motives, respect.

Nor was the supposition of hostile motives, and of an aggressive disposition against the English flag, unnatural under the peculiar circumstances of the case. The admiral who effected the captures had already been guilty of an outrage which had charged this country with costly preparations for war. He had received the thanks of the Government and Congress of the United States for it, and had been promoted in rank, and soon afterwards appointed to the chief command on the station where it had been perpetrated. Under such circumstances, it was not "an ignorance of the legal rights of the respective parties," but an appreciation of facts leading to the conclusion that the case was one between the two Governments, rather than between neutral traders and a prize-court, which caused the feeling against which "Historicus" protested. If he had discussed the merits of the actual case, including the antecedents of Admiral Wilkes, the inferences to be drawn from his appointment to the West-India station, and the bearing of the law of nations on the facts and inferences, he would have taken a wider and more practical view of the question, though he would have imposed upon himself a more difficult task.

We hope not to weary our readers if we refer to another point in the same letter of "Historicus" which we have been noticing. The point is important. He says: "A point has been raised in the recent discussions which is of great importance, viz. whether a neutral vessel, with an immediate neutral destination, can be condemned because the cargo

may have an ultimately hostile consignment. I am very much disposed to think that such a doctrine cannot be maintained, and that, as far as breach of blockade at all events is concerned, nothing can be looked to but the *immediate* destination, which must be regarded for this purpose as the termination of the voyage. But in this respect there is probably a distinction between the ship and the cargo; for the ultimate would be probably regarded as the true destination of the ship itself. I think the reasoning of Lord Stowell in the case of the *Jonghe Pieter* (Rob. Rep. iii.²² p. 79) points to this conclusion. But we are not to assume this question as one that is clearly decided. If the American captors choose to raise it at their own risk in a prize-court, we are bound to await its adjudication. It is impossible to conceive any question which more exclusively appertains to the domain of judicial decision."

Now it is quite certain that no vessel, whatever her destination, can be condemned "*because* her cargo has an ultimately hostile consignment." Take the most extreme case, and suppose that the cargo were *enemies' property*. We challenge the citation of any case, any text-book, any recognised writer, in favour of the condemnation of the ship for carrying enemies' property; *à fortiori* can no ship be condemned for carrying cargo whose *ultimate* as opposed to *immediate* consignment (which does not necessarily imply property) is hostile.

"Historicus" is evidently speaking of cargo qualified only *as to destination*, and not as to its character of *contraband*. Formerly it was held that the taint of contraband cargo affected the vessel; and Sir W. Scott, whilst giving up the confiscation of vessels carrying contraband, says: "The modern rule of the law of nations is, *certainly*, that the ship shall not be subject to condemnation for carrying contraband articles. The ancient practice was otherwise; and it cannot be denied that it was perfectly defensible on every principle of justice. If to supply the enemy with such articles is a noxious act with respect to the owner of the cargo, the vehicle which is instrumental in effecting that illegal purpose cannot be innocent."²³

But the question raised by "Historicus" relates to *ultimate* as opposed to *immediate* destination of cargo, and to *property* therein, and not to any quality of the goods as free

²² This is an error of the press or of the pen; it should be Rep. iv., not iii.

²³ The Neutralitat, iii. Rob. 295.

or contraband. We repeat that there has never been a question, that the pretence has never been raised, of confiscating a vessel *because* of the *ultimate* destination of the cargo when the *immediate* destination is lawful.

"Historicus" next says he is disposed to think that "nothing can be looked to but the *immediate* destination, which must be regarded for this purpose," &c. For what purpose? For the purpose, it must be presumed, of deciding the question raised of the liability of the vessel to confiscation in the case supposed. But by this time "Historicus" appears to have lost sight of the question, and goes on to suppose a distinction between vessel and cargo (such as indeed exists, and is noticed in even the most elementary treatises), and that the ultimate would be regarded as the true destination of the ship itself. Nor are we yet at the end of the labyrinth. In the very next sentence he throws his meaning again in doubt by referring to a case as pointing to this conclusion,—the conclusion, viz. that the ultimate is the true destination of the ship,—which case neither directly nor indirectly bears upon it. There was in the case cited (the *Jonghe Pieter*) a question as to the *ultimate* as opposed to the *immediate* destination of the goods as affecting *them*, and not as a ground for the condemnation of the *vessel*. The court confiscated them on the ground that, though the ultimate destination to a blockaded port by inland carriage, the immediate destination being to a neutral port, was perfectly legal, the goods themselves were the property of a British subject, who could not by the common law trade with the king's enemies; and the court intimated that the decision would have been otherwise if the goods had been the property of a neutral. "In all the cases that have occurred on this question, and they are many," says Sir W. Scott, "it has been held indubitably clear that a subject cannot trade with the enemy without the special license of government. The interposition of a prior port makes no difference; *all* trade with the enemy is illegal; and the circumstance that the goods are to go first to a neutral port will not make it lawful."

Is it possible, although this supposition would clear up but part of the confusion, that "Historicus" has confounded the municipal law with the law of nations, and ships with goods?

There is no doubt whatever that all goods to a neutral port are lawful unless they are the property of an enemy, and that a ship cannot, on a voyage to a blockaded port, shelter itself

from confiscation by interposing a neutral port as that of its immediate destination ; but in such a case the cargo shipped *bonâ fide* for the neutral port would be restored, unless it were the property of the owner of the ship or of an enemy. On the other hand, it hardly needs to be said that innocent goods, in which category are included all the possible goods of a neutral bound to a neutral port, but with an ultimate destination to the enemy's country, cannot taint an innocent vessel.

In the outline which is all that our narrow limits have allowed us to give of the subject, we have been more careful to lay down or to discuss the extent and limitation of belligerent rights, and the principles on which their exercise is founded, than to pursue the consequences of the breach of them by neutrals into details. We dare hardly venture to hope that we have made the subject interesting to those who have not previously studied it, or that we can have added much to the knowledge of those who have already studied it. But the latter will have noticed that we have laid much more stress on the *animus* or *intent* of the belligerent in the exercise of his rights than is to be found in the writings of jurists. We venture to go a little further, and to propound, for the consideration of civilians, that the right *animus* of a belligerent in the exercise of his rights is an essential element which must override all formalities.

The *animus* of a belligerent to his enemy is avowedly and rightly *hostile*. His *animus* to neutrals must, we contend, be *neutral*, and all his acts in vindication of his rights—all the use he makes of his belligerent powers—must be solely directed by the *animus* of hostility to the enemy, and of an indifferent neutrality to neutrals.

This greater principle underlies many principles on which rules and decisions are ordinarily made to rest, but in which it is not expressly invoked. Thus, in case of blockade, all neutrals must be treated alike, and the enemy must be injured by the universality of the exclusion of neutral commerce. We conceive that the fundamental reason for this lies in the fact that any indulgence to some neutrals as against others, or to the enemy, is evidence of the absence of the right *animus*, in favour of the rectitude of which such extraordinary powers are conceded to belligerents, and such great inconveniences are submitted to by neutrals.

Under favour of the rights accruing to belligerents, covert war must not be made on neutrals. The law which is founded on natural right must not be abused. It looks with indulgence on the isolated act of a belligerent commander placed in

circumstances of difficulty, and, presuming his good faith and the rectitude of his *intention*, allows him to compound for an indefensible act by paying damages to those who have been immediately injured by it. But it has the right to scan jealously the instructions of the belligerent government to its commanders, and their silent permission of repeated acts of wrong, or even the injurious exercise of its rights. And if from any of the circumstances of the whole case it appears that the acts of the belligerent are dictated by a hostile *animus* to a neutral, there is nothing conceivable, in the intercourse of nations, more justly constituting a *casus belli*.

AUSTRIA AND GERMANY.

It is not long since the situation of Austria was one of great danger and difficulty. Of the perils that threatened her, some have disappeared, while others still remain. But their nature has not been well understood, because the relation between Austria and Germany, which constitutes one of the most important problems of European politics, has not been sufficiently considered. The true character of the difficulties through which Austria has had to steer during the last fifteen years can only be understood by directing our attention to the great questions which still agitate the national feelings of the Germans, and for which several of the German governments, with Austria at their head, are at the present moment seriously endeavouring to find a solution.

Wilful misgovernment has generally been considered the root of those dangers from which the Austrian empire has lately escaped, thanks partly to its own internal improvements, partly to the favourable change in the complications of European affairs. Much misgovernment there doubtless has been; even yet the roots of the old stationary system lie deep in the dry soil of the administrative routine. Austria lagged far behind the age, till a conflict became unavoidable. But he who considers all the circumstances will be obliged to acknowledge that the whole policy of Austria since 1804, including both her system of government and the isolated acts of her rulers, whether it has been worthy of blame or praise, has had very little of real wilfulness about it. It has not been really voluntary. It has resulted necessarily from the changes of 1806, when the sovereign, two years after he had united his various hereditary possessions into a single whole, with the new character and title of an Austrian empire, resigned the higher dignity of emperor of Germany, and thus coöperated in the destruction of the institution which for so many centuries had been the centre of the political world of Europe. Whatever has since happened in the new empire has been scarcely any thing but an involuntary consequence of that act. The political moralist therefore, who perforce must discover some guilty act of which the present Austrian difficulties are the consequences or the expiation, must content himself with the fact of the resignation of Francis II. in 1806.

That act assuredly was not guiltless. The imperial office and dignity was held in trust of and for the German nation,

and its holder was not free to dispose of it as he chose. In common with all his predecessors, Francis II. had sworn at his election to conserve the German nation in its state and integrity. He had a clear right to abdicate, but not to do so in the hour of extremity, when his abdication was not the transfer of his office to a successor, but the annihilation of the office itself. The captain ought to have been the last man to leave the stranded ship. His act has made him responsible for the consequences which have ensued.

The empire, it is true, was at the time in a state of complete dissolution. Prussia, which had long been the chief agent in producing this effect, was contemplating the great national calamity with entire satisfaction. Cradled in rebellion against the empire, she had been forced to invent a German patriotism of her own; and, in the great national struggle against the general foe, the true German patriots were forced to let this spurious and mixed sentiment pass for the true one, and even to make use of it, in the same way as they made use of foreign alliances and mercenary aid. But then, as now, the seductive idea of a new German empire under the lead of Prussia, to be founded on the ruins of the old one, was inspiring Prussia in all that she did or left undone. The smaller princes, having lost all hope of protection under the wings of the German eagle, had sought a desperate refuge under the French vulture. The emperor Francis found that his ship was a wreck; he confessed as much in his manifesto of abdication. Nevertheless, firmness and perseverance might have brought the vessel off the shoal, and navigated her into some harbour where she might have been repaired and improved according to the requirements of the time.

That this view of the case is not chimerical is shown by various facts of history, of which the most significant was the position taken by the English court. The note of Count Münster, dated Vienna, 25 November 1814, shows that the king of England, in his capacity of elector of Hanover, had never acquiesced in the validity or legality of the dissolution of the empire, and that the English court entertained this view till the peace of 1814, when the principle of the independence and federal connection of the remaining German states, instead of their subordination to the empire, was first adopted as the new national law of Germany. The view of the Russian court may be seen from the proposition of Alexander, in December 1812, to restore the German empire on condition of the coöperation of Austria against Napoleon. In Germany itself such a restoration, if accompanied by the necessary reforms, would have been hailed with general enthu-

siasm. But Austria was deaf to the national aspirations, and alive only to her own separate interests; and this has been one of the principal causes of her unpopularity with the Germans. The most distinguished patriots of the day were in favour of the restoration; and it was only when they saw the futility of their hope, that they began to lend their countenance to other projects, if only such projects seemed calculated to save the German nation from utter destruction. All the smaller princes, except those whom Napoleon had raised to higher rank, were longing for the reëstablishment of the old national unity, for which their ministers worked at the commencement of the Congress of Vienna. Even Prussia forgot for a moment her ambitious plans, and followed the counsels of her better genius,—for she has always had a divided mind,—while the princes and nobles of the empire, who had lost their position by its dissolution, petitioned Francis to resume the German crown. But they only received an evasive answer. Similar demands, said the Austrian sovereign, had been made to him from different quarters; they corresponded to his own wishes; but he had to ask himself whether he could make them coincide with the interests of his own dominions.

These words are a revelation of the state of affairs then existing. In the war-manifesto of 1809 the resignation of the emperor was treated as a temporary measure; and the only thing which prevented the realisation of a plan calculated to put an end to the interregnum was the Austrian empire which had been created in 1804. This first step led by fatal necessity to the second, when the emperor, in 1805, at the peace of Pressburg, bound himself not to object, either as the head or as one of the members of the German body politic, to the independent sovereignty assumed by others of its members. With equal necessity it led to the third step, when in 1806 the emperor of Austria abdicated the imperial throne of Germany. And finally, it prevented Austria from making use of the opportunities of restoring the German crown to her dynasty, and committed her, for good or evil, to the course which her internal, her German, and her European policy have actually taken. Hence there can be no change of system in Austria unaccompanied by a solution of her ambiguous relations to Germany. And the fact that this ambiguity still exists is the principal cause of the difficulties which continue to beset her.

But in adjusting our measurement of the guilt of this act, let us not forget to be just. In the gradual transformation and ultimate revolution of the political order, which have issued in the present condition of Europe, the action both of

Austria and Prussia has been controlled by a kind of necessity. In their essential character both were originally colonies. They grew out of conquests, acquisitions, and settlements of Germans, founded for the purpose of protecting the eastern frontiers of their empire from the inroads of barbarous tribes, or for the government of a subject population. Both powers were therefore military by the necessity of their origin; both naturally tended to an independent centralisation, and to an initiative activity which soon made them superior to their mother country in power as well as in political aims. The two colonial states were conscious of a vocation, which, though originally derived from, and still held under, the authority of the empire, appeared to both of them to be emphatically their own. Had they been situated beyond the ocean, they might have violently separated themselves or quietly seceded from the mother country; and Germany might have lost her colonial possessions as well as England and Spain. But the geographical contiguity of Austria and Prussia to Germany changed the nature of the process. Some of their original provinces formed a portion of the German empire; and they availed themselves of this relation for the purpose of extending their territory and increasing their power within the empire itself. The mother country ceased to possess her colonies, and her colonies began to possess her. One of them had grown to be the leading power of Germany. If they were to separate from her, they would be obliged to carry off with them some of the best portions of the national territory. This was the real lesson of the temporary Rhenish Confederacy in the beginning of the present century. It was composed of the remnants of the mother country collected together under French protection.

The national feeling of the Germans protested against so ignominious a close to a glorious history of a thousand years; and Austria had to bear her share of the blame. Austria was guilty of forsaking her old mother, the German empire, when she seemed to be dying. Then Prussia, with the criminal cupidity of a heartless heir, tried to hasten the death of her from whom she derived her life. Even yet, by her endeavours to prevent any reform of the German Confederacy, the temporary and imperfect form of German national existence, she is carrying out the same parricidal intentions. This is the great moral difference in the relative positions of the two great German powers to the German nation. A minor difference of the same kind is to be found in the working of that spirit of isolation which is common to both powers. The colonial state founded by Austria, partly through its original constitu-

tion, partly through the milder sway which it exercised over the many remnants of the great migration of nations, had never ceased to be a mechanical compound of many different elements. Hence, as the mother country became weaker and her attraction less, the colonial state was necessarily compelled to concentrate its own powers, and to isolate its interests and its administrative functions. No such absolute necessity existed for Prussia, which, in aiming at the rank of an independent European power, was only following the temptations of vanity and ambition. The acts and declarations of Frederick II. alike prove him to have been the true incarnation of that evil spirit. As the principal cause of the annihilation of the imperial authority, Prussia doubled the pressure which was forcing Austria to take care of herself without thinking of the dying empire of Germany.

The new Austrian monarchy was strong in almost every respect,—in extent, in natural wealth, in numbers, and in the warlike character of its people. But it was weak morally, on account of the position which the Habsburg dynasty had once held at the head of the German empire. However imaginary the authority of the empire had been during the last period of its existence, it had mightily contributed to keep in order the rougher elements of the eastern half of the possessions of the Habsburgs. When it fell, the evil consequences presented themselves in three different shapes. First, there was the principle of nationality, which started like a spectre from the ruins of the ancient structure. Next, there was the inevitable unpopularity of Austria with the Germans. And thirdly, there was the preponderating popularity of Prussia, and the intrigues by which she sought to turn that popularity to her advantage. A brief explanation of these three points is needed.

In 1806, when the old and time-worn Germanic empire disappeared, and the colonial state of Austria assumed an imperial character of its own, a movement took place among the mixed population of the provinces united under the sceptre of the Habsburgs, analogous to those of the native tribes of Mexico and other Spanish-American colonies after their separation from the mother country. The prestige of the German emperor, the superior authority which the Habsburg monarch derived from the imperial crown, had been the instrument by which all these subject tribes and fragments of races and former nations had been kept in obedience and order. But as soon as that prestige was gone, a general agitation and stir began to be visible among them. When the nation seemed to be expiring, the nationalities started into life.

The Prince Albert de Broglie, in a paper on the "diplomatique du suffrage universel,"¹ speaks of the difference between nation and nationality. "On disait autrefois une nation; et ce mot avait un sens très-déterminé, puisque c'était l'appellation collective d'une réunion d'hommes soumis à un même régime politique. Nationalité veut dire apparemment quelque chose d'autre." Nationality, he might have added, in the modern revolutionary theory of international law, is the aspiration and pretension, based on the genealogy of races and tribes, to form a nation. When the great reality of the German nation was disappearing, it was no wonder that all the small pretensions called the nationalities should make their appearance.

Austria, cut off from the main root of her former life, was left a mass of heterogeneous elements, not one of which had sufficient predominance to give the new empire the necessary unity of character. It had become a political reality, but a reality altogether made up of antagonistic pretensions, which were kept together by little else than their mutual neutralisation. Even during the colonial period, the maintenance of this neutralising process had been the great secret of Austrian king-craft. Now it had become doubly necessary. The different nationalities were ever threatening to become the elements of the dissolution of the new monarchy; and the German element itself, which nature had intended to be the solid basis of the structure, was seduced by its very influence and power, by its superior worth and intelligence, and by its innate idealism, to overlook the practical considerations of political necessity, and to make itself the most dangerous element of the whole compound. When the German people rose against the French oppression, no national government existed in Germany. The German nation itself was, at that moment, a mere aspiration. But it was successful. The country was delivered from the foreign yoke. The German nation triumphed while it existed only as a nationality. So far as the Germans were concerned, the victory was gained not by one government over another, but by one race over another. Hence the German mind almost lost sight of political forces, and, with its natural turn for theory, worked out the modern theory of nationality, which the enemies of Germany have since adopted and turned against her most important interests, and chiefly against Austria. German writers have complained that the principle of nationality received applications only to the damage, and never to the advantage, of Germany. They forget that Germans were among the inventors of the theory,

¹ *Le Correspondant*, 25 jan. 1863.

and that natural justice requires the first finders of the folly to be also the first to feel its consequences. If the Germans, instead of adopting the principle of nationality,—which has been turned against them by Italians, Danes, Czechs, and Hungarians, but has not delivered the German population of Alsace from France, nor that of the Baltic provinces from Russia,—had taken the political ground, and asserted their right to the reëstablishment of their empire, they would have succeeded long ago.

But by the course which they adopted they forced Austria, the most powerful of the German States, to set herself against all combinations aiming at national unity, because they were all grounded upon the principle of nationality, which is in itself destructive of the very existence of Austria. If it could ever have been practically applied to the provinces of that state, the monarchy would have been broken up into a greater number of states than the whole of Europe now contains. Austrian statesmen then had full reason for thinking the theory of nationality to be the most subversive principle of the age, and to look upon those who maintained it as political criminals.

Though the other German governments shared this view with the Austrian statesmen, Austria suffered from it more than they. All made themselves hateful to the people, but Austria most of all. The national feeling, roused from its long torpor by the great events of the Napoleonic wars, revolted against the political condition of Germany, after all the sacrifices which had been made to deliver her from the French yoke. It was disgusted to see dynasties which the annihilation of the imperial authority had rendered sovereign and independent batten, like worms in a carcass, upon the remains of the national body. For a short time, the confederacy of the new states promised to satisfy in some degree the demands for national unity and organisation. It was to be a substitute for the empire; and even still it is the empire in a rude and imperfect form. The great defects of the federal constitution were patent to every eye; but it was expected that they could be corrected by the efforts of patriots, and the mutual good-will of the princes and governments and their subjects. But when it was discovered, on one hand, that the princes, almost without exception, reckoned the interests of their dynasties and separate possessions above those of the nation, and only exhibited jealousy of the national movement, and, on the other, that the people in general felt a deadly hatred against those who obstructed the realisation of a better political condition of Germany as a whole,—then an open rupture ensued between the princes and the patriots

who had fought by their side against the invader, and had saved them from the abject condition of vassals to a foreign suzerain. These were the days of the persecution of men who were called demagogues, in the classic barbarism of bureaucratic phraseology, though, in truth, they were good patriots, but growing daily more exasperated by the stupidity of absolutism directed against their best and most loyal intentions. Thus the hopes of a satisfactory development of the federal constitution were blighted, and a revolutionary party was created, which aimed directly at a reëstablishment of the German empire by the destruction of the existing polyarchy.

Such was the condition of things in the period following the Congress of Vienna. But in the new system of German states three great divisions were to be distinguished—Austria, Prussia, and the general collection of smaller states. In each division the antagonism between the existing order and the national wish took a different form. The smaller states were simply considered as a national disgrace and public nuisance, which ought to be abated. That this view was erroneous and unjust has been shown by the subsequent development of political life. Besides their achievements in literature and the arts, the smaller states were destined to become the nursery of constitutional freedom, which was transplanted from their soil into Prussia and Austria. But at the period of which we are now speaking, this development had yet to declare itself. In Prussia the case was quite different, and offered considerable advantages to the government. That kingdom had nothing depending upon the question of nationality, except in its Polish provinces; while, if it chose to adopt the principle, it might do so to its own advantage, and to the satisfaction of the national party, the views of which were based on that theory. Prussia had little to lose and much to gain thereby, while to Austria it seemed to be destruction. Like Austria, Prussia also was derived from a colonial origin, and had a certain right to the character of an independent power. But it had the advantage over Austria in never having been charged with the highest national trust. It could call upon the nation to bear witness that it never had been the guardian of the empire; that it had done its duty in the struggle for national independence; and that its pretensions to the character of a European power—a position which it had long occupied *de facto*, and only now sought to make *de jure*—were, after the annihilation of the empire, perfectly justifiable. Austria and the nation might reply, that Prussia had ever been a rebel against the empire. But the empire, in its later period of decadence, had fallen so low in public opinion, that such a

reply would have been nugatory, and the cause of Prussia would still have had a better standing before a national jury than that of Austria, in spite of all the wrong she had done to the cause of national unity by the civil wars so frivolously begun by Frederick II. Public sympathy is accorded to life and action, albeit directed to wrong-doing. For this cause men like Napoleon I. and Frederick II. have had their admirers even among those who suffered from their deeds. To do wrong is more popular than to neglect to do good. Prussia was pardoned for her sins of commission, while Austria found no excuse for the sins of omission of her conservative policy. The German empire had perished through weakness; life, power, activity for right or wrong, began to appear the means of their salvation to the German people. The national party had to choose one of the two great states as the nucleus and instrument of unification; and the preference was given to Prussia. For since the Confederacy had once become the national law of Germany, and had been incorporated into the international law of Europe, the traditional fidelity of Austria to treaties and engagements, and the conservative, inactive character of her policy, precluded all hopes of her lending any support to a movement which, however advantageous to herself or to the nation, was still thoroughly revolutionary. But Prussia was held back by no such traditions; nay, her model king, Frederick II., had been the first revolutionist of his time.

The idea of uniting Germany by the instrumentality of Prussia has, ever since, had its partisans; and there has always existed a certain connection between the Prussian government, or at least some of the representatives of the dynastic interests of the Hohenzollern, on one side, and the revolutionary unionists of Germany on the other, by which the direction of the national spirit has been much influenced. The idea has gained or lost ground with the alternations of boldness and cowardice in the Prussian government and dynasty. It seemed near being realised in 1848 and 1849; and its failure then has just been repeated in the fall of the party which had encouraged the *Nationalverein*. But the partisans of the idea are still numerous; and it is only the irresolution of Prussian policy, composed in equal parts of greediness and cowardice, that has lessened their numbers and weakened their influence.

The regeneration of Germany under the lead of Austria was never contemplated during the period of Metternich, who considered the restoration of the German empire under the house of Habsburg to be a mere Utopian dream. "No

romance, if you please," he said to a German politician who had ventured to touch upon the question. Austria left the field open to Prussia, and Prussia fully availed herself of the opening. When the revolution broke out in Berlin in 1848, it was not without the connivance of very high Prussian authorities, who aimed at making Frederick William IV. emperor of Germany. The democrats on one side, and Austria on the other, crossed the plan in an unexpected manner. The promoters and partisans of the Prussian intrigue were unprepared to meet a republican party, and equally unprepared to encounter a change of system in Austria; and thus their plan came to nothing.

It was not long before preparations were made for attaining the same end by different means; but by this time Austria had become wide awake to her German interests. The system of Metternich, which Count Bismarck lately praised as having given free scope to Prussia in German politics, had given place to a very different one. "I wanted to show the imperial double-eagle once more on the shores of the Baltic," was the remark of Schwarzenberg on the appearance of Austrian troops in the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel. That which had been a mere romance to Metternich had become a practical idea to Schwarzenberg; and, however the internal policy of Austria may have changed since his death, the government since 1848 has never ceased to consider the position of Austria in Germany as a problem of the most vital importance.

To the question whether this is a sound view of Austrian interests, Prussia and her party reply in the negative. Austria, they say, ought to attend to her internal development, and direct her power towards the East. In the West she ought to leave Prussia free to perform the work of German unification. For the extension of her territory and influence Austria ought to look to the regions of the Lower Danube and of Northern Turkey. Her calling is to carry civilisation to the East, and a glorious destiny will be the reward of the noble efforts which she makes in that direction. Either Austria or Prussia must perform the work of German unification; and of the two, Prussia is more fit for it, and is moreover forced to claim the task for herself, because in her present condition she cannot continue to be one of the great European powers. The duties which that character imposes upon her overstrain her strength. By the necessities of her situation Prussia is committed to a policy of extension and domination in Germany. She must either become more powerful or perish. Now, she can become stronger only by obtaining the control of the united forces of

Germany, or of so much of them as may be possible. But Austria lies under no such necessity. She is powerful enough to exist alone in her present extension. There is room for two great empires in the centre of Europe, the Prusso-German and the Austrian. Sprung from the same root, they will ever remain faithful allies, when once the rivalry which now divides them is rendered objectless. If Austria would secede from the German Confederation, Prussia would soon reduce the affairs of Germany to order.

To this programme of the Prussian party that of Austria replies, first of all, that the German Confederacy is the form in which the German nation is recognised by the law of Europe as a political entity. Its territory is national property, and the nation as a whole has a right to it. Moreover, the federal act binds the members of the Confederacy for ever. Secession would be a double treason—treason against the nation, and treason against the confederate states. Austria has no right to secede, even if it were for her interest to do so; for by doing so she would a second time expose the German nation to the danger of extinction. The weight of responsibility thrown upon her by the resignation of Francis II. would be enormously increased by the repetition of the selfish act, to atone for which the nation requires of her a double devotion to the national interests. But, besides this breach of positive obligations, the secession of Austria would be a most ungenerous betrayal of the weaker states of the Confederacy, which would be left entirely at the mercy of Prussia. No one has a right to expect that Austria could be induced to act so meanly. But if we supposed, for argument's sake, that Austria had overcome the scruples of justice and generosity, we should still have to enquire what would be the consequences to herself of secession—whether the wrong would be likely to benefit the wrong-doer?

The moment secession took place, the decomposing tendencies of the nationalities would begin to work with double power, and the central attraction would prove insufficient to keep the monarchy together. The system of representative self-government and constitutional liberty, which during the last two years has gained for Austria the sympathies of Europe, devised to give additional attractive power to the nucleus of the monarchy, would have precisely the opposite effect after secession. The German element is the general cement of the political conglomerate which constitutes the Austrian monarchy, and the principal vehicle of all its centripetal tendencies. This element now forms the majority in the Reichsrath, where its influence is exerted in favour of parliamentary cen-

tralism; there are German members of that parliament who are so extreme in their centralistic views as even to advocate, against the real interests of their own cause, secession from Germany, because the position of Austria as a member of the German Confederacy appears to them to hinder the realisation of their system. But the German element in Austria, though the great material of cohesion, is still numerically weak in comparison with the total of the other nationalities. Its strength consists in its superior intelligence, industry, application, and spirit of order and economy, in the circumstance that the ruling dynasty is German, that the monarchy takes the first rank in the system of German states, and, in spite of the moderate proportion of its German population, is pervaded by the spirit of German culture, and ruled by the German mind in all the essential elements of its life. Austrian literature, for instance, is but a branch of German literature. The publication by Austrian writers of books in other languages spoken within the empire is a fact exactly of the same kind as the publication in France of a few German books of Alsatian authorship, or of some literary curiosity in the Erse or Caldonach tongue in England. The language of Arpad can make no literary claims comparable to those of the language of Fingal and Ossian. Thus the German element of Austria, which forms the cement by which the monarchy is kept together, and the soul by which it is moved, has only an intellectual predominance. Such a state of things can only be maintained by an intimate political connection with the main body of Germany. Reduced to its own resources, the German element of Austria, with all its good qualities and active force, would be unable to keep its position, and would soon see its influence dwindle down to the ratio of its numbers. Then the colonial character of Austria would once more come to the surface. The German would soon find himself in a position similar to that which he has in Russia, or to that of the Spaniard in Mexico or Peru. And the monarchy itself, deprived of the continual immigration of skill and intelligence, by the uninviting position which alone it could offer to the foreign settler, would soon begin to retrograde under the influence of the laziness, dirty habits, wastefulness, and pride of ignorance, which are so much at home in the eastern half of the empire. Throughout the provinces here referred to, the middle classes, so far as they are not Jews, are almost exclusively German. Neither the Poles of Galicia nor the Magyars have any middle classes of their own. To counsel Austria to secede from Germany is to advise her still further to reduce her middle classes, the low numerical, moral, and intellectual standard of which, as com-

pared with their state in the western parts of Europe, is even now the great social evil of the country. It is a law that colonial states must retrograde, or stop in their progress, if not supplied with new moral and intellectual forces by a continual stream of immigration from countries possessing an older and higher culture. And the richer the colonial territory is in natural wealth, the more does it stand in need of such a supply, because the very exuberance of its wealth will produce idleness, and the unproductive pride of self-sufficient stupidity. There are portions of the Austrian monarchy to which this law is applicable; and the empire has already been retarded in its progress by the want of a sufficient supply of heads, hearts, and hands from the West. The eastern borders abut on the Danubian principalities and on Turkey—countries lower in civilisation than Hungary. In Austria, even the roughest processes of agriculture are not conducted with the skill, application, and intelligence which would enable it to compete with the more advanced countries of the West, and an inferior labour is paid for at an equal price. There are exceptions to this general rule; but these exceptions are the proof of the superiority of the German element. Under these circumstances, there can be no doubt that the Prussian plan of cutting off Austria from Germany would cause a retrograde movement in the empire; but a similar cause would, to some extent, produce a similar effect in Prussia itself, which, with all its boast of standing at the head of German culture, has been enabled to take that position principally by attracting the intelligence of the rest of Germany. Most of the scientific men who have made the reputation of Prussia have been aliens, who have immigrated into the kingdom from the other German states. Take away the lustre which Prussia derives from these men, and she will have a very moderate contribution to European civilisation left to boast of. And not only so, but all parts of Germany would retrograde by a division of the nation. It is not, however, necessary to follow out this line of thought. It is sufficient to have shown that Austria would retrograde in a deplorable manner after secession.

But let us pass from the social consequences of such a step to what would be almost certainly the fate of the monarchy as a political body. The Austrian provinces west of the Leitha, including Bohemia, and even the city of Trieste, form a part of the national territory of Germany, and belong to the German Confederacy. Their inhabitants have a right to form part of the German nation, and Germany has a right to claim that territory, with its population, as her own. The Germans in Austria, suffering from the consequences of seces-

sion, would look to Germany—that is to Prussia and Bavaria, if these states should continue to exist in a separate form—as to their true home. Thwarted in the development of their life and interests by the other nationalities of Austria, just as the German population of Denmark has been vexed by the Danes, the Germans of Austria would soon have to claim the protection of Germany against the oppression of Slavonians and Magyars. Germany, and the German people in general, would sympathise with them, as they sympathised with the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein. And not only so, but they would be by no means slow in promoting the spirit of disaffection among the Germans of Austria. Thus the destruction of the Austrian monarchy would become the settled policy of Germany, whether united or not. In this policy Germany would be the ally of Italy, perhaps of France, certainly of Russia,—of the Poles, the Hungarian revolutionists, and other rebel nationalities. Prussia, at the head of Germany, would be at the head of a general coalition against the existence of the Austrian monarchy; and the united efforts of all these hostile forces would bring Austria to the ground.

The constitutional system, introduced with so much success into Austria, so far from being a security to the monarchy against such a calamity, would rather hasten the process; and those parliamentary centralists in the Reichsrath who dislike the connection with Germany, and advocate secession in order to be undisturbed in the sphere of purely Austrian interests, allow their narrow jealousy to make them improvident of the consequences which their views, if realised, would produce. From the very moment of secession, the German element, to which the parliamentary centralists belong, would be in a minority in the Reichsrath. The Hungarians, now so refractory in their separatism, would at once send their representatives to Vienna. Their first aim there would be to come to an understanding with the different fractions of the Slavonic races; united with these, they would form an overwhelming majority, strong enough to turn out every German minister from the government. Names of a different sound from those of the Rechbergs and Schmerlings would be heard of in the highest places at Vienna. Even the feudal lords, who are opposed to the present system, and who would like the beginnings of such a change, would have no reason to be contented with the end of it. More radical elements would rise to the top. With the majority of the Reichsrath at their disposal, and the power of government in their hands, the Hungarians would urge their favourite idea of the removal of the capital of the monarchy to Buda-Pesth. Then the popula-

tion of the German provinces would rise, the position of the dynasty would become critical, and foreign intervention would do the rest.

Such being the probable consequences of a secession of Austria from Germany, it is scarcely worth while to consider the rest of the Prussian arguments to recommend the suicidal act. The territories of the Lower Danube and Northern Turkey would be but a poor recompense for the danger, even if Austria could come safely out of it. Neither are those territories the property of those who offer them. If even Austria wished to conquer and annex them, she could do it far better before her separation from Germany than afterwards. As an element in the proposed combination, they have no more weight than the island of Sancho Panza. If it is the vocation of Austria to civilise the eastern parts of Europe, her uninterrupted and intimate connection with Germany is the previous condition of her success. If the work of German unification can only be performed either by Austria or by Prussia, Austria considers that she is the more fit for it. She need not do it by annexations, by the pressure of revolutionary parties, or by the encroachments of intrigue. According to the Austrian view, unification is to be the result of legitimate reforms in the federal constitution of Germany ; and these can be brought to a successful issue by her alone. Prussia again, at the head of Germany, would be forced to centralise by the necessity of outward circumstances, as she is now by the genius of her inner life ; whereas Austria, taking the lead in unitary reforms, would be powerful enough to secure to Germany the necessary unity of national action, without a centralisation which, as a principle, is repugnant to the German character, and if introduced must in the long-run lead to a national catastrophe. The genius of Prussia, in a word, is that of a centralising radicalism, half French and half Russian ; while the genius of Austria is that of a combination of federal unity with local self-government. This combination affords exactly the system wanted for the political regeneration of Germany, as well as for the solution of some of the other more important questions of European politics,—for the constitution of Denmark and Italy, for the political salvation of Turkey, and the moral salvation of France. It is a system which, if sensibly developed and faithfully observed, will make Austria the leading figure in the coming period of European history. Austrian statesmen are aware of this truth ; and if there is still something wanted to make the knowledge effective, it is a higher skill in harmonising the interest of conservatism with the ideas of progress, and com-

bining the faithfulness and solidity of the one with the boldness of the other.

It is true that Prussia, in her present condition, can scarcely continue to be one of the great European powers. The Prussians themselves confess it, and we are far from denying it. Separated from Germany, neither Prussia nor Austria possesses the necessary conditions of safety; but Prussia is in danger from without, Austria from within. But if it is argued from this that Prussia is obliged to follow her half-unitarian, half-destructive policy in Germany, and to continue to intrigue for annexations,—for instance, in Schleswig-Holstein and Hesse-Cassel,—then we consider the reasoning altogether fallacious. Neither Austria nor Prussia, as a faithful member of the German Confederacy, needs a greater power than she has;—Prussia even less than Austria, which has to suffer, even in the federal connection, from the Prussian intrigues to drive her into secession. If Prussia were to become a good and true confederate, she would be even safer than Austria, without any annexations of German territory, or any separate control over the forces of Germany. The German Confederation was formed for the safety of all its members; and if its bad organisation diminishes the value of the mutual protection it offers them, the defect is no recommendation of Prussian pretensions, since Prussia alone is the obstacle to federal reform. If Prussia, as a good and faithful confederate, were to unite with Austria in promoting a practicable reform of the constitution of Germany on the federal principle, there would not be the slightest necessity for her to aim at annexations and the extension of her power. But her ill-will and evil intentions betray themselves even in her complaints of insufficient territorial configuration. The over-straining of the financial forces of the country for the purpose of keeping up a military establishment quite disproportionate to the political significance of the kingdom means rebellion against the confederation. Only let Prussia be a good and faithful confederate, and there will be no need of so large an army, of such high taxation, or of that military and financial difficulty which has occasioned the parliamentary war now interrupted, but not concluded. If, after all, she still continues to insist that she must either become more powerful or perish, perhaps the general judgment will be—Let her perish.

Austria has no such pretensions. She does not say that she must perish or else become more powerful in Germany: she only says that she has rights to preserve and duties to fulfil, and that, in consequence of these rights and duties, she advises her confederates to satisfy the just demands of the German

nation by such a reform of the federal constitution as would secure a better unity of action in foreign affairs, and a participation of the people in the legislature to which the common interests of the whole nation were committed.

The Prussian argument that there is room for two great empires, the Prusso-German and the Austrian, in the centre of Europe, is as great a fallacy as the subsequent promise that these empires, if established, shall long remain faithful allies. If, in politics, to have room was only a question of territory and geographical extension, the two empires might coexist. But there are other elements to be brought into the account, the due consideration of which might lead us to fear that, if an empire is to exist to the west of Austria, it will be called the French and not the German. If so, the secession of Austria would not lead to a new German empire under the hegemony of Prussia, but to a division of Germany, and the annexation of its western provinces to the French empire; and this would lead to the preponderance of France on the continent of Europe.

It is clear, then, that the well-being of the whole European community requires that Austria should remain in the German Confederacy, and at the head of it, according to the federal act, which secures to her the presidency of the federal assembly, and many material rights connected therewith. The integrity of the German Confederacy is for the general interest of the world; and Austria, by overcoming the difficulties of her complicated duties, is working for the benefit of Europe.

ALBANIA.

THE political crisis which has just been enacted in Greece induces the thoughtful looker-on to ask, What next, and next? Will the Greeks remain contented within their present unnatural limits; or will they make fresh attempts to realise their aspiration by uniting to free Greece the oppressed portions of the Hellenic race in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and the islands? Again, if they do make such attempts, what are their chances of success? The impression in Eastern Europe is,—and it is probably a correct one,—that, while Lord Palmerston lives, the influence of England will be as steadily exerted to prevent Hellenic as it has been used to promote Italian unity. Bound by political traditions, of which he is himself in great part the creator, Lord Palmerston will still thwart the legitimate hopes of Greece, and prop up the detestable Turkish despotism; as if the whole position of the Eastern question were not utterly changed since 1840; as if Russian encroachment had not been shown to be an idle bugbear, and thus the only rational motive for endeavouring to consolidate Turkey cut away. But Lord Palmerston's influence will not be always paramount in England; and, even if it were, English policy is not quite all-powerful in the Levant. There are other nations which will be at least as glad to welcome—possibly to help forward—the liberation of oppressed Greeks, as they were to second the unitary projects of Italian liberals; and their sympathy in this case will be much more free from misgiving. But whatever may be the line of action resulting from the composition of the political forces of the great powers, it remains a deeply interesting question:—Are the peoples immediately outside the present artificial frontier of Greece, which runs from the Ambracian to the Pagasæan Gulf, contented to remain Turkish, or do their sympathies and interests tend to unite them with Greece? How go things in Thessaly? in Albania? in Macedonia? Where—as in Thessaly and southern Macedonia—the population is chiefly Greek, there can be no difficulty in answering this question. If even the just and enlightened government of England be unanimously repudiated by the people of the Ionian Islands, in comparison of a union with the ill-organised Hellenic kingdom, it need not be asked what are the political hopes and longings of the men of Thessaly, Chalcidice, or Chios, while subjected to the alien yoke of one of the worst governments in the world. But the case of Albania is widely different.

The Albanians are not Greeks; and but a fraction of them belongs to the Greek Church. The predominating religion of the country, on the whole, is that of Islam; and, among the Christian tribes, the most powerful and progressive at the present day—the Mirdites—are strenuous Catholics. What, then, are the chances, in the event of a struggle, of the voluntary adhesion of Albania to the Hellenic cause? In answering this question, we shall not strictly confine ourselves to the examination of the historical and political data which bear upon its solution, but shall endeavour, with the help of the excellent work of Herr Hahn,¹ to exhibit some sort of picture of Albanian life and character, and to show what has been performed by, and what may be expected from, these restless mountaineers, who have been well named the Swiss of Eastern Europe.

Sad and mysterious has been the fate of this gallant race. There seems no reason in the nature of things why, under happier circumstances, they should not have been moral and God-fearing, like the Tyrolese; industrious and intellectual, like the Swiss. The original mental endowment or spiritual calibre of the people must be rated very high. It must not be forgotten that Alexander the Great, through his mother Olympias, an Epirote princess, was half an Albanian; nor that these rugged mountains gave birth to a Pyrrhus and a Scanderbeg. Yet, as the Greek historian Paparigopoulos remarks, Albania, though never quite subdued, has never quite achieved her independence; though warmly patriotic, her warriors and great men have worked for others rather than for herself; and though peculiarly open to large and ennobling ideas, her people in their own land have become fearfully deteriorated by the working of an atrocious policy and an impure religion.² Will this always be so? What and where is the moral leverage which, if it can be fairly brought into play, may be expected to elevate Albania to the level of the Christian civilisation of Europe?

It seems to us that a little consideration enables one to answer this question with tolerable confidence. Though not Greeks,—the learned Athenian professor seems to have exaggerated the slight tie of kindred between the Epirote and the Greek,—the Albanians have always shown a marked predilection and receptivity for Greek ideas. Not Hellenic, they are still Hellenoid; Albania gravitates towards Greece, and tends

¹ *Albanesische Studien.*

² For particulars respecting the demoralisation of the Albanians, see Hobhouse, i. 135 sqq., and the chapter on Albania in the work of M. Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie.*

to take a path of subordinate revolution around that rich centre of thoughts and memories, like a dependent planet round its central sun. One might quote many illustrations of this tendency. The classical scholar will remember that the Molossian kings prided themselves on their supposed descent from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles; that the readiness of the Epirote tribes to ally themselves with Greek enterprises is apparent from several passages in Thucydides;³ and that the court of Pyrrhus at Ambracia represented almost exclusively Greek ideas and Greek civilisation. The same tendency reappears in modern times. The Hydriotes and Speziotes, those brave islanders who played so prominent a part in the Greek revolution, were of pure Albanian race. When Byron sought for some modern evidences to prove that the great Hellenic spirit was not extinct, he turned to the Albanian Suliotes:

“ On Suli’s top and Parga’s shore
Exists the remnant of a line
Such as the Dorian mothers bore;
And there perhaps some seed is sown
The Heracleidan blood might own.”

It is true that the Mahomedan Albanians were fatally active and formidable enemies of Greek independence; but they did not become so until the insurgents had made it plain that they meant to turn the revolution into a religious war. At the commencement of the struggle, large bodies of them sided with the Greeks; and if the latter had had the good fortune to find a leader who, while availing himself of their religious enthusiasm, was firm and wise enough to confine the avowed objects of the struggle to the grand issue of national independence, the Albanians, who have a hereditary hatred for the Turks, would for the most part have flocked to the revolutionary standard. But when their religion was attacked, their pride took alarm; and the conduct of the Greek chiefs was in other points so disgraceful, and marked by such incompetency, that they lost faith in the success of the cause. At the present day the tendency of the Epirotes, or southern Albanians, to unite themselves to Greece seems to be as strong as ever. Miss Bremer, the latest authority on the state of Greece, who certainly had access to excellent sources of information, repeatedly speaks of Epirus as being “ready to rise” in aid of any general Hellenic movement against the Turks. The time for such a movement may be yet far off. Greece, in her own internal affairs, offers so wide a field for improvement, that if the great powers should insist

³ Thuc. ii. 80.

upon her confining herself for some time to come to measures of domestic reform, and should discountenance, as they did in 1854, any premature attempt to extend her frontier, the prohibition could hardly be complained of. But when the inevitable day arrives, there seems reason to suppose that, if properly managed, the Albanians of all creeds will echo the Greek cry for independence. Not that it would be either easy or desirable to make Albania an integral portion of a bureaucratically organised Hellenic kingdom. Some sort of federal tie is the only one which would suit the circumstances;—perhaps a cantonal organisation, on the Swiss model, of the whole of Albania, leaving large local powers to the several cantonal governments, and providing for their representation by deputies in a general diet. Neither the “free Albanians,” mostly Christians, of the pashalic of Scutari, nor the Mahomedan Tosks farther south, would be likely to submit to a more centralised form of government. But a grand Hellenic federation, with its centre at Constantinople, preserving the fidelity of many non-Greek or partially-Greek races, by wisely conforming itself to local circumstances and conditions,—a free powerful Christian state which, standing in the place of the Byzantine empire, should introduce modern ideas and modern science into the torpid East, instead of suppressing both after the fashion of its predecessor,—such a prospect as this would probably be enough to satisfy the most fervent Philhellene, even though political unity in the Mazzinian sense were still far from being realised.

Albania is a land of rugged mountains and green valleys, the streams of which often expand into lakes, round which the population clusters thickest. Thus Joannina, the situation of which, placed as it is at a point whence valleys radiate in every direction except to the eastward, makes it, according to Herr Hahn, “the natural capital of united Epirus,” stands on the shore of the lake known to the ancients as Pambo-tis: in a fortified islet in this lake Ali Pasha made his last stand against the armies of Sultan Mahmud. The oracle and temple of Dodona were somewhere in the same locality, though the site cannot be identified; the sweet acorn of the Chaones (*Chaoniam glandem pingui mutavit aristā*) still grows in the oak-woods, and is still relished by their descendants the Liapes. Scutari, again, the ancient Scodra, the chief city of northern Albania, stands close to the lake of Scutari; and Ochrida, Struga, and other considerable places, are set round a lake in the centre of the country, anciently called Lych-nitis, whence issues the southern Drin. The Drin, by its two

branches, northern and southern, which unite nearly in lat. 42°, and their tributaries, waters a large proportion of northern Albania; it enters the sea near Alessio (on the site of the citadel of the ancient Lissus), where the great Scanderbeg in 1467 drew his last breath. Maize and all the common kinds of grain flourish exceedingly in Albania; rice succeeds in some places; the vine, the olive, and the mulberry grow luxuriantly in many of the more southern valleys, on the slopes of the mountains whose upper flanks are clothed with vigorous forests.

Herr Hahn, who has a true eye for natural beauty, gives, in the following description of Croya, a place famous for its resistance to the Turks in the time of Scanderbeg, a typical picture of Albanian scenery: "Under the mountain range, described in the first section, which shuts in the vale of Tyranna to the eastward, occurs an isolated ridge, about four miles long, the summit of which forms a small barren plain. The western face of this ridge, fronting the valley, is extremely steep. Parallel to it runs a chain of low hills, overgrown with dwarfoaks and beeches and some forest-trees, and forming with the ridge a small valley. In the middle of this, but somewhat nearer to the rocky wall, rises a rock which on the south, east, and north sides is so precipitous as to be almost perpendicular; its western side alone has a gentler and less considerable fall. This rock bears the fortress of Croya, which, inaccessible on three sides, only required the aid of human skill on the fourth to make it, in medieval times, impregnable. This was then accomplished by strong walls and several round towers."

Here, again, is a picture of a still scene in the Albanian woodlands: "From the village of Derweni the road passes for twenty miles through a nearly unbroken oak-forest, which takes its name from the village of Sperdet, and is the most considerable forest of its kind in all Albania; for it reaches northwards as far as the Mat, and covers not only the greater part of the plain between that river and the Ischm, but also stretches into the gullies and up the slopes of the eastern range. I passed through several belts of very fine timber, the trees in which seemed to be much about the same age, and appeared to stand at equal distances, as if they had been planted; every thing seemed so neatly and tidily kept by nature that one might have fancied oneself transported into a park. Here and there beeches grow among the oaks. But the beech of this district never spreads out into a timber-tree; several stems always shoot up from the same root, though these occasionally attain to a considerable height. The look of them

reminded me of certain oak-plantations in northern Eubœa, where the trees run up so close together that they can put out no branches, and therefore look like a forest of hop-poles. A peculiar stillness seemed to weigh down upon these woods; not a leaf was stirring; nothing was to be heard; our party wound noiselessly along over the soft ground, except that at intervals a horse's hoof, striking against a projecting root, broke the deathlike stillness. True, it was in August and at mid-day; but that silent forest of Sperdet shall I remember as long as I live."

The boundaries of Albania may be roughly described as, to the south, Greece and the Gulf of Arta; to the east, the Pindus range, and in general the watershed between the streams flowing eastward and westward; to the north, Montenegro and Bosnia; to the west, the Adriatic. The boundary line between northern and southern Albania nearly corresponds with that which anciently divided Illyria from Epirus.

Several races of men are found in this narrow mountainous tract. Besides the Albanians,—whose own name for themselves is Skipetar, *i. e.* rock-dwellers,—there are Greeks and Wallachians in southern, Bulgarians and Wallachians in central, and Servians in northern Albania. Of these non-Albanian elements, the Bulgarians and Servians belong to the Slavonic, and the Wallachians to the Romanic stock. Of the origin of the Albanians we shall speak subsequently. They are divided into two main stocks, the Tosks and the Gueghs, speaking two dialects of the Albanian language, which Herr Hahn considers to differ as much from each other as German from Dutch. The Tosks are found in Epirus, the Gueghs in Illyria; the river Skumbi, the *Gemusus* of Strabo, being the boundary between the races. Among the Tosks the Mahomedan element preponderates; but it is Shiite, or heretical, as tracing its religious traditions to Ali instead of Omar. The Christian Tosks all belong to the Greek Church. Cyprien Robert ascribes to the Tosks generally an erect carriage and a free proud glance, which make them so far contrast favourably with the Gueghs; but their occasional sidelong and furtive looks reveal, what is the fact, that they are the most perfidious among the Albanian tribes.

Among the Gueghs, on the other hand, the Christian element predominates. Those who are Mahomedans belong to the orthodox or Sunnite church, and mortally detest the Shiites. Among all the Christian Albanians, the Catholic tribe of the Mirdites holds the first place. Descended from

Scanderbeg's brothers in arms, they are, according to Cyprien Robert, "the most vivacious and youthful portion of the Albanian people." They number about 96,000 souls, and inhabit the lofty plateau, with its related valleys, between the black or southern Drin and the sea. They are free from all Mahomedan intermixture, for they have always expelled apostates from their community. Their way of life is thus described by the eye-witness above quoted: "Numerous traces of the patriarchal life survive among this people. The domestics are treated like children by the head of the family. The latter, like a pontiff of old, has alone the right to kill the garlanded sheep reserved for festive occasions, which is then roasted whole, and partaken of by the whole household, before the gate of the keep. While the thin Greek wines, which pass in Albania for the produce of France, circulate among the company, the *pliak*, or master, sitting cross-legged on his carpet, takes the Mirdite lyre, strikes it with rapid touch, and, like another Achilles before his tent, sings the exploits of himself and his Palikares [warriors], who, roused by the strain, commence a Homeric dance. By way of contrast to this simple home scene, observe those traders who are receiving an audience from the chieftain of a *phara* or clan; their kneeling posture, their hands hidden beneath their drooping sleeves, their every movement, reproduces the gestures which suppliants are represented as using in the Byzantine miniatures. Among a people which has thus preserved its antique cast, the Church alone seems perpetually to renew her youth; the chapels without number which deck the Mirdite valleys appear at a distance of such lustrous whiteness that one would suppose them newly built. Their structure, in the form of the Latin cross, and their bell-towers — points of distinction between them and the Greek churches — give a momentary pleasure to the European traveller, but grieve those who understand the true interests of the Mirdites. The Greek rite is, in fact, too popular in the peninsula to allow of one's desiring to see a fusion of all the Greco-Slaves in the bosom of the Latin Church, which is far from meeting amongst them with the same sympathies as its rival. It is through the religious union of the rites that one would arrive most surely at the reconciliation of the peoples." Perhaps so; but till that union is effected by proper authority, which recent manifestations have shown to be not absolutely impossible, it is difficult to share the chagrin at the fidelity of the Mirdites to the worship of their ancestors, still less to wish them to adopt the rite of a schismatic church.

The Catholics of northern Albania are divided among

seven sees, three of them archbishoprics, which are all directly under Propaganda. The clergy are for the most part men of worth and enlightenment.

In any estimate of the population of Albania, exactness is unattainable, for no census appears to have been ever taken. Herr Hahn computes the total number of Albanians in the Turkish empire at 1,600,000, of whom doubtless the great majority reside within the limits of Albania, though many are found in Turkish Servia and Bosnia. We have met with no estimate, even approximate, of the numbers of the Greeks, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Servians settled in the country. Of the number of the expatriated Albanians it is possible to speak with greater certainty. First, there are three insignificant Albanian settlements in Dalmatia. In the kingdom of Naples there is an Albanian population numbering 86,000 souls, and still retaining their national dress and customs, whose ancestors crossed the Adriatic in the fifteenth century, to escape the necessity of submitting to Turkish rule. A far more considerable Albanian offshoot exists in the kingdom of Greece. In the terrible wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Venice was struggling with Turkey for the Morea, and the miserable Greeks of the Levant were a prey alike to Christian and Ottoman corsairs, a large portion of Greece was depopulated through the slaughter, translocation, or enslavement of the original inhabitants. In the war between Venice and Bayezid [Bajazet] II., which was terminated in 1502, the Greek population of Argolis was exterminated; some years later the populous and flourishing island of Ægina was taken by the corsair Barbarossa, and met with a like fate; from other districts, as Attica, and from other islands, as Spézas, the greater part of the natives were swept away by the sword or reduced to slavery; and in all these cases Albanians after a time occupied the vacant ground. Mr. Finlay calculates that the Albanians in Greece hold one-fifth of the soil, and that they are about 200,000 in number, of whom one-tenth profess Islam. The traveller in Attica must not suppose that the peasant whom he meets on the ridge of Parnes descends from ancestors who fought at Marathon; at the utmost he may claim kindred with those Epirotes whose serried phalanx under Pyrrhus repeatedly broke through the legions of Rome. Bœotia also, and Argolis, and the district round Corinth, together with parts of Elis and Messenia, and a portion of the upper valley,

“ where Peneus strong
Pours his incessant flood along,”

are almost entirely peopled by Albanians, who, like their

countrymen in Attica and the islands, exclusively belong to the Tosk race.

The Greek-speaking population in southern Albania, which is strangely interspersed among the Albanians and Wallachians, must be for the most part descended from the old Greek colonies in Epirus, particularly Ambracia, which was for centuries a large and flourishing city. They all belong to the orthodox Greek Church. The Wallachians occupy the western slopes of the Pindus range; they are described as an inoffensive, hard-working, pastoral people. The Bulgarians on the lake of Ochrida much resemble them. M. Robert charmingly contrasts their way of life with that of the warlike Albanians: "It is on the journey from Ochrida to Prisren that one can best study the differences in morale which separate the Bulgarian, half shepherd, half husbandman, from the Skiptar, half shepherd, half hunter and warrior. In passing through the country of the hunters, one scrutinises every rock with an anxious glance; one fancies at each moment that one sees the glitter of a gun-barrel among the bushes. Among the Bulgarians, on the other hand, what absolute security! Wherever you make a halt, the shepherds come down from the hills to greet you with friendly wishes; they form a ring and squat down round the carpet on which the Frank is resting, and chat with him about the things which they hold dear, or sing to him perhaps one of those Slavonic airs which send the listener into a deep and pleasing reverie. With what a sense of profound peace did I watch the sunrise and the sunset in these vast forests, the asylum of a free and primitive existence, where man is the brother of all his fellows, and the very wild animals do not flee at his approach!"

To the north and north-east of Scodra, there is a considerable intermixture of Servians in the population, and Slavonic names—Podgoritza, Plownitza, Jakowa, &c.—become common. The redoubtable Montenegrins, whose mountain fastness bounds Albania to the north-west, are also of Servian race, and belong to the Greek Church. Whatever may be their merits as *Turcophagi*,—a name which the modern Greeks love to confer on any masterful harasser of their oppressors,—their razzias, it would seem, do not spare their Christian neighbours; the Catholic Mirdites of the valley of the united Drin would, according to M. Robert, make an Eden of those splendid plains, but for the sense of insecurity produced by the frequent incursions of these marauding mountaineers.

From the impossibility of giving unity to the picture, it is difficult to feel a very lively interest in the history of that

portion of mankind which, from age to age, has lived among these mountains. Physically considered, the north and south of Albania, or Illyria and Epirus, are two distinct regions, of which one may be loosely described as the basin of the Drin, the other as the district of Dodona, with its central lake (that of Joannina) and radiating valleys. In the same way, there are at least two historical threads which the enquirer into the past of Albania must disentangle from the mass of heterogeneous material presented to him in the ancient authors and the Byzantine chronicles. To one of these, which relates to northern Albania, belongs the story of Scanderbeg; to the other, the exploits of the Suliotes, and the obscure fortunes of the sovereignty of Epirus. Not till the days of Ali Pasha did a uniting power appear, endowed with sufficient energy to weld these recalcitrant and explosive elements into something like a national organism. Herr Hahn considers that Ali, wicked as he was, and while working solely for his own interest, did in great measure effect this. From Arta to Scutari the Albanians, whatever might be their creed, felt proud of their countryman; the feeling of nationality, the sense of common interests, gradually arose; and through all subsequent confusions has, in our author's opinion, held its ground.

It would require an elaborate essay to explore the question, what was the ethnical relation between the Illyrico-Epirote tribes and the Hellenic race. The learned Greek professor whom we quoted above decides it summarily by assuming as a fact a close relationship between, at least, the Epirotes and the Greeks. But against this notion we have to set the distinct words of Thucydides, who always speaks of the Epirote tribes as *βάρβαροι*. Yet we are told,⁴ that after the assassination of Clearchus, a Dardanian (that is, a native of a district at the extreme north-eastern border of Illyria) was chosen by the soldiers in the room of the Spartan general. Is this choice conceivable unless there was felt to be some close affinity between Dardanians and Greeks—some tie closer than that of an ultimate common derivation from the Pelasgic stock? But, leaving this point, we must admit that in the history of the population of this region, before and long after the Christian era, there is slight matter to detain us. It is the old story of the kites and the crows, each getting and losing the upper hand in turn. Under Pyrrhus, the political centre of gravity was moved to the southward; and Epirus, thanks to a large infusion of Greek culture, became momentarily famous. But a series of weak and vicious successors on the Epirote throne, and the generally troublous state of the Eu-

⁴ Xen. Anab. iii. 1.

ropean portion of Alexander's imperial bequest, reduced it in fifty years to a nullity. Illyria, under its queen Teuta, became, not famous, but notorious, for piracy between the first and second Punic wars, which Rome, however, put down with a high hand. As forming part of the Macedonian kingdom, the whole country passed under the dominion of Rome in the second century before our era, and the turbulence of the population was repressed by the Roman generals in the usual merciless way. We are told by Polybius (quoted by Strabo) that seventy Epirote cities were razed to the ground by Æmilius Paullus, and 150,000 persons sold into slavery. For many centuries the effects of this blow were apparent. In the time of Strabo, that is, in the first century of our era, the desolation was pitiable. "The greater part of these countries," he writes,⁵ "is now a wilderness, and in the inhabited districts one meets only with villages and ruins." Under the deadening imperial régime, materials for history nearly fail us. In the fourth century the energetic northern barbarians enter upon the scene. Alaric with his Visigoths retired before Stilicho out of the Peloponnesus into Epirus in 397; and, being appointed master-general of eastern Illyria by Arcadius, held this government for several years, leaving it when setting out for his final and successful invasion of Italy in 408. The Teutonic element in the Albanian language (amounting, according to Paparigopulos, to one-seventh) is traced to this Gothic inhabitation. Then comes a long period of darkness and confusion, during which inferior races press in from the north. Between the sixth and the tenth centuries, Greece was often overrun by hordes of Scythians and other barbarians, who, according to the theory of the learned Fallmerayer,⁶ displaced for ever, and whose descendants now represent, the old Hellenic inhabitants. Albania, however, offering less temptation to these inroads, seems to have experienced them only in a minor degree. We hear of an influx of Serbs and Croats into northern Albania in the seventh century, which resulted in a partial slavonising of the population. Between 861 and 1018 Albania was comprehended in the Bulgarian

⁵ We quote here, and in many other places in this section, from Herr Hahn's historical sketch.

⁶ Fallmerayer, *Entstehung der heutigen Griechen*: Stuttgart, 1835. But the professor has certainly pushed his thesis too far. He says, for instance (p. 51), that the proper designation for the whole country lying between Mount Zagora, in Epirus, and the promontory of Sunium is New Albania, to indicate the complete denudation of the Hellenic race which has there taken place. But later researches, among which those of Mr. Finlay and Herr Hahn may be particularised, prove that between the Albanians of Attica and Bœotia and those of Epirus a broad belt of country inhabited by men of Greek descent intervenes.

kingdom, which grew up like a wen on the enfeebled body of the Byzantine empire, but was absorbed again at the latter date, during an interval of transient vigour. The Albanians first appear under that name in the year 1079, in the character of a mountain tribe inhabiting the Pindus range, employed by the Byzantine emperors to carry out the expulsion of the Bulgarians and Servians. Ptolemy however, writing in the second century, already speaks of a Mons Albanus and an Albanopolis as existing in this region. In this Albanopolis Herr Hahn sees the modern town of Elbassan in central Albania,—Albanopolis, Albanon, Elbanon, Elbassan.

But whence come these Albanians? Were they the original inhabitants of Illyria and Epirus, or some foreign people which at some unknown time had immigrated thither? In the discussion of this interesting question, which Herr Hahn investigates at great length, we wish our limits would permit us to accompany him. His theory is—and he supports it with great ingenuity, and as the result of a searching review of all sources of information, ancient and modern—that the Albanians are lineally descended from the ancient Pelasgian inhabitants of Epirus, Macedonia, and Illyricum; that their language at the present day, thanks to the degree in which the physical geography of their country has kept them isolated and protected them from change and dislodgment, is substantially the same as that of the remnants of the Pelasgic race known to Herodotus (i. 57), to which he ascribes a “barbarian speech;” and that, just as the Pelasgic inhabitants of Arcadia became completely hellenised in speech and customs after the Hellenic immigration into Greece, so the Albanians now living on Greek soil are undergoing a precisely similar process through contact with the modern Greeks. In Macedonia and northern Illyricum, he considers the Slavonic element to have pressed down so powerfully from the north as to have absorbed and extinguished the Pelasgian civilisation there. In Albania also the Slavonians from Bulgaria and Servia attempted many times to make the country their own; but the aborigines were too strong in this case for the new comers, and, regaining a name in history, as we have seen, in the eleventh century, gradually expelled from their midst nearly the whole of the foreign elements which had intruded themselves upon their soil, leaving only the names of a considerable number of places to attest the extent to which Slavonisation had once proceeded.

About a hundred years after the first appearance of the Albanians, a strong principality was founded in Epirus by a branch of the imperial house of the Comneni, the princes of

which took the title of Despots. By their persevering hostility the fall of the Latin empire at Constantinople, in the thirteenth century, was in no small degree occasioned. After many fights with Albanian chieftains, and more than one change of dynasty, this principality, in 1430 or 1431, fell under the power of the Sultan Amurath, and has ever since formed part of the Turkish empire. Its capital, Joannina, was, as we have seen, the head-quarters of Ali Pasha's successful domination in the early part of the present century.

Northern Albania, after having been overflowed by a Servian immigration in the seventh century, made itself independent of the Servian kingdom seven hundred years later; Balza, the lord of Scodra, heading an insurrection in 1370, throwing off the foreign rule, and embracing Catholicism. The conversion of the Mirdites to Catholicism had taken place a hundred and twenty years before, as we learn from some letters of Pope Innocent IV., dated in 1250. But the confused annals of the principality thus erected will not repay the trouble of investigation. After the death of the last Balza in 1421, his territories fell to the Venetian republic, which held them with an insecure grasp until they, like Epirus, fell, with the exception of a few places on the coast, into the power of the Turks.

Central Albania, in which the family of the Castriotes held the most considerable principality or chieftainship in the early part of the fifteenth century, fixes our attention, on account of the long and heroic struggle maintained for three-and-twenty years against two powerful sultans by George Castriote, better known as Scanderbeg. Unfortunately, the only contemporary authority for his history, apart from a few isolated passages in the Byzantine historians, is the *Life*, written by the monk of Scodra, Marinus Barletus, whose highly-coloured style and glaring self-contradictions oblige us to receive his narrative with great reserve. It is remarkable with what clear insight Gibbon estimates the value of this work, which many succeeding historians, French and German, have copied without scruple. Gibbon alone points out the extraordinary discrepancy of ten years, into which Barletus falls, when he states Scanderbeg to have been sixty-three years old at the time of his death in January 1467, and yet to have been but nine years old when, in 1423, he was given up by his father as a hostage to Amurath II. Lebeau,⁷ Hammer-Purgstall,⁸ Paganel,⁹ even Herr Hahn him-

⁷ *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, vol. xxi.: Paris, 1836.

⁸ *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*: Pesth, 1840.

⁹ *Hist. de Scanderbeg*: Paris, 1855.

self, in blind reliance upon Barletus, relate that Scanderbeg was twenty-nine years old when he deserted the Turkish standards in 1443, after the battle of Nissa, and *also* relate that he was sixty-three in January 1467. Gibbon, assuming the earlier statement to be the erroneous one, urges the improbability of Scanderbeg's change of religion having been sincere, when he had remained till his fortieth year in the profession of Islam. But an attentive consideration of the story seems to make it more probable that the second statement is the erroneous one, and that Scanderbeg was really only fifty-three at the time of his death, not sixty-three. The tenor of the narrative suits the assumption that he was a mere child when taken to Constantinople, and that the whole bias of his education was received amidst Mahomedan influences, much better than the other assumption, that he was at the same date a young man of nineteen, whose character must have been partly formed.

Yet Gibbon's depreciating tone must not blind us to the fact that it was a truly glorious struggle, and that the story of Scanderbeg proves what may at any time be expected from the Albanians in the hands of a great leader. The people that defied for eight years the power of the high-souled Amurath,—the Mussulman whose truth and honour, contrasted with the perfidy of the Christian princes and prelates who broke the treaty of Szegedin, form the subject of one of the most humiliating chapters in European history; the people that made head for twenty-seven years longer against his yet greater son, Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople; that destroyed so many Turkish armies and baffled so many besieging hosts in the young and vigorous days of Ottoman power;—might well be reckoned upon, were there no adverse circumstances to be accounted for, to shake off the Turkish government in its decrepitude. Certainly there are such adverse circumstances. The satanic policy of the Porte, pursued through four centuries, has made a large proportion of the Albanians apostates from the faith of their fathers. The Tosks and the Gueghs hate each other with a mortal and hereditary hatred. Still, if so consummate a villain as Ali Pasha was nearly successful in his attempt to sever Albania from the Turkish empire, and only failed because his falsehood and cruelty had made it impossible for any one to put faith in him, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that a chieftain may some day arise among the Catholic Mirdites, who, seizing the favourable hour, may avenge upon the Turks the dying agony of Scanderbeg.

In writing of Albania, it is difficult to avoid entering upon the subject of the language, — that long-standing *crux* of the philologists. All that will be here attempted, is to indicate the present state of philological opinion respecting it, besides giving a short list of words by way of illustration. As far back as the time of Leibniz, speculations have been indulged in as to the origin and affinities of this language. Prichard¹⁰ enumerates Leibniz, Bianchi, Da Lecce, Vater, Thunmann, Masci, and Malte Brun, among the writers who have discussed the question. Some of these endeavoured to connect Albanian with the Semitic, or, again, with the Turanian family; but the researches of the Ritter von Xylander, who published a work on the language in 1835, accompanied by a vocabulary of Albanian words (chiefly drawn from a translation of the New Testament made in 1827 by Gregorius, archbishop of Eubœa), established beyond dispute the connection of the Albanian with the Indo-Germanic family. At the same time Xylander laid down, as the result of his investigation, that Albanian was not more closely related to Greek than Greek to the Slavonic, or than the Celtic to the Teutonic tongues. These conclusions are now generally received. With regard to the constituents of the language, Paparigopulos, in the article before quoted, states that half the words in it are to be traced in the Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic, and Turkish tongues; the remainder he conjectures to belong to the old Illyrian. Herr Hahn, while he abstains from all speculation on the subject, has rendered a great service to philology by enlarging the materials on which future speculations must be based. He has constructed a grammar, or, as he modestly calls it, contributions to a grammar, of the Tosk dialect, enriched with a great number of the corresponding forms in the Guegh dialect; to this he has added "Contributions to an Albanian-German Dictionary," containing very many words unknown to Xylander, which were taken down by himself from the lips of the natives during his residence in the country, and also a German-Albanian index to the dictionary. Independently of all this, he devotes a complete section to the study of the Albanian alphabet, with its fifty-two crabbed characters, many of which he traces to the Phœnician alphabet, and also recognises in that first used by the Greeks. His conclusion is that the alphabet, no less than the language and the people, is extremely ancient, and not, as some have thought, a modern invention of the Albanian literati; he

¹⁰ *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 480.

which the relations of the language have been, or may be, determined. If the relatively closer connection of Albanian with Latin than with Greek be truly represented in the above table, and if Herr Hahn has good grounds for believing Albanian to represent the language of the Pelasgians, important questions at once arise, the solution of which may throw increased light on the ethnological relations of the early inhabitants of Italy and Illyricum.

Herr Hahn appends to his grammar a collection of specimens of Albanian poetry and prose, which are of great interest. A few of the former, which seem specially to illustrate the turn of imagination, the peculiar cast of thought, and the manner of life, which prevail among these mountaineers, we shall here translate from the author's German versions. The metre adopted in the original poems appears to be invariably trochaic, the lines being usually of eight, but often of seven, syllables.

The first section consists of twenty-seven short love-poems in the Tosk dialect, which present no very remarkable features. Travellers state that among the Albanians the women are generally despised. Lord Broughton¹¹ adds that they are almost disliked, which may perhaps explain the feebleness of the amatory poetry of the country. In one of the pieces, No. 5, in reply to a wooer, who is urging the suit of some Bey, the unromantic maiden answers :

“ I am no present for the Bey :
I am for him who has bought me,
Bought me with money,
With three hundred colonati” [Spanish piastres].

The elegiac pieces, or dirges, have more substance and heart in them. They commence, says Herr Hahn, “as soon as the wail of anguish [ululatus], which the women of the house set up upon the decease of one belonging to them, and which serves for a signal to summon together the relations and neighbours, has somewhat subsided. They consist of solo parts and choruses. Men never take part in them.” They appear to be invariably in the form of distichs ; and the solo parts sometimes contain a sketch of the life and deeds of the departed. The following dirge is in frequent use for men :

“ O thou many-coloured snake,
Mishap came not lightly near thee.

¹¹ *Journey through Albania*, vol. i. p. 135.

Snake and Astrit¹² on the path,
Friend to Turk and Giaour.¹³

The serpent [the enemy] came within the boundaries ;
Then thou stoodest facing him with thy staff.

Arise, for the place longeth after thee,
For thy word of counsel is needed.

Thy heart with its fire,
Thine eye with seven stars.

A double warrior by thyself alone,
Thou requiredst no other companion.

Thy heart was sharp-pointed ;
Thy sword had the falling sickness.

When thou wentest on the road,
Thou hadst seven flashes on thy shoulder.

The sword heldest thou in thy teeth ;
Thou pulledst the trigger with thy foot."¹⁴

All the poems in this section are full of point and vivid local colouring. The following dirge is for old men :

" O thou selected with the hands,
Like the ram that bears the bell.

Thou, prominent among the protectors of the clan,
First among the first.

O corner-stone that never tottered,
Full of understanding, and with well-stored head.

Thou hadst a great bell ;
When thou puttest it off, on whose neck didst thou hang it ?

Oldest in the house,
Honour of friendship."

The two beautiful and touching pieces which follow are said by Herr Hahn to be very old and widely popular. The first is the lament of a bride over the death of her bridegroom, who was shot on the night of the marriage :

" On this night of the bridal
The musket-bullet smote thee
On the lace of thy vest.
The whole kindred lament—
Yes, you bewail your kinsman.
For me, I am but a stranger ;
Yesterday I came, to-day I go :
Yesterday decked with tinsel ;
To-day with loosened hair."

¹² A large kind of serpent.

¹³ The southern Albanians freely apply to themselves this name, which the Turks apply to Christians as a term of reproach.

¹⁴ i. e. when thy hands were not free.

The next is upon the death of a young Albanian soldier :

“ I fell, O comrades ! I fell,
Beyond the bridge of Kiabese.
Greet my mother for me ;
The two oxen must she sell,
And give the price to my betrothed.
If my mother ask after me,
Tell her I am newly wedded ;
If she ask what sort of bride I have taken home,
Tell her—three bullets in the breast,
Six in the feet and arms ;
If she ask what kinsfolk came to the bridal banquet,
Tell her—the crows and ravens feasted well.”

IRON-CLAD SHIPS.

No discussion on the discipline and efficiency of the Navy can pretend to any thing like completeness without entering into some detail upon the important questions still pending with regard to the ships which the officers and crews have to handle. It is not many years since our navy had to be reconstructed because of the substitution of steam for sails : it has now to be reconstructed once more, in consequence of the inadequacy of wood to resist the improved artillery of the day. The questions to which this necessity has given present prominence are :—What is the best way of employing iron armour-plates, so as to make the ship most powerful both for attack and resistance ; and what is the cheapest, best, and most expeditious way of producing such ships. The latter question is that discussed between the partisans of the government dockyards and those of private shipyards : the former is of wider interest, and is now engaging the attention of the most scientific men in England, France, and America.

Until 1859 our wooden fortresses, propelled by screws, constituted the main body of our naval force ; and we rested in confidence that they would be sufficient to make the English power respected abroad, and to protect our coasts from attack. If the French Emperor had confined himself to the improvement of his army, this confidence might have remained firm, and immense sums might have been saved both to this country and to France. But as he clearly saw that ships of war could carry armour, and that being so protected they must infallibly drive all unprotected vessels off the sea ; and as he was not content with theorising merely, but caused vessels to be built upon the plan ;—it became necessary for us to follow his lead, and to build armoured vessels as rapidly as he. It is enough for England to have as good ships as any in the world ; and the Government acted wisely in not troubling itself about this question until the French were busy in it. For our screw liners were powerful enough to meet any enemy that was likely to attack us ; and hence there was no object in expending large sums in building invulnerable ships. But when it became known that *La Gloire* was being constructed in a French dockyard, the government of the day, represented at the Admiralty by Sir John Pakington, directed the *Warrior* and *Black Prince* to be laid down ; and the succeeding government, seeing the necessity of equalling France in a force of iron-clad ships,

gave directions for building many more of these vessels,—not all, however, upon the plan which was adopted in the *Warrior*.

The preliminary element for the calculation of the strength of iron-clad ships is the power of the artillery that can be brought to bear upon them. Up to the present moment, the heaviest gun that has been found efficient afloat is the 68-pounder solid shot gun, weighing 95 cwt. Armstrong guns throwing an elongated projectile of 110 lbs., and weighing 85 cwt., have also been supplied to H. M. ships, but in small proportions; and it will be well, for the present at least, to restrict the number of these guns, issued to ships, to the quantity required for chase, or long-reaching guns. We hear of 300-pounders, and even larger guns; but, up to the present time, no really effective gun of a larger calibre than 8 inches, or throwing a heavier *solid* shot (for hollow shots are useless against iron plates of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches) than 68 lbs., has been found really efficient for sea-service. The question to be solved, therefore, was, how strong must be the side of an iron ship to resist the blows of 68-pounders at a range of 200 yards, such being the extreme distance at which the initial velocity and consequent force of the shot is not sensibly diminished, for which reason a trial at 200 yards range is as good as a trial at twenty yards. To ascertain this point, a target was constructed, representing exactly a portion of the proposed side of the *Warrior*, and its resisting power tested by a long-continued fire of 68-pounders and Armstrong 110-pounders. The result of these trials was most satisfactory, and induced a strong feeling of confidence that the *Warrior* would possess abundant defensive power against any artillery that could be brought against her at sea.

After thus settling her defensive qualities, her powers of offence were to be considered: and here the first point to be decided was as to her size; for as great speed was an essential quality, and as she was to carry a certain number of guns which were to be defended by armour-plates, the weight she would have to carry would necessarily be very great. Were the ship to be plated all round, her size would have to be enormous; and therefore, to keep her within reasonable bounds, it was resolved to plate her over that portion only in which the guns were, and to run armoured bulkheads across her before and abaft the guns. It was supposed that as the vessel was divided into many water-tight compartments, and as the foremost and after compartments were again subdivided into many smaller ones, very little real damage could be done to her by striking her in the undefended parts. Thus the weight she would have to carry and the speed she was to attain (14 knots, or 16·2 statute miles, an hour) having been given, it was an easy matter for the Comp-

troller of the Navy to decide upon her size and shape. It is not too much to say that she has perfectly answered all the expectations that were formed of her, and has proved herself to be a magnificent war-ship in every way. Her sister ship, the *Black Prince*, has very nearly equalled her; for if the *Warrior* has an advantage under steam, the *Black Prince* is slightly the better ship under sail.

The *Defence* and *Resistance* are built upon the same general plan as the *Warrior*,—that is, with a fighting central box, and unprotected extremities. Both have answered very well; and notwithstanding all that has been said in the newspapers about the loosening of plates and the innumerable defects of the iron-clads, it may be safely asserted that, after their lengthened cruise in the depth of winter, they returned to port with as few defects as a fleet of wooden ships equally tried would have had.

The inherent weakness of these vessels lies in their unprotected extremities; for it would be difficult to calculate where the damage caused by a raking shot would end. One certain result would be the greatly increased immersion of the injured extremity, and the consequent loss of speed, and unhandiness of the ship. Another weak point is, that the rudder is unprotected and liable to be damaged by shot. It is very probable, however, that this cause of weakness will be remedied by the introduction of Commander Warren's bow-rudder, upon which some highly interesting and successful experiments have already been made.

To avoid the risks arising from leaving the ends of the vessel unprotected, two plans have been proposed: one was to place armour all round the ship, as has been done in *La Gloire*, and as had been done in the floating-batteries which were built during the Russian war; on this plan the *Royal Oak* is built. The second was to carry a plated belt round the bow and stern from the armoured portion of the ship, so as to protect the water-line and four feet above and below it, as in the *Achilles*.

Hitherto we have only spoken of iron-clad vessels which, like their wooden predecessors, were constructed with broadside ports,—an arrangement which, from the spaces left unprotected, in spite of the ports being much diminished in size, lessened the general strength of the structure very much. In wooden ships it is thought necessary that the ports should be large enough to allow the guns to be trained about 35° before and abaft the beam, and to have 11° of elevation and 7° of depression given them. The ports of the iron ships have been narrowed, and the sills sloped away, so as to give 28° of training each way; but still the openings in the side remain an irremediable source of weakness.

In the early days of armoured ship-building, Captain Cowper Coles proposed to build a vessel which would be free from the disadvantages arising from unprotected ends, unprotected rudder, and sides weakened by port-holes. The plan was to construct a hull which should be capable of carrying a given weight, and should be propelled at a certain speed; to plate this hull all round with armour, or at least 4 feet above and 4 feet below the water-line; to protect the rudder by encasing it in an armoured cylinder; and to place the armament within shields revolving on pivots placed in the centre of the vessel. The facility with which the heaviest guns used at sea could be worked within these shields, and the resisting power of the shield itself, was tried by the Admiralty in the *Trusty* floating-battery. A cupola was constructed on her deck, the framing being of wood, 17 inches thick on the average, covered with iron plates of 4 inches. In this cupola, which was small, a 40-pounder was mounted and tried against a similar gun mounted in a broadside port of the *Trusty*. The advantage both in rapidity and precision of fire was very much in favour of the gun in the cupola. After this trial, the cupola was fired at with 68-pounders and Armstrong 110 and 40 pounders, from a distance of 200 yards. It was hit forty-four times out of sixty-nine shots, and finally pierced. These experiments were so satisfactory that the Admiralty were encouraged to proceed with the proposed plan, and gave directions for the alteration of the *Royal Sovereign*, a ship of 131 guns, into a shield-ship, to carry five of the heaviest guns that could be constructed. The ship was therefore cut down to her lower deck, which was removed; and another of inch-iron, covered with 6-inch plank, was put in its place. Her plating, which is continuous, is of $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch iron. Her rudder will be perfectly protected. Her shields, which are of the turret shape, are constructed of enormous strength; and in them, by the well-planned arrangement of the wooden backing, it is expected that the inconveniences which are reported to be felt in the American Monitors from the shock caused by the blows of heavy shot will be avoided. The Admiralty have caused a new vessel, the *Prince Albert*, to be laid down upon Captain Coles's principle, at Milwall; but as neither the *Royal Sovereign* nor *Prince Albert* is to carry masts, Captain Coles's plan, which includes a proposal for a new kind of mast especially adapted to these vessels, can only be said to be partially adopted, and will be tried under the great disadvantage of having no masts to steady the ship in a sea-way.

A third plan, which, in truth, is only a modification of the two mentioned above, has been proposed by Mr. Reed, and is being tried in three vessels of different dimensions. The great

advantage to be derived from this plan is, that by it iron-clads of small dimensions can be constructed. This is effected by the simple means of reducing the weights to be carried, by contracting the armoured portion or protected battery to a mere tower, and by protecting the water-line one foot above, and four feet below it in the rest of the vessel, as had been previously proposed for the shield-ship. The *Enterprise*, among other ships upon this plan, is being rapidly completed at Deptford. She is to carry four guns (68 or 110 pounders), and is only of 990 tons burden, being by far the smallest iron-clad sea-going ship yet built. The central tower or battery, on Mr. Reed's plan, has the same weak point that all the broadside ships have,—the considerable exposed surface of the ports; but, in common with Captain Coles, he will have the power of providing excellent accommodation for officers and men—the latter before, and the former abaft, the fighting portion of the ship, which will be kept perfectly clear for action at all times. This latter point is no small advantage, when we consider that, in all the iron-clads yet afloat, the men live between the guns, and sleep over them; so that at the beat to quarters (in other words, the order to prepare for battle), all the mess-traps, tables, and stools, have to be sent below before a single gun can be cleared for action. At night there would be the additional labour of lashing up and stowing the hammocks. From all this extra work the fixed and stationary turret-ships will be exempt, inasmuch as the guns and fighting space in them are kept perfectly free from every thing that is not required in battle.

We have thus three sorts of iron-clad ships proposed; and the question, which offers the greatest advantages, remains to be settled. But, as the preliminary element of the calculation is still an undetermined and variable quantity, it may be long before a final and practical solution can be reached. As long as the 95 cwt. 68-pounders remain the heaviest and most effective guns that can be used at sea against armoured ships, the ship that can carry the greatest number of them, protected by armour, will probably be the most effective for sea-service; but as soon as there is a thoroughly effective gun of a larger calibre which can be used at sea, it is not less probable that the advantage will lie with the cupola or turret ship. The reason of this is that, with our present appliances, a 68-pounder is the heaviest gun that can be worked upon the broadside of a ship; and it may be added, that it is the heaviest gun that can be carried upon the broadside of vessels as at present constructed. It has been asserted, by men who ought to be good authorities for what they advance, that they can produce plans for working guns of any size as broadside guns. But most practical sailors differ from this

opinion ; and it is certain that no feasible system for effecting this object has yet been made public. It can only be done by machinery ; and no gun-carriage complicated with bars and levers has ever yet been found to answer in practice. Then, again, even should the means of working these heavy guns be invented, the difficulty of providing sufficient strength on the broadside to bear their weight would remain. It would also be necessary to mount two heavy guns in the bow and stern, to do precisely the same work that is done by one gun mounted in a turret in the centre of the vessel. These monstrous weights in her extremes would strain the ship terribly in a sea-way. For these reasons, the shield-system will probably become necessary whenever heavier guns than our present ordnance are to be carried. The shield is a cupola or turret, placed in the centre of the ship, revolving on a pivot of great strength, and carrying one or more guns on its platform. These guns may be of any weight. The heaviest guns may be worked with the carriage proposed by Captain Coles, which is quite simple, and not likely to be deranged by any thing but the severest blow from shot, whilst the movements required are confined to the recoil and running out of the gun. The training is performed by the movement of the shield ; and the mechanical contrivances by which this is done are placed under a protection that may be called invulnerable, inasmuch as it would be necessary for a projectile to pass through the plating of the side before it could do any harm to the turning-gear of the cupolas. As the cupola revolves upon its pivot, the gun may be trained to any point, and fired in any direction, except where some obstruction exists on the deck of the vessel,—such as another cupola, a mast, a funnel, or a steering-tower. Thus the gun can have more training than any port can give. None of the iron-clads command an arc of more than 56° from their port-holes ; whereas the gun in the shield, placed amidships, commands an arc of at least 120° on each side, and placed at the bow or stern, ranges over nearly the complete circle. As the training is given by the turn-table of the shield, and not by the gun-carriage, the port is reduced laterally to the smallest possible dimensions ; while perpendicularly its provision for giving the necessary elevation to the gun is perfectly effected by a special contrivance. And this smaller port is only exposed to the enemy's fire at the time of discharging the gun ; immediately afterwards the shield is turned round, so that there is no chance of a projectile entering the port while the gun is being loaded, and the invulnerable side of the shield is presented to the enemy. With regard to the weight of the guns, the cupola with its contents being exactly balanced in the centre of the ship, much heavier guns can be carried on this principle ;

and, indeed, it is desirable that they should be as heavy as possible, in order to reduce the recoil to a minimum.

The recent experience of the Monitors in Charleston harbour proves nothing whatever against the cupolas of the *Royal Sovereign* and *Prince Albert* as against broadsides. In the first place, the contest was not between ships with cupolas and ships on the broadside principle, but between cupolas and forts. In the next place, the relative powers of endurance of cupolas and ships on the common principle were not tested ; because, while the Monitors were all brought into action, the *Ironsides* was positively useless in the attack, and, having proved unable to bring a gun to bear, was taken out of action. Again, the cupolas which were so battered as to be incapable of turning, or were pierced with Whitworth projectiles, or had their bolts driven in by the impact of the shot, cannot have been so well made or so strong as the cupola of the *Trusty*, on which the experiments were made at Shoeburyness. The 68-pounders and Armstrong 110 and 40 pounders did their worst against it, and although they peppered it for days in perfectly smooth water and under the most favourable circumstances, at a distance of only 200 yards, only one shot got in. Now the *Royal Sovereign's* cupolas have double the strength of that in the *Trusty*, and may safely be expected to resist much heavier guns than any that were brought against it. It is not desirable to give exact dimensions ; but it may be safely stated that the resisting power of one of these cupolas will be equal to thrice that of any of the Monitors of which we have any account. In the American turrets, concussion of heavy projectiles upon the shields was found to be so violent as to make it almost impossible for a gun's crew to live in them. But we must remember that the American turrets are constructed chiefly of iron, with but very little, if any, wooden backing, and what wood there is chiefly pine ; the same accident cannot occur, in any thing approaching an equal degree, to the *Royal Sovereign's* turrets, with their massive teak backings, which will take off much of the jar caused by violent blows upon the armour-plates of the structure.

Those who imagine that the explosion of the immense charges required for ordnance throwing a projectile of 300 lbs. weight, would be so overwhelming as to render it impossible for men to stand up to the guns in action, forget that the shock of the discharge of a gun is not nearly so much felt on the deck of a ship as it would be if fired in the open, and that even this effect will be very much diminished by the smallness of the gun-port in the cupola. However, this objection has not been found fatal in the Monitors, and may therefore prove much less for-

cible than has been supposed in the more effective shields of the *Royal Sovereign*.

The fixed turret, or reduced box, of the *Enterprise*, seems liable to all the objections brought against the broadside-port plan, without any of the advantages of the revolving turret. The great difficulty is in the working of very heavy guns, such as 300-pounders weighing 15 tons, in vessels of small tonnage, which are not, and cannot very well be, built of a scantling sufficient to bear extremely heavy weights upon the broadside. The angle of training of the guns is precisely similar to that which other vessels with ports have ; and although provision is made for placing a gun within a few degrees of the line of keel, the space in which the gun must be worked is so limited as to render it an impossibility to use it effectively. In this species of vessel, the plating being carried up to the top of the fixed turret, or to the upper deck, causes the weights to be higher ; but this may be a source of gain, since raising the centre of gravity may possibly make the vessel easier in a sea-way. To a seaman's eye, the *Enterprise* presents a very odd appearance, but not more so than the ram-ships did, or the shield-ships will present. She will be liable to a great disadvantage in action, which would be felt in a minor degree in the *Royal Sovereign*, namely, the possibility of being captured by a body of men thrown upon the top of the box, who would command the fore and after parts of the vessel with their small arms, and could tear up the upper deck of the box at their leisure, and compel its inmates to surrender.

The French do not appear to have varied from the original idea of plating ships with broadside ports entirely or partially. They have constructed frigates completely protected from end to end, such as the *Gloire*, and line-of-battle ships, such as the *Magenta*, plated over the space occupied by their batteries, with belts protecting the water-line, and a few feet above and below it. According to the reports that have been published, all their ships that have been tried answer remarkably well, although none of them has attained the speed of the *Warrior*. It would appear also as if their system of complete protection makes a war-ship more effective and powerful than does the plan of leaving the ends unplated. Doubtless there is a gain in the latter case in rendering the partially-plated vessel a better sea-boat ; but we cannot contemplate without apprehension the damage that a well-handled enemy's ship could inflict on the unprotected portions of the *Warrior*. The next best thing to complete protection is an invulnerable battery and a protected water-line ; and we cannot but feel that, should it prove on extended trial that ships cannot carry a perfect coat of mail, they will at least have their vital parts properly defended. That this

principle prevails at the Admiralty now is apparent from Lord Clarence Paget's speech in introducing the Navy Estimates for the past year. Since that time no new iron-clads have been laid down, except the vessels building on Mr. Reed's plan, and the *Royal Sovereign*, converting, and the *Prince Albert*, building, upon that of Captain Coles. When all the iron-clads ordered at present are completed, we shall have four in which the batteries are protected and the extremities unprotected, viz. the *Warrior*, the *Black Prince*, the *Resistance*, and the *Defence*; one, the *Achilles*, with the battery protected, and with a belt at the water-line and four feet above and below it; two, the *Hector* and the *Valiant*, with complete protection on gun-deck, but with unprotected ends; five of wood, the *Prince Consort*, *Ocean*, *Caledonia*, *Royal Alfred*, and *Royal Oak*; and three of iron, the *Minotaur*, *Agincourt*, and *Northumberland*, all perfectly protected. Of Mr. Reed's ships, the *Favourite* and *Research* will be wholly clad; the *Enterprise* partially, that is, with a fixed turret plated on all sides, and a belt at the water-line. Captain Coles's vessels will be wholly clad, and will have their rudders also protected, which is not the case in any of the broadside ships, except Mr. Reed's; and in this particular their ships will have a very great advantage.

Still, the only sure proof of the value of the different systems that have been adopted for armouring ships in this country will be found in the trial of the vessels constructed upon them at sea. In no other department of science have the results of experiment differed more from the conclusions of theory than in naval architecture. And the reason is simple: elements which can never be *exactly* calculated enter largely into the considerations involved in the construction of a ship, and especially of a ship of war. It is therefore a matter of the greatest interest to naval men, and others whose attention has been turned to naval matters, to see one at least of Mr. Reed's and Captain Coles's ships at sea; for until they are fairly tried under all circumstances, it will be impossible to form a just estimate of their comparative power. Both gentlemen profess to be able to construct armoured ships of small tonnage, and therefore of small cost, which will be capable of rendering service in all parts of the world; and as Mr. Reed so constructs his vessels as to be able to use in them, without their interfering with the range of the guns, the ordinary masts and sails, his plans seem to have met with the greatest favour at the Admiralty. It is evident that the large space on the side of the ship occupied by the lower rigging, topmast and topgallant backstays of the ordinary system of fitting vessels, would deprive the shield of a considerable portion of one of its greatest advantages—its large angle of

training; for no gun mounted in the middle of a vessel rigged in the ordinary way can be fired, except on a very limited range, without suicidal effect on the ship, by destroying its rigging, and depriving the masts of their support. Together with this evil, peculiar to shield-ships, there is another, common to all screw-vessels,—the liability of the screw to be fouled and rendered useless by the rigging of masts that have been shot away and have fallen overboard. Any means of overcoming the former of these difficulties would probably prove to be a remedy against the latter evil also. Such is the effect promised by Captain Coles's contrivance of "tripod masts," in which, instead of the single lower mast supported by shrouds, we have a triple mast, standing on three legs, which support each other as three spars do when their ends are placed in the points of a triangle and their tops brought together. These masts he proposes to make of rigid iron tubes of great strength, the topmast being simply the prolongation of the central tube. The topgallant masts are to be of wood, supported by ordinary rigging. It is clear that such masts, instead of spreading a web of rigging all round the cupola-gun, only present three limited interruptions to its range, while, in consequence of their weight, and of the absence of all lower rigging, they will immediately sink when they are once shot away, without much danger of fouling the screw. But several other advantages are expected from the invention. First comes the quantity of sail the ships are capable of carrying. While a vessel like the *Valiant*, as at present rigged, carries, when under all plain sail, a spread of canvas of about 22,000 square feet, the same vessel with the tripod masts and rig would spread 33,000 square feet. The iron tubes will be more durable than the ordinary rigging, which is liable to rapid deterioration in some climates. Their strength by itself is capable of resisting greater tension, while their rigidity resists not only tension but also compression, which no rope-rigging can do. Their hollowness not only makes them a means of ventilation, but permits of a contrivance within them by which the sails can be furled or set from below, without exposing a man upon the deck; and the absence of the complicated rigging allows the yards to be braced nearly fore and aft, and sails therefore to be spread, when, in ships with ordinary rig, they would have to be furled. It is clear that Captain Coles's system will not have had a fair trial till he has been allowed to test the qualities of one of his vessels as a sea-going ship with this rig. Those being now constructed are little more than moveable harbour-fortresses, and as such are not in a condition to furnish the required comparison between the three proposed systems of arming iron-clad vessels.

Much has been spoken and written of late as to the relative merits of wood and iron in the construction of iron-clad ships. Each material has had its warm advocates ; and each party has advanced very cogent arguments. Naturally, naval men—and of them is chiefly composed the board which has to decide upon these matters—have held to the material which has so long been used in the construction of our fleets. Up to this time it has never failed, but has been found to give all the strength that was needed for the strongest and best-built ships in the world. A large quantity of it had also been stored up in the dockyards, with the providence that is especially required in matters connected with the navy ; and also some vessels were upon the stocks, which had been laid down for screw line-of-battle ships, and were still in a state capable of conversion to very efficient iron-clads. Naturally, we say again, the Admiralty decided on utilising the materials at hand, being influenced probably by another motive—the advantage these vessels would possess in having bottoms much more easily kept clean and effective than those of iron ships. The chief objection to the use of wood in the construction of iron-clads lies in the fact that a rigid coat of armour must be fixed to a partly elastic hull ; and in a heavy sea their working and motions cannot be simultaneous. The effect of this difference has still to be ascertained ; but from the reported state of the *Gloire*, which has been in commission and at work for upwards of two years, it does not seem to be of an amount to forbid the use of wood for the hulls of these ships. Doubtless the use of iron, as the sole material of their hulls, would produce perfectly homogeneous structures, which would be stronger and more durable when the breaking effect of a heavy sea only is taken into consideration ; but we must remember that iron decays rapidly in ships' bottoms,—a deteriorating influence from which wood, when coated with copper, is to a great extent free. The grand objection, however, to the use of iron alone in armoured ships of war arises from our total inability to keep the immersed portion of the hulls clean, and in a state not to impair the speed of a ship. The results obtained from an iron ship put out of dock, and with a clean bottom, differ immensely from those she gives after she has been a month in the water ; and it is not too much to say that an iron ship, after a sojourn of twelve or eighteen months on many of the stations that our men-of-war are sent to, would lose from a fourth to a third of her speed. Some unfortunate wrecks of iron vessels have shaken the confidence of seamen in such ships ; but there is little doubt that the vastly greater care that is taken in building them now, and the increased scientific knowledge which is brought to bear upon the subject, will ere long, if they

have not done so already, restore their prestige. We have no doubt that eventually iron will become almost the sole material used in ship-building ; but before it drives its rival off the face of the waters, some means must be invented of rendering iron proof against the decaying influence of sea-water, and of preventing the rapid formation of organic growths upon it, which is now such a great objection to its more extended use. The large number of passenger-steamers that have been built of late years has added very much to the confidence felt in the use of iron for hulls ; for, as they could be docked at short intervals, on their return from their foreign trips, the disadvantage of rapid fouling has not been much felt in them. But it is very different with a vessel of war, which is often away from the neighbourhood of a dockyard for years. The French are so keenly alive to this great drawback that they have at present only built one iron-armoured ship, *La Couronne* ; and the results obtained from her have been by no means so satisfactory as those given by her wooden sisters.

In nothing will a future naval war differ so much from those of the past as in the character and form of the ships that will strive for mastery upon the deep. Not only has the class of vessels which Nelson commanded, and so often led to victory, completely passed away from the active list of the navy, but even the superior ships in which Codrington combated the Turks on the day of Navarino, and the more improved squadron which, under Stopford, fought at St. Jean d'Acre, have followed it. And, later still, the powerful screw liners, such as the *Agamemnon*, which in the attack on Sebastopol proved herself so well worthy of her name, and of the gallant chief whose flag flew on board her, have become things of the past, and only hold their places on the list because there has not yet been time to construct iron-clads enough to supersede them.

Should war again break out between the great naval powers, we shall see, probably, long low frigates in the line of battle where the three-decker towered of old ; and we shall certainly see clouds of smoke darkening the pall that hangs over the fight. There will be no manœuvring to gain the weather-gage, or longings for a freshening breeze to hasten the fleets into action ; but, like the charge of the light brigade at Balaclava, the fleet will rush forward to the battle, and trust to daring and bravery, and the strength of their good ships, to win. It is by no means clear, however, that wood will not hold its place still for smaller vessels, for all police-purposes on the sea, and for the protection of our commerce and colonies abroad. As in all past time, so in the future, our naval force must depend upon that of other nations. Thus, in course of time, it will be necessary for us to

have some iron-clads at Vancouver, if we are to retain that colony. Halifax, too, must become a station for iron-clads; and the sooner a dock capable of receiving them is constructed there the better. There must be some in the West Indies also; though, unless the Americans build something on a better type than the *Monitor*, they need not be very numerous. Malta must necessarily become a principal station for them; and no time should be lost in making the dockyard there suitable in all respects for their repair. The Indian Government will be forced to have one at least at each of the principal ports; and the great colonies of New South Wales and Victoria seem to be already moving in the same direction.

There is, no doubt, a strong feeling amongst seamen against the unsightliness of some of the new iron-clad vessels. The same poetical attachment to beauty of form and colour which denounced paddle-wheels, and hesitated to sacrifice the old swan-like whiteness of sails, so hopelessly begrimed by the smoke of our screw-ships, is opposed to all the modern changes, which seem like a relapse from the beauty of the gazelle to the clumsy and massive form of the antediluvian megatherium. Old sailors feel that the poetry of a sea-life is passing away, and that the nautical profession will lose half its charms. It was long before they could lay aside their love for snowy sails and spotless decks, and give in their adhesion to steam; but they did so eventually, and learned to regard their less comely, but more powerful, vessels with the same affection which they felt for the dear old ships in which they had spent so many years. So, the iron-clads have already won the hearts of their officers and crews. They are roomy, well-ventilated, comfortable vessels, with space for every thing and every body. They are also preëminent in force and power; and the true hearts and skilful hands, which are all they need to direct them, will never, if the past is any warrant for the future, be wanting till England has ceased to be a nation.

EPIGRAMS.¹

IF an anthology of epigrams is to be any thing more than a *hortus siccus* of faded flowers, it must have a different arrangement from that which Mr. Booth has adopted in the collection he has recently published. Readers and writers alike have lost the taste which a century or two ago enabled men coldly to turn so many hundred old jokes into as many "centuries" of distichs and quatrains, and to win the laurel crown by them. Our modern poets and wits may put forth an occasional epigram on a striking event; but we have no professed epigrammatists, because the public would no more endure to read through book after book of detached conceits than to peruse consecutively the columns of a dictionary. Unless a way can be found to combine them into a more or less consistent whole, or to give them an extrinsic interest by making them illustrate historical changes, or national modes of thought, collections of epigrams will always be classed with such books as *Joe Miller*, *Scroggins' Jests*, burlesques, and *Ana*. But an arrangement might easily be made in three divisions—the first containing epigrams upon the Greek model, or exercises of poetical and terse expression; the second including all the satirical or panegyrical scraps which have been made upon public events or public men; and the third containing all the pointed epigrams, the versified puns and jokes, which are simply exercises of wit, and have no particular application to historical occurrences. In this way a collection of epigrams would illustrate the progress of poetical expression; would furnish the running commentary of the clubs, the drawing-rooms, and the academies, upon the events, the ideas, and the prominent men of different ages and countries; and would be an excellent repertory of jokes and sharp sayings.

This threefold division is the same which Klopstock makes in his *Gelehrtenrepublik*. The epigram, he says, is either an arrow to prick with its point, or a sword to cut with its edge, or a little picture which enlightens, but does not burn, with its ray. It is also the historical one. The term epigram was originally applicable not merely to an inscription for a monument, but to any marks lightly scratched on a surface. In Homer, epigraphy was on skins; not on parchment, but man's living body, on which the glancing arrow or dart left

¹ *Epigrams, ancient and modern; humorous, witty, satirical, moral, panegyrical, monumental.* Edited, with an introductory preface, by the Rev. John Booth. London: Longmans.

its mark.² The superficial nature of the scratch was essential to the idea; a deeper cut would have had another name. The Greek "character" as developed by Theophrastus differs from the Greek epigram as sculpture does from sketching, or the bust from the silhouette. The epigram seized a single point, a single aspect of an idea. The "character" built up a compound idea out of many details, and combined them in proper harmony and perspective. The first literary epigrams, expressly so called, were the words or lines inscribed on a monument—a temple, tomb, tablet, or statue—to indicate in the simplest way what it was, to whom it was erected, or what it commemorated. For this purpose lines or distichs from hymns, national songs, or funeral elegies were naturally chosen; whence, perhaps, the predominance of the elegiac metre in the Greek and Latin epigrams. Among the most famous instances of this kind is Simonides' inscription for the heroes of Thermopylæ:

ὦ ξέν', ἄγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ρήμασι πειθόμενοι.

"Stranger, tell the Lacedemonians that we lie here, in obedience to their commands." And Ennius's epitaph for P. Scipio Africanus:

"Hic est ille situs, cui nemo civi' neque hostis
Quivit pro factis reddere operæ pretium."

"Here he lies whose deeds no countryman or stranger could ever recompense." But the brief notes which the epigrammatist had to make were not always complimentary. There was something in the very brevity of the epigram more fitted for expressing contempt than admiration. Praise delights in platitudes; its favourite figure is amplification. The epigrammatic inscription was soon found better adapted for stigma than panegyric, so that the word "inscribed" became the proper term for the branded slave,³ and the stigma itself was called an epigram.⁴ Scratching the face and defaming the character were described in similar terms:

"Charaxat ambas ungulis scribentibus
Genas, cruentis et secat faciem notis,"

says Prudentius; while Suetonius uses the phrase, "versiculis perpetua stigmata imponere." In English the word "nick" was used for such ridiculous marks: "His man with scissors nicks him like a fool," says Shakespeare. The nickname

² Il. iv. 139; xi. 338; xiii. 139; Od. xxii. 280. Sometimes also it was on the pebbles with which lots were cast, Il. vii. 187.

³ Plin. xxii. 3; Gell. xvii. 9; Mart. viii. ep. 74.

⁴ Petronius, 103.

is probably that which cuts and notches upon the man the note of his prominent absurdity. It is therefore a true epigram. Nothing can be simpler, terser, or more pointed than the change of Tiberius Nero into Biberius Mero to express his tippling propensities. Whether the person is nicknamed from the thing, as here, or the thing from the person, as Duncie from Duns Scotus, the result is equally epigrammatic. Indeed it is more cutting to make a Blenker furnish a general nickname for plunderers, than simply to stigmatise him as a thief.

The brief inscription, panegyric or satirical, was the first epigram expressly so called. But if the knack of cutting its appropriate name on a thing is the foundation of the epigrammatic art, it is clear that the art must have existed long before it was expressly named. The first epigram was extorted from man by the impressions which nature made upon him, and by the necessity he felt of giving voice to them. The earliest epigrammatists were those who first impressed a vocal and articulate mark upon the pictures of the imagination and the senses, or who set themselves to make the articulation more clear, and to give the vocal symbols greater terseness, exactness, strength, harmony, and beauty. Such were all the early poets; they were creators, not of the ideas which were common to them and their audience, but of the harmonious and appropriate language in which those ideas were expressed. Every vocal expression of any idea is an epigram when it does not profess to give the whole character, or to fathom all the depths of the idea, but seizes on the most prominent characteristic, and seeks to signify it by the most appropriate sound. Like a name, the epigram is a mark, a symbol, a token, but not a complete representation of the thing signified. It is an attempt to express without defining or describing,—to find the tersest, most laconic, or most harmonious way in which a thought may be conveyed, by a single flash, into another mind. The chief art of the poet consists in the architecture of his fable or characters, and in the beauty and nobleness of his ideas. The art of the epigrammatist is to find the most suitable dress for any given idea. The poet, therefore, deals with the whole, the epigrammatist with the details; and if a poet is not called an epigrammatist on account of his success in finishing the separate pieces of his work, it is because the parts are so overshadowed by the whole that the epigrammatic expression seems only to be the unsought and spontaneous reflection of the vivid poetic impression.

The first characteristic of the epigram—namely, that its essence consists in the expression, as distinct from the im-

pression—accounts for the unblushing plagiarism of all epigrammatists. For in truth they do not seek to invent ideas, but to clothe given ideas in their most felicitous dress. Hence they look through literature for a notion, and then beat their brains for the clearest and neatest words, or the most harmonious strain, or the most pointed form, in which it can be stated. The epigrammatist, as Owen, one the best of them, says,

“Instar apīs debet variis excerpere libris,
Melliflūo ut manet dulcis ab ore liquor.”

The busy bee is his classical device, and the simile confesses and justifies his plundering propensities; but the plagiarist poet who steals ideas is represented by another insect, and is unpleasantly reproached by Pope with the

“pleasing memory of all he stole;
How here he sipped, how there he plundered snug,
And sucked all o’er like an industrious bug.”

Yet the poet may be a plagiarist in his epigrammatical character, as Milton was, who laid all antiquity under contribution to add to the store of English phraseology; while it is the right of the epigrammatic wit, whose object is expression, to avail himself of common ideas.

“True wit is nature to advantage dressed;
What oft was thought, but ne’er so well expressed.”

It seems, says Pope, in a letter to Walsh, not so much the perfection of sense to say things that had never been said before, as to express those best that have been said oftenest. Poets want grafting, to give them variety and flavour.

In its first stage, epigrammatic art aims at creating and refining language by inventing the most appropriate and striking words for ideas and things. The process is spontaneous, not a result of reflection, and therefore as yet unnamed. As the mind spontaneously conceives an idea when quickened by sensation, so does the speech spontaneously utter a word to express the idea. As the idea is the rational symbol of the thing perceived, so is the word the inter-rational symbol of the idea which it communicates from mind to mind. The idea is the secret epigram which meditation inscribes upon the thing: the word is the public and dialectic epigram by which conversation expresses the idea.

In the next stage, when it becomes the object of reflection, the epigrammatic art, properly so called, arises. When the most popular minstrel is asked to give an appropriate inscription for a monument, or when two poets, like Simonides and

Æschylus, are invited to try which can write the better one, then the art has become a special, definite, and self-conscious function; and it is found possible that a Simonides should turn out to be the better epigrammatist, the better expresser of a given idea in the tersest form compatible with clearness and beauty, though Æschylus might be the greater poet, because he was gifted with grander imagination and a wider reach of ideas.

When the epigram has thus naturally grown into a recognised and distinct form of poetry, a third development takes place in it. Up to this time the supply has only answered the demand. Great events, great men, or great fools have called forth their epigrammatic commemorations from the poets of the day, some of whom have established a special reputation for this branch of their art. From henceforth poets in the bud make themselves ready to supply a future contingent demand. In order to be able to throw off a fitting epigram upon any event they may be called upon to celebrate, they practise themselves in making such poems about the events of former history or imaginary story. From this time epigrams become an exercise of the schools, and undergo all the refinements of scholastic artifice. Instead of the spontaneous outpourings of beautiful and clear language, which distinguished the early poets, there arises the rage to say something when really there is nothing to be said—the artificial attempt to compose something clear, beautiful, or sprightly upon a set theme—on love, on roses, on a woman's hair, on war, on drinking; and of these attempts, often highly successful, the great body of Greek epigrams, and those in imitation of them, consists.

It was in this third or scholastic period that the epigram assumed its piquancy and point. Previously, clear expression or cutting edge was the thing sought for. The scholastic writers filed down the clear expression into sentimental conceit, and the edge into point. The sentimental epigrams, in modern nations, lost their name, and were called madrigals, ballets, sonnets, dixains, quatrains, and the like; and the term epigram, since the sixteenth century, has come to be used almost exclusively of those which are satirical or pointed, or both. Thus Owen says:

“ Nil aliud Satyræ quam sunt Epigrammata longa,
 Est præter Satyram nil Epigramma breve.
 Nil Satyræ, si non sapiant Epigrammata, pungunt;
 Ni Satyram sapiat nil Epigramma juvat.”

“ Satires are but long epigrams, epigrams short satires. Satires when not epigrammatic have no point, and epigrams

when not satirical are poor stuff." If not satirical, they must be garnished with a piece of wit. This was a natural result of forcing the growth of epigrams. Out of mere words nothing but words can come, and the epigrammatist is not an artificer of ideas.

"Versor ego in verbis, veluti Paracelsus in herbis,"

is his profession; and there is no help for him but to degenerate into a punster. Of such wit society is now more tolerant than in classical days, when tragedy was kept clear of farce, and oratory of facetiousness. The satyric drama came in after the tragic trilogy, and the uproarious fun of Aristophanes was linked to no soberer spectacle. Aristotle devotes no part of his rhetoric to the precepts of joking, whereas Cicero fills up much of his second book on oratory with a discussion on facetiousness. Nothing can be more solemn than Aristotle's directions for making the epilogue. Bacon, on the contrary, recommends the example of two great statesmen of his day, who always finished their speeches with a joke, and advises a frequent and easy change from jest to earnest and from earnest to jest. In the pious mysteries of the Middle Ages there was always a comic character; and in the romantic drama farce and tragedy are ironically blended. The most solemn representation ended with a dance; and the word epilogue itself came to be used for the clown, who had the last word.⁵ There was the same tendency in the epigram to put off all serious reflection, and to turn itself into irony and parody.

There are three stages, then, of epigrammatic art: (1) the unconscious period, when the poets were spontaneously developing languages by their endeavours to express their ideas in the simplest and most natural way; (2) the first conscious period, when the laconic expression of a given idea became an art apart; and (3) the scholastic period, when it was a fashionable poetical exercise to invent all kinds of novel expressions for old ideas, and to dress them out in the most startling language. The great characteristic of the first period is expression; of the second, terseness; of the third, point. In Greece the best examples of the first kind are the similes of Homer; of the second, the epigrams of Simonides; and of the third, those of the Alexandrian scholars. The Latin anthology bears clear marks of coming after that of the Greeks in its greater development of argutiæ, point, and pun. The poets of the first period of Latin art are lost to us; Ennius is the last of the Saturnian race, through whom the Latin language was

⁵ "Epilogus; mimus, scurra." Ducange.

growing up on its own resources and spontaneously enriching itself with new powers of expression; then came the stage when Cicero, Catullus, and the Augustan school of poets deliberately transfused into the language the idioms of the Greeks; and, lastly, that when Tacitus gave it terseness, and the Spaniards *argutiæ* and point. Punning and alliteration are as natural to the Latin as they are strange to the Greek epigrammatists. Cicero attributes to Crassus the line:

“*Lacerat lacertum Largi mordax Memmius.*”

Publius Syrus writes:

“*Luxuriæ rictu Martis marcent mœnia.*”

Cicero anticipates Martial in an epigram upon Vetto's farm:

“*Fundum Vetto vocat, quem possit mittere funda
Ni tamen exciderit, qua cava funda patet.*”

The Augustan poets, with their pure Greek taste, suppressed this tendency; we do not find it in Catullus, still less in the epigrams of those who devoted their muse to the base god that guarded Mæcenas's garden. But with the loss of classical purity the language regained its old tendencies; and the *argutiæ* of Martial and Seneca are almost as characteristic of the inherent genius of the Latin tongue as of the scholastic triviality of a declining literature.

This genuine but unclassical diction formed the starting-point of a new Latinity. From it the Christian and medieval Latin poets and scholastic philosophers developed a new language, which, growing up among the embryo dialects of the new European nations, formed and moulded them into vigorous, refined, and harmonious languages. Rhyme, neglected by the Greeks and suppressed by the classical Romans, though clearly foreshadowed by Publius Syrus, became the rudder of verse; accent took the place of quality; and antithesis, either of sense or sound, became almost a necessary figure of speech. Alliteration, which seemed ludicrous or barbarous to a classical taste, became a recognised characteristic of the poetry of the new languages; and the heroic or elegiac verse with rhymes at the *cæsuras*, or rhymed iambics and trochaics, became the models on which the harmony of modern languages was formed, and the scaffold by which they were built up. There is a medieval epigram:

“*Nullâ ditari ratione potestis avari.*

Vos faciunt inopes quas cumulatis opes.”

And there is a long poem, attributed to St. Bernard, in this form:

“*Vita brevis, velut umbra levis, sic annihilatur,
Sic vadit, subitoque cadit, dum stare putatur.*”

The rhymed hymns of St. Thomas, and the rhymed drinking-song of Walter Mapes, are well known. These, and not the lines of Virgil or Ovid, were the real models of our poets. Thus Chaucer :

“ Let be, quoth he, it shall not be, so the ich ;”⁶

and Shakespeare :

“ Things won are done : joy’s soul lies in the doing.”

The pun, of which Cicero gives but poor specimens, and which with him was a branch of facetiousness, is a serious figure with the medieval poets. In their hymns we have such lines as “Caro carens carie;” “Sub securi stat securus;” “Dum torretur non terretur;” “Vale immunde munde.” Shakespeare shows how used his ear was to these reverberations of sound in the odd line in his 104th sonnet,

“For as you were, when first your eye I eyed
Such seems your beauty still.”

The medieval Latinists, then, were epigrammatists of the first class, the unconscious moulders and developers of language, and not searchers after point. In fact, even those who professed to write epigrams sometimes missed the most obvious argutiæ. Thus Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, in 1141, an epigrammatist of some elegance, after speaking of the impossibility of patching and painting an old woman young again, says :

“ Si vis in lucem faciem revocare sepultam
Et speciem dominæ reddere, tolle dies”—

which may mean : “If you would revive her buried beauty, kill her;” or “shut out the light,” for all cats are gray in the dark. But Arnulph, so far from seeing that he had made a point, had no thought of using *dies* in its figurative sense, or of allowing his readers to do so. He therefore added a final couplet, like a button at the end of a foil, to blunt it :

“ Tolle dies ; annosa creant dispendia rugas
Multiplicatque cutem multiplicata dies.”⁷

The aim of the medieval jinglers, then, was not antithesis of idea, but harmonious antithesis of sound, for which they did not scruple to sacrifice sense. Such antithesis is contrary to the genius of the classical languages, but in accordance with that of the Romance and Teutonic tongues, which were accidentally

⁶ “So thrive I.” *Cant. Tales*, 12882.

⁷ La Bigne, *Bib. Max. Patr.* tom. xxii. p. 1335.

modified, enriched, and idiomatized by the presence of the clerkly Latin. But the revivalists of the Renaissance were epigrammatists of the second kind, who studied the purity of the classical idiom, in order to free not only the Latin but the vulgar tongues from the sing-song and jingle, the alliterations and antithesis of sound, which the scholastic Latin had brought into vogue. Sir Thomas More has three epigrams relating to a singing man, whose son begged an epitaph for his father. The poet wrote one in the revived classical style; the son was dissatisfied; so More sat down and scribbled another in the vigorous medieval sing-song, with which the young man was delighted. He wrote a third epigram to apologise for his treason to the new learning, and to give an account of the circumstances that led to his temporary apostasy from the faith of the revivalists. Purity of diction was the highest aim of this school. One has only to read a volume of their empty poetry, prefaced by the usual complimentary epigrams, and made up mainly of the author's replies to his friends' praises, to see that the humanists were not the people to endow European civilisation with a single idea, but only to deck out the vulgar tongues in a classical garb. They taught Frenchmen and Englishmen to speak Latin-French and Greek-English. They are answerable for the euphuism of Lilly, the stilo-culto of Gongora, and the classical affectations of the Pleiad in France and Opitz in Germany. Against the vapid vacuity of the humanists, who were chiefly adepts in the art of spreading out a thin thought over page after page of laboured verbiage, the Latin epigrammatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made some reaction, by restoring a meaning to language which had degenerated into mere sound. Their numbers were prodigious; their names would fill pages. In Italy the most epigrammatic of them was Sannazarius, who wrote on Cæsar Borgia:

“ Aut nihil, aut Cæsar vult dici Borgia. Quidni?
Cum simul et Cæsar possit et esse nihil.”

In France one of the best was Nicolas Bourbon, who, among a number of good epigrams, wrote one to his readers beginning:

“ Qui legit has nugas, oro sit candidus”—

a line which provoked our Owen to the sarcasm:

“ Quas tu dixisti nugas, non esse putasti:
Non dico nugas esse; sed esse puto.”

Beza was a still better epigrammatist; his epitaph on the Chancellor du Prat, “the fattest of the fat,” is excellent:

“ Amplissimus vir hic jacet.”

Joachim du Bellay, the founder of the Pleiad, wrote well in Latin, *e.g.* :

“*Paulle, tuum inscribis Nugarum nomine librum :
In toto libro nil melius titulo.*”

Passerat and Rapin were pointed epigrammatists. Pasquier was another, who wrote an excellent epigram on Beza's three wives, the point of which is stolen in an epigram printed by Mr. Booth, with the title “On his three marriages, by Thomas Bastard, Esq., of New College, Oxford :”

“*Though marriage by some folks be reckoned a curse,
Three wives did I marry, for better or worse ;
The first for her person, the next for her purse,
And the third for a warming-pan, doctor, and nurse.*”

In Portugal there were Barbosa and Pimenta ; in Great Britain and Ireland there had been a line of epigrammatists almost throughout the Middle Ages. Of St. Malachi, 1132, we have :

“*Spernere mundum, spernere sese, spernere nullum,
Spernere se sperni, quattuor hæc bona sunt.*”

Henry of Lincoln, 1153, left eight books of epigrams ; and Richard, canon regular of the Trinitarians in London in 1200, left one book. The Latin epigrams of Sir Thomas More are still remembered ; but the fame of Lilly, Whittington, Parkhurst, Stradling, Fitzgeoffry, and Bruch is eclipsed by that of Owen, the Martial of the new Latinists, and in wit perhaps superior to Martial himself. He puns in Latin almost as easily as Hood in English :

“*Quid jussit, Rex, atque pium considerat æquus—
Quid jussit, memori in mente tyrannus habet.*”

On the theme, “Where I do well, there I dwell,” he writes :

“*Illâ mihi Patria est ubi pascor, non ubi nascor ;
Illâ ubi sum notus, non ubi natus eram.
Illâ mihi Patria est mihi quæ patrimonium præbet,
Hinc ubicunque habeo quod satis est habito.*”

His applications of trite sayings are often excellent :

“*Tempore quod nostro Ratio sit recta dolendum ;
Esset gaudendum si foret illa regens.*”

He condoles with a noble and beautiful lady, whom, on account of her poverty, no one would marry, with the reflection :

“*Prima categorias inter, substantia sola
Plus in amore valet quam genus et species.*”

Of his serious epigrams we will give but one :

“ Displicet insipiens novitas, delira vetustas
Non placet; est vero nil mihi, Paule, prius.
Non ego sum veterum, non assecla, Paule, novorum
Seu vetus est, verum diligo, sive novum.”

Among the Scots, Buchanan was much admired. Latin epigrammatists abounded in Germany and the Netherlands. They may be divided into two schools; the panegyric court-poets, whose epigrams were gross flatteries, bitter satires, or jokes to season suppers; and the didactic school, which regarded epigrams as the ultimate atoms by the concurrence of which a poem was made. The Jesuits made their pupils rise by steps through the epigram, the epitaph, the ode, the elegy, and the epic, to the tragedy. Every great holiday had to be celebrated with epigrams, inscriptions, and odes. Many Jesuits, therefore, became the best epigrammatists of their day. So prolific were they, that Father Klein published, in 1757, a selection of a thousand epigrams, written by Jesuits of the Austrian province, and announced another thousand as being ready for the press. Among them is the epigram of F. Christopher Kissenpfenning (1656), which Mr. Booth chooses for his motto :

“ Omne epigramma sit instar apis, sit aculeus illi,
Sint sua mella, sit et corporis exigui.”

One of the best-known Jesuit epigrammatists is Bernard Bauhusius, a Dutchman, who amused himself with making hexameter lines which would suffer from 40,000 to 3,628,800 permutations without ceasing to be verses. Like Owen, he was a punster—

“ Is bonus est medicus sibi
Qui fuerit modicus cibi ;”

and he delighted in ingenious anatomies of words—

“ Cernitur amicus amore, more, et ore, et re.”

If we turn to our English poets, we shall find the three stages of epigram which we have noticed. In Chaucer we see the clear idea spontaneously striking out the proper expression. Diffuse and gossiping as he generally is, he has many lines in which our language exhibits all its vigour. A single line is often a striking picture—

“ The smiler with a knife under his cloak.”

The prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* abounds in such epigraphical sketches; the knight is thus drawn :

“ And though that he was worthy, he was wise,
And of his port as meek as is a maid.”

The monk :

“He was a lord full fat, and in good point.”

The merchant :

“His reasons spake he full solempnely.”

The man of laws :

“No where a busier man than he there n’as,
And yet he seemed busier than he was.”

Here there is no show of art, no endeavour to compress thoughts into couplets or stanzas, each containing an independent picture, something in the way of Alciatus’ emblems,—such as came out in Skelton, in Sir Thomas More’s emblems and ballets, in Sackville’s *Mirror for Magistrates*, in Spenser’s *Fairy Queen*, and in Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*,—which represent the Greek epigram or Italian madrigal. The third or scholastic stage began in 1562, when John Heywood published his six hundred epigrams, followed by Turberville with his epitaphs, epigrams, songs, and sonnets, in 1567. These first attempts in imitation of Martial were rude enough. The English taste was modified by the publication of Lilly’s *Euphues* in 1579, when the fashionable poets began to accumulate constrained witticisms, to express poetic conceits in far-fetched similes and curious images, and to strive after sharpness, piquancy, and logical perspicuity, through perpetual antithesis and pointed turns. We see the influence of euphuism even in Shakespeare,—not so much in the civil war of wit in his earlier plays, which naturally hinges on the pun and quibble, as in the pathetic scenes where he plays upon words. No doubt there is a touch of nature here ; strong feeling may dwell upon a rhythm or jingle as upon a spell of magical power, even though the meaning may be inappropriate ; we knew a poor woman who found great comfort during a cruel operation in muttering the two lines,

“Religion never was designed
To make our pleasures less.”

So anger sometimes breaks out into the most figurative language. The mind desires that the sound of the words should really represent the idea ; when they seem too weak, the excited imagination will lay hold of a rhyme when it seems to supply the lack of reason. It finds its omen in a name, like the dying John of Gaunt in Shakespeare, or Ajax in Sophocles. Hence it is that some of the best and most powerful epigrams are those which express a serious reality or a strong feeling in a play upon words.

Shakespeare’s epigrammatic manner is only found in his

poems and earlier plays. He outgrew it as his genius matured. But his contemporaries could not get beyond it. From the Euphuists descended, in legitimate succession, the "metaphysical" poets,—Donne, Jonson, Cowley,—who yoked together the most heterogeneous ideas, and ransacked nature and art for the most far-fetched illustrations. At the same time there was an endeavour made to force not only euphuist diction but classical metre upon the English tongue. There were besides many professed epigrammatists. Of Bastard of Blandford (1598) we have already given an example. Weever's epigrams, "in the oldest cut and newest fashion" (1599), and those of Davis—which were published with some of Christopher Marlowe's—are referred to by Jonson in an epigram to his "mere English censor:"⁸

"To thee my way in epigrams seems new,
When both it is the old way and the true.
Thou say'st, that cannot be; for thou hast seen
Davis and Weever, and the best have been,
And mine come nothing like. I hope so."

The "mere English" critic expected a book of epigrams to be racy reading:

"Thou shouldst be bold, licentious, full of gall,
Wormwood and sulphur, sharp and toothed withal,
Become a petulant thing, hurl ink and wit
As madmen stones; not caring whom they hit."

But Davis's epigrams were at least as good as Jonson's. Here is one:

"When Priscus, raised from low to high estate,
Rode through the street in pompous jollity,
Caius, his poor familiar friend of late,
Bespake him thus: Sir, now you know not me.
'Tis likely, friend (quoth Priscus), to be so,
For at this time myself I do not know."

Jonson's own old-new manner was an attempt to restore a classical simplicity, and to suppress the pun and jingle. His epigrams are generally long, and in the Greek taste. They do not carry their stings in their tails, like bees, but are prickly all over, like porcupines, except when he stoops to flatter his royal patron, in which case, if he tries a joke at all, he certainly reserves the point. But his epigram on the union of England and Scotland is pretty:

"When was there contract better drawn by fate,
Or celebrated with more truth of state?
The world the temple was, the priest a king,
The spoused pair two realms, the sea the ring."

⁸ Epigrams, No. 18.

His address to Martial's ghost is only a court compliment :

“ Martial, thou gav'st far nobler epigrams
To thy Domitian, than I can my James ;
But in my royal subject I pass thee,—
Thou flattered'st thine, mine cannot flattered be.”

In his subservience to the pedantic kingcraft of his patrons he insulted all outsiders who tried to meddle with politics. His picture of would-be statesmen, “ripe at six-and-twenty,” is amusing :

“ They carry in their pockets Tacitus
And the Gazetti, or Gallo-Belgicus ;
And talk reserved, locked up and full of fear,
Nay ask you, How the day goes ? in your ear ;
Keep a Star-Chamber sentence close twelve days,
And whisper what a proclamation says.”

Jonson was one of the first who recognised the epigrammatic force of a good nickname, and was careful to address his pieces to “my Lord Ignorant,” “Lieutenant Shift,” “Doctor Empiric,” “Sir Voluptuous Beast,” “Don Surly,” “Sir Luckless Wooall,” “Prowl the Plagiary,” and such-like rough-and-ready pseudonyms, much abhorrent to a true Grecian taste. In this he was imitated by his disciple Herrick, who shows a peculiar felicity in selecting the most cacophonous of English surnames for the butts of his epigrams,—Messrs. Fone, Scobble, Gryll, Strut, Batt, Luggs, Gubbs, Bunce, Bungie, Sneap, Mease, Cuts, Skrew, Eeles, Raspe, Skurffe, Coone, Trigg, Blinks, and Peache, are only a few of the pretended persons whose deformities and follies he lampoons. It would be curious to trace the progress from these coarse beginnings through the Lovelaces, Maskwells, Touchwoods, Froths, and Plyants of the last century, to the names which Mr. Thackeray and M. Victor Hugo invent, with such an exquisite feeling of the sympathy between sound and sense.

In his epigrams Herrick was not so felicitous as in his charming lyrics. The innate coarseness of the man finds vent in his couplets :

“ No question but Dol's cheeks would soon roast dry,
Were they not basted by her either eye.”
“ Lulls swears he is all heart, but you'll suppose
By his proboscis that he is all nose.”

Occasionally he deviates into Martial's manner, as in an epigram upon “Shewbread :”

“ Last night thou didst invite me home to eat,
And show'dst me there much plate, but little meat.
Prithee, when next thou dost invite, bar state,
And give me meat,—or give me else thy plate.”

The "lusty hyperbole," which is so good an epigrammatic figure, flourishes under Herrick's husbandry :

" . . . His wild ears, like leathern wings full spread,
Flutter to fly, and bear away his head."

The poet of the cavaliers, he is fond of making political distichs, which it is interesting to compare with the political epigrams of the French :

" Shame is a bad attendant to a State ;
He rents his crown who fears his people's hate."

" Preposterous is that government and rude
When kings obey the wilder multitude."

It would be tedious to trace the course of English epigrams through the professed epigrammatists (whose name was legion), such as Heath, of whom Jonson writes : "A man cannot imagine that thing so foolish or rude but he will enjoy an admirer, or at least a reader." He was the mouthpiece of Oxford against Parsons, Garnet, the Jesuits, and the "Rhe-mists;" but his epigrams against them are too stupid to be quoted. Some of his distichs are tolerable :

" Health is a jewel, true ; which, when we buy,
Physicians value it accordingly."

To a kinsman of his own name he writes :

" Brotherhood lies low buried under ground,
And nought but cozenage now's to be found."

But there is one writer, Sir John Harington, who must not be passed over. His fugitive epigrams were published in a posthumous volume in 1615, and they certainly surpassed all that had yet been done in England. His distichs, after Martial's manner, were excellent :

" Treason doth never prosper ; what's the reason ?
For when it prospers none dare call it treason."

" Fortune, men say, doth give too much to many ;
But yet she never gave enough to any."

This last is only an expansion of Martial's line, "Fortuna multis dat minus, satis nulli."

" I heard that Smug the smith for ale and spice
Sold all his tools,—and yet he kept his vice."

But in the plethora of similar couplets he had grown disgusted with epigrams altogether, as he tells Owen :

" Fastidita meæ fuerant epigrammata musæ,
Jamque satur carmen pene perosus eram :
At tua jucundum referunt mihi scripta saporem,
Provenit ex versu nausea nulla tuo."

And he seems to have turned with relief to the historical anecdotal epigram, which recorded realities, and was not a mere manufacture of the fancy. Honest indignation must have helped him to make this epigram on the execution of Essex:

“When noble Essex, Blount, and Danvers died,
One saw them suffer that had heard them tried,
And sighing, said, When such brave soldiers die,
Is't not great pity, think you? No, said I;
There is no man of sense in all the city
Will say, ‘tis great,’ but rather ‘little pity.’”

Stories which Bacon would have set down in prose among his aphorisms are found in verse among Harington's epigrams:

“Bonner, that late had Bishop been of London,
Was bid by one ‘Good morrow, Bishop *quondam*.’
He with the scoff no whit put out of temper,
Replied incontinent, ‘Adieu, knave *semper*.’”

And then in the same epigram he tacks on another anecdote of the same sort. He thus practically solves Joseph Scaliger's doubt, whether an epigram admits of more than one point. The learned Frenchman considers that it can only be admitted where one point serves as the introduction to the next, in a continually ascending *sortes* or chain of wit. Harington, however, did not scruple to tack together a brace of anecdotes which had nothing to do with each other, except that they belonged to the same person. And he was a greater master in the art than Scaliger. Here is an historical epigram that has been often quoted before:

“In elder times an ancient custom was
To swear in weighty matters by the Mass.
But when the Mass went down, as old men note,
They swore then by the Cross on this same groat.
And when the Cross was likewise held in scorn,
Then by their faith the common oath was sworn.
Last, having sworn away all faith and troth,
Only ‘God damn them’ is their common oath.
Thus custom kept decorum by gradation,
That losing Mass, Cross, Faith, they find damnation.”

We must pass over Braithwaite of Appleby, and his *Strappado for the Devil* (1615), Rowland's *Letting of Humour's blood in the Head-vaine* (1611), *The Mouse-Trap* (1606), and the translators and imitators of Owen, Vicars (1619), Hayman (1628), Dunbar (1616), Pyne, who wrote,

“Half of your book is to an index grown;
You give your book contents; your readers none,”

and Eliot, an enemy of Jonson, of whose impudent verses

remonstrating with the Lord Chamberlain for cutting off his sack, he says :

“Then give me leave henceforth, good Ben, to think
You drunkenest are when you the most want drink.”

—For the progress of the epigram is best seen in the poets who were not professed epigrammatists. Donne—who wrote on an antiquary :

“If in his study he has so much care
To hang all strange old things, let his wife beware,”—

Cartwright, Cleveland—whose fierce lines upon Scotland were once much quoted :

“Had Cain been Scot, God would have changed his doom,
Nor forced him wander, but confined him home,”—

Corbet, Drummond, Cotton, Crashaw—the author of the well-known line,

“Vidit et erubuit lympha pudica Deum,”—

Cowley, Denham, and a host more, fill their poems with conceits, each of which is properly an epigram. Their poetry consists of points. Each couplet contains a glaring thought, of which the first may be last and the last first without prejudice to the sequence of ideas. Epigrams were called the “nerves” of poetry, and it was considered that a good poem consisted “of nothing else than various epigrams cemented by a dexterous sagacity.”⁹ *Hudibras* is a string of epigrams throughout; and the reader bumps from point to point, as if he were trundling his wheelbarrow over a string of stepping-stones. The labour is not lessened because each stone is a crystal, or comical gargoyle. Rochester’s poems are of a similar kind; they abound with couplets like these :

“Womankind more joy discovers
Making fools than keeping lovers.”

“Your muse diverts you, makes the reader sad;
You think yourself inspired, he thinks you mad.”

The last four lines of his reply to Scrope are a real epigram :

“Half-witty, and half-mad, and scarce half-brave,
Half-honest (which is very much a knave),
Made up of all these halves, thou canst not pass
For any thing entirely but an ass,”—

where the epigrammatic character is not damaged by the antithesis being merely in the words and rhyme, without having any foundation in the nature of things; though the

⁹ Pecke’s *Parnassi Puerperium*, 1859, preface.

epigram is by no means perfect, because the point of the second line is much finer than that of the fourth, which is simply a brutal platitude. His inscription for the chamber of Charles II. is still remembered :

“ Here lies our mutton-eating king,
Whose word no man relies on ;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.”

Sedley was a poet of the same kind. So was the great Dryden ; but his “ dexterous sagacity ” knew how to connect his points, to fill up the interstices with proper material, and to give his whole composition an ever-increasing interest, which makes his satires one long compound epigram. His two greatest poems, *Absalom and Achitophel* and the *Hind and Panther*, bristle with points, epigrammatic sketches of character, and antithesis. Every now and then a quatrain or distich might be extracted which would be a perfect epigram, such as the following on the Church establishment :

“ O solid rock, on which secure she stands !
Eternal house, not built with mortal hands !
O sure defence against th’ infernal gate !—
A patent during pleasure of the state.”

Or,

“ Immortal powers the term of conscience know,
But interest is her name with men below.”

The epigrammatic school of poetry culminated in Pope, who is the most finished example of the capabilities and the limits of the style. The last hundred lines of the first of his *Moral Epistles* are simply a series of epigrams on Wharton, and other characters of the day. But the chief thing that strikes one in Pope is that his whole tone of mind, his moral philosophy, and his critical taste, were epigrammatic.¹⁰ It has been already said that the Greek “ epigram ” is distinguished from the Greek “ character ” in being confined to a single feature, instead of representing every detail of the personality which it described. It would make, with Catullus, the lover of scents all nose, or the staring coxcomb all eyes. Pope, or rather Bolingbroke, dignified this proceeding with a show of philosophy, by the theory of the ruling passion, which was the key of the character, the central ocean into which each vital humour of body or soul flowed as a tributary.

“ Search then the *ruling passion* ; there alone
The wild are constant, and the cunning known
This clue, once found, unravels all the rest.”

¹⁰ We refer to his principles of criticism as developed by his notes on Homer. See his amusing discussion on Il. xi. 557, which ends by his omitting the name “ ass ” from one of the best similes that even Homer ever invented.

It sums up the whole character in a brief epitome. The real epigrammatist, therefore, is quite unable to draw living characters. He makes every one an incarnation of some single peculiarity; like Russian horn-blowers, each has his own note to sound, and cannot utter any other. Hence the complaint of the baffled poet that "most women have no characters at all." For a woman with a character fit for his epigrammatic treatment would be almost unsexed by it; she would be a Lady Macbeth or a Becky Sharpe. If we look at the completest and most feminine of Shakespeare's women, we shall find that they all have a complexity of nature in which no single prevailing quality disturbs the balance; we find in them a perfect harmony of head and heart, inclination and will, combined with an unconsciousness of themselves and their prerogatives, an unquestioning security in allowing their thoughts to be read, a self-reliance untroubled by external accidents, an unconcern in giving way to their feelings, an entire absorption in what affects them at the moment, which constitute their reality. They are as far removed from the feminine tricks of coquetry and affectation, and the little devices of vanity, as they are from the vagueness and rapidity of those conventional figures in which all the germs of fresh nature are stifled. Such characters could not be included in an epigram; therefore epigrammatic poetry excludes them. In *Hudibras* there are no characters properly so called. There are interlocutors, who bandy epigrams, each funnier, absurder, and more pointed than the last. But at bottom *Hudibras* and *Ralpho* are all one; the conjurer and his man are identical; and the widow only differs from them in being ticketed with the mark of a different sex. If it was ever found possible by any means to veil for an instant Shakespeare's preternatural insight into the niceties of character, that means was the epigram. It is only in his epigrammatic play, *Love's Labour's lost*, that the persons cease in a measure to be characters, and become rather expounders of whims and fashions, lay figures varying from one another in manners and costume, but not in individuality of nature.

The epigram is an element only in some kinds of poetry. The satirist and conceit-monger, like the punster, ought to acquire a habit of perceiving what points any subject suggests, and of making them fall readily into epigrammatic form. But a poet must have the genius of a Hood to succeed, if he tries to make his head a magazine of conceits, ready to be strung together at any moment into a poem of tolerable length, with a supplement of miscellanies at the end of the volume to use up the obstinate materials which would not be

squeezed into the main fabric. The mere dressing of detached thoughts in pointed phraseology is a dilettante evasion of the difficulties of composition, which begin to be felt when we put the separate threads into the loom, and try to weave them into a beautiful texture,—introducing them justly, expanding them proportionately, connecting them naturally, and carrying them on with augmenting interest to a worthy close. Many bricks do not make an architect, nor many soldiers a general, nor many tunes a musician, nor many ideas a philosopher, nor many conceits a poet. The genius is shown in the use and combination. The form, the whole design, is the soul of art; the exactness and consent of parts is its body. Pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glittering expressions, and neat versification, are but the dress, the gems, and loose ornaments of poetry.

As might be expected, the epoch of epigrammatic poetry was also that of epigrammatic criticism, essentially one-sided and incomplete, exhausting itself in estimating separate descriptions, images, and expressions, summing up the character of the piece with the same legerity as Pope would use in fixing upon a man's ruling passion, and awarding their various merits to various authors rather according to the necessities of its own epigrammatic antithesis than according to any honest appreciation of the authors themselves. In this respect Warburton was an excellent complement to Pope. He was a master in epigrammatic criticism. His famous sentence, "Dryden borrows from want of leisure, Pope from want of genius; Milton out of pride, and Addison out of modesty;" leaves little to be desired either for point or for untruth.

During the reign of Dryden and Pope, Oxford produced nine wits, whose number was more musical than their names or numbers:

"Alma novem genuit celebres Rhedycina poetas,
Bub, Stubb, Grubb, Crabb, Trapp, Young, Cary, Tickel, Evans."

Of these Evans was a professed epigrammatist. Swift, not so sparing of his couplets as Pope, who saved every thing serviceable to work up into his poems, has left many caustic epigrams. His contemptuous comparison of Handel and Buononcini to Tweedledum and Tweedledee is well known. On the new theory of the balance of power, he wrote:

"Now Europe's balanced, neither side prevails,
For nothing's left in either of the scales."

But, like his friend Pope, he worked his most pointed couplets into his poems. Under the influence of Dryden, Pope, and Swift, the epigram tended to lose the purposelessness which

the scholastic versifiers of jokes had given it. A collection of Latin epigrams upon the most famous persons of the day (1737), and *Epigrams in Distich*, published in 1740, generally preserved their application to real life :

“Your dressing, dancing, gadding, where’s the good in ?
Sweet lady, tell me, can you make a pudding ?”

“Strange, he’s forgot his brother, and what’s more
He knows his Grace, he never saw before !”

“Birth-days repeat too quick a dismal story,
Yield us no joy, but a *memento mori*.”

“*The Holiday*.

Jack will not work, and Nell puts on her pinners ;
The ancient saints make many modern sinners.”

“*Saving Knowledge*.

Gripe to his son bequeaths this part of learning,
Blow out one candle when you see two burning.”

“*A Prodigious Nuisance*.

Gripe thousands starves, to starve himself at last.
Can’t he do that without a general fast ?”

“Neddy laughed loud at every word he spoke ;
And we laughed too—but not at Neddy’s joke.”

In 1735-7 the first English miscellaneous collection of epigrams was printed by J. Walthoe. The editor, Oldys, held the French view of epigram, modified by Addison’s condemnation of the pun, and therefore omitted many of the best of our historical epigrams from his series. He defines the thing to be, “a method of conveying a single conceit fully and strongly to the reader in a narrow compass. It must have wit or humour at the conclusion, or, in a serious epigram, a striking thought,” like Martial’s epigram on suicide :

“When all the blandishments of life are gone,
The coward creeps to death, the brave lives on.”

But the most vigorous English epigrams are those where no mere verbal point is required ; our writers wield the broadsword better than the rapier and dagger. A good series of historical epigrams, though it would not suit the drawing-room table, would contain as much tossing and goring as a bull-fight. Of this class was Dr. Johnson’s favourite epigram, written by Dr. Trapp on the troops and books sent by George II. to Oxford and Cambridge respectively :

“Our royal master saw with heedful eyes
The wants of his two Universities :
Troops he to Oxford sent, as knowing why
That learned body wanted loyalty ;
But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning
That that right loyal body wanted learning.”

To this Sir William Browne, the physician, made a reply extempore :

“ The king to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force :
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.”

Of Sir John Hill, physician and farce-writer, it was said :

“ For physic and farces his equal there scarce is,
His farces are physic, his physic a farce is.”

A dispute between Radcliffe the physician and Kneller the painter is thus told :

“ Sir Godfrey and Radcliffe had one common way
Into one common garden, and each had a key.
Quoth Kneller, ‘ I’ll certainly stop up that door
If ever I find it unlocked any more.’
‘ Your threats,’ replied Radcliffe, ‘ disturb not my ease,
And, so you don’t paint it, e’en do what you please.’
‘ You’re smart,’ rejoins Kneller ; ‘ but say what you will,
I’ll take any thing from you but potion or pill.’ ”

Another epigram preserves a story of Dr. South, who, when preaching before Charles II., put the king and some of the court to sleep ; so he stopped and called out—

“ Pray wake the Earl of Lauderdale.
My Lord ! why, ’tis a monstrous thing,
You snore so loud you’ll wake the King !”

Another embalms the memory of two earls, Spencer and Sandwich, of whom

“ The one invented half a coat,
The other half a dinner.”

Another applies to Burnet a formula that has been used of half-a-dozen unpopular persons :

“ If heaven is pleased when sinners cease to sin,
If hell is pleased when souls are damned therein,
If men are pleased at riddance from a knave,
Then all are pleased—for Burnet’s in his grave.”

When Swift told Celia that there were no marriages in heaven because there were no women there, she is made to retort, “ Women are there, but I’m afraid they cannot find a priest.” When the landlady of the poet says that she is afraid his shirt next time will wash in two—

“ ‘ Indeed !’ cries Bayes, ‘ then wash it, pray, good cousin,
And wash it, if you can, into a dozen.’ ”

A brewer who was drowned in his own vat was thus commemorated by Jekyl :

“ Unwept he floats upon his watery bier.”

Johnson, the most epigrammatic of talkers, has left us no epigrams in verse. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the fashion was fading away. Burns wrote a few, mostly bitterly satirical epitaphs. Cowper wrote many, rather to amuse his hypochondria than as a serious exercise. The great crop of poets that burst into bloom in the beginning of the present century produced no professed epigrammatist, though all of them wrote good pointed epigrams, except Wordsworth, whose Greek taste inclined to the sonnet, inscription, or madrigal, who abhorred point, and had small wit; and Scott, who had too much of the ballad-maker in him to make a terse epigrammatist. Of the rest, almost all, such as Crabbe, Byron, Moore, and the Smiths, wrote excellent epigrams. The *Rejected Addresses* of the Smiths are epigrams, inasmuch as caricatures, parodies, and burlesques, by exaggerating a known feature of a character, reduce it to a simple and unnatural unity, and include the whole of it in a brief epitome. Horace Smith concluded an epigram to Miss Edgeworth with a line which deserves recording:

“The bad feel thine edge, and the good own thy worth.”

Even Rogers, in spite of his platitude, was sharpened by his town life into an epigrammatist; he wrote of the late Lord Ward:

“Ward has no heart, they say; but I deny it;
He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it.”

Porson wrote many epigrams; the following is characteristic:

“I went to Strasburg, and got drunk
With that most learn’d professor, Brunck;
I went to Worts, and got more drunken
With that more learn’d professor, Ruhnken.”

Moore makes a great figure as an epigrammatist, and wielded the weapon with no inconsiderable power during the emancipation controversy. He tells the Duke of Cumberland that the *veto* must be refused because “You’re forbidding enough, in all conscience, already.” He replies to a question, Why is a pump like Viscount Castlereagh?—

“Because it is a slender thing of wood,
That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,
And coolly spout, and spout, and spout away,
In one weak, washy, everlasting flood.”

Charles Lamb, one of the most epigrammatic of our prose writers, explained the desertion of the Whigs by George IV. when Prince of Wales,—

“Some wind has blown the wig away,
And left the hair apparent.”

This was worthy of Hood,—an epigrammatist who would have reconciled even the formal Addison to the pun. Never did the English language exhibit such a marvellous power of playing with its own tail as in him ; every verse in his comic ballads is an epigram. Here are two detached ones :

“ That picture-raffles will conduce to nourish
Design, or cause good colouring to flourish,
Admits of logic-chopping and wise sawing ;
But surely lotteries encourage drawing.”

“ A mechanic his labour will often discard,
If the rate of his pay he dislikes :
But a clock—and its case is uncommonly hard—
Will continue to work though it strikes !”

In France we can easily distinguish the three periods of the epigram. The first was while the formation of the language was going on, in the lays of the Troubadours and the Romance writers, *Lorris* and *Meun*, which were only epigrammatic inasmuch as they were full of sarcasms upon the clergy and the female sex. The second stage was during the development of ballads, lays, and *rondeaux* ; some of them with much of the manner of the Greek epigram, others like the anecdotic epigrams of *More* and *Harington*. This school culminated in *Marot*, the pungent and reckless *St. Gelais*, and *Rabelais*, from whom the transition to the third or scholastic school of the *Pleiad* was easy. They had already begun to imitate *Martial*, and to introduce a classical taste ; still their wit was not merely scholastic, but political. There was generally a purpose under their Bacchic merriment. We quote the conclusion of *Marot's* epigram on the debate between master and man about filling the jug with wine,—

“ Car maître abbé toute la nuit ne veut
Etre sans vin, que son secours ne meure,
Et son valet jamais dormir ne peut
Tandis qu'au pot une goutte en demeure,”—

because it must have suggested the point of *Rabelais's* famous drinking-song :

“ Remplis ton verre vuide,
Vuide ton verre plein ;
Je ne puis souffrir dans ta main
Un verre ni vuide ni plein.”

Rabelais's practical jokes were epigrams in action ; and he developed the epigrammatic power of the title, as *Jonson* did that of the name. His catalogue of the library of *St. Victor* at Paris is nothing but a series of epigrams upon authors and opinions, in the form of ridiculous titles of books. *St. Ge-*

lais's *Folies*, *Douzains*, *Quatrains*, and the like, are full of point. His *épigrammes* are often simply anecdotes.

“ Un maistre-ès-arts, mal chaussé, mal vêtu,
 Chez un paysan demandait à repaître ;
 Disant qu'on doit honorer la vertu
 Et les sept arts, dont il fut passé maistre.
 Comment sept arts ? répond l'homme champestre ;
 Je n'en sais nul, hormi mon labourage ;
 Mais je suis saoul quand il me plaist de l'estre,
 Et si nourrir ma femme et mon ménage.”

But these compositions did not satisfy the growing classical taste of the French court. In 1549, Du Bellay, the nephew of Rabelais' friend the cardinal of the same name, prescribed the direct imitation of the ancients, and proscribed the old rondeaux, ballads, virelays, and such trifles. Instead, he asked for pleasant epigrams in imitation of Martial; mournful elegies, after the pattern of Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius; sonnets like those of the Italians; odes instead of songs; satires instead of fables; tragedies and comedies for farces and moralities. Du Bellay, with Ronsard, was the founder of the French Pleiad. Yet before his time Marot and St. Gelais had written epigrams conformable to the rules which he laid down: he did not create the change in French literature; he was only to some extent its mouthpiece and its trumpeter, using the imperative mood and assuming the air of command when he saw that every body was already doing what he commanded. But from Du Bellay's time the French mind was entirely made up upon the subject of the epigram. The *épigramme à la Greque*, in which the vivacity of the thought is equally diffused through the whole piece, was voted to be *fade* and *sans sel*; and it was ruled that the essence of an epigram was that it should carry its sting in its tail. The pungency might be simple satire; but it was preferable if it was due to a ludicrous or astonishing antithesis. Hence the best epigram was a good joke put into rhyme:

“ L'épigramme plus libre, en son cours plus borné,
 N'est souvent qu'un bon-mot de deux rimes orné,”

says Boileau. The couplet was preferred; but as it is seldom possible to compress the antithesis into a couple of French lines, some of the best French epigrams far exceed that ideal measure. But it is absolutely necessary that they should be lively and rapid, expressed naturally, in words proper to the place or circumstance, not without a light badinage and railery, or, if strongly satirical, as adroit as they are vigorous. In epigrams of this kind the French are assuredly the greatest masters; their pieces have a finesse, an odour of the *salon*,

which our writers scarcely attain. Amongst us the proverb is not divided from the epigram by such a nice distinction as in France; we still retain much of the Falstaffian and Rabelæian taste which ruled the clownish literature of burlesques and satires of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and has left so deep an impression on Shakespeare's plays. But in France the Pleiad made a court-literature, which could never penetrate the lower classes of society. It rejected as clownish the proverb and fable, the homely and practical epitomes of popular experience, founded in life rather than in thought, and addicted itself to the refined rhetoric and artificial affectations of the *salon*. Its epigrams were not general truths, as proverbs are, nor practical principles, like the gnomes of Seneca or the ethical distichs of Cato. They were merely literary; their essence was in the word rather than the thought, the form than the matter, the sound than the sense. They were generally based upon a quibble of words, or an unexpected combination of ideas suggested by a similarity of sounds; they were not the natural growth of the soil, but the forced produce of the hothouse, if not the handiwork of the scholastic factory. Born in the atmosphere of the *salon*, it was only there they could breathe. They were the coin in which the poet paid the great men who feasted him; they occupied the place of songs, sentiments, or speeches after dinner. Camden tells us of a man who, hearing that his neighbour had entertained his guests with epigrams and anagrams, rated his cook for never dressing him such dainty dishes. Fresnaie complained to his colleague Baïf at the end of the sixteenth century, that the great people were beginning to like sausages and hams better than poets' panegyrics.¹¹ A little later, Maynard wrote to Malherbe on the poverty of poets :

“ Mais les vers ont perdu leur prix,
Et pour les excellens esprits
La faveur des princes est morte.”

But in England the court-literature soon died. It was mocked to death by the courtiers themselves; Sir Philip Sidney laughed it out of countenance, and Shakespeare, who makes fun of it in *Love's Labour's lost* and in *Hamlet*, never lost his favour at court for his rusticity. The Tudors were too blunt and plain really to lose the love of honest nature, and the affectation which came into vogue under James I. was rather a pedantry of ideas than of form; any extra polish in language would have been a reflection upon the king's broad

¹¹ Satyre à J. A. de Baïf, p. 292.

Scotch accent. It is more probable that in his court "speaking thick became the accents of the valiant." His pedantry lay in a different line. His favourite writers, like Ben Jonson, were Samsons of learning, who pulled down all antiquity upon their heads, and buried themselves under its ruins. Their heads were chaoses of learned lumber. Any platitudes were supposed to be points, if only they could be expressed in terms of the classics. These men were great writers in their particular walk; just as he is a great traveller who goes from Paris to London *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope. But this was not the kind of imitation of antiquity which Du Bellay prescribed; he condemned translations, or any such bodily transfers, and would have the classics transported into France in the same way that Cicero and Virgil transplanted Greek literature into Rome,—by converting it into their own blood and nutriment. Thus, while the Seine became a second Tiber, the only result of James I.'s patronage may be said to have been

"That Thames was balderdashed with Tweed."

In France the classical affectation culminated in Ronsard, who, as Boileau says, spoke Latin and Greek in French; after him Desportes and Bertaut were less bold and more cautious, and desisted from the attempt to separate the language of poetry from that of prose by the mould of its words and phrases. By their moderation these men paved the way for Malherbe, who introduced that extreme refinement upon which the French have since so much prided themselves.

The French epigrammatists have worked out a consistent body of witty poetry, unrivalled in its peculiar style. Much of it is imitation of Martial and Owen, versified jokes that have no local colouring. But the best part of it is a running commentary on the Parisian life of the court and the *salons*. There is not much that is political; the French would abjure the rhymed doctrines which Englishmen have accepted as epigrams, and which Herrick poured forth by the dozen. But their epigrams have had more political significance than those of any other nation. France was said to be a despotism tempered by epigrams. What ballads and nicknames and party cries do in popular governments, that epigrams may do in courts, in which railing often succeeds where complaining fails.

Among the later epigrammatists of France the best known are Gombauld, Maynard, the Chevalier de Cailly, Boileau, Rousseau, and Piron. The last, for precision, rapidity, and point, is probably unsurpassed. Every one knows the epitaph

he composed for himself on his non-election to the Academy. He had made nearly the same jest while he was still hoping to be elected, for he thus summed up the *discours de réception* which he intended to make, and the answer which the director would give—"Je me leverai, j'ôterai mon chapeau; puis à haute et intelligible voix je dirai: 'Messieurs, grand-merci;' et vous [to the director] sans ôter votre chapeau, vous me répondrez: 'Monsieur, il n'y a pas de quoi.'" He was sometimes blamed for exceeding the just license of epigram, and not observing Martial's rule of abstaining from the personalities of the older and ruder satirists. He punned in the most ruthless way on the names of authors, and wrote an epigram on the respectable poet Roy which is simply savage. But his personalities and his allusions to passing events give his epigrams a value which none of the innumerable imitations of Martial, Ausonius, and Owen can ever attain. In his day a tragedy of Cleopatra was produced, for which the property-man made a pasteboard asp which hissed before it bit the queen. Piron gave the palm to the poet, because

"L'un ne fait siffler qu'un serpent de carton,
Quand l'autre fait siffler les hommes."

Boileau is as affected as the father of rococo could be expected to be. Here is an epitaph by him:

"Ci gît, justement regretté,
Un savant homme sans science,
Un gentilhomme sans naissance,
Un très-bon homme sans bonté."

The doings of the *dévots* and of the clergy afford a fruitful field for the French epigrammatists. "What are we to do this Lent?" says Chloé; "let us make our footmen fast." "My left hand knows not what my right hand gives. Possibly not, for your right hand gives nothing." Boursault puts into the mouth of a pompous bishop this form of prayer:

"Seigneur, ayez pitié de ma grandeur."

The following epitaph by the Countess de Bregy is well expressed:

"Ci-dessous gît un grand seigneur,
Qui de son vivant nous apprit,
Qu'un homme peut vivre sans cœur,
Et mourir sans rendre l'esprit."

Their political epigrams may be represented by those provoked by the great tax-maker Colbert, on whom there are several epitaphs. For example:

"Expilavit, expiravit, sed non expiavit."

Again :

“ Ci git le père des impôts,
Dont la mort a l'âme ravie ;
Que Dieu lui donne le repos
Qu'il nous ôta toute la vie.”

And again :

“ Caron, voyant Colbert sur son rivage,
Le prend et le noie aussitôt,
Craignant qu'il ne vint mettre impôt
Sur son pauvre passage.”

When the poet and lexicographer Furetière was beaten, La Fontaine, who had been mocked by him for his ignorance of the distinction of certain woods, asked him, in an epigram, whether he could feel what wood the stick was made of. Furetière, in another epigram, asked how, on so short acquaintance, he could know the stick, when La Fontaine himself had not yet learned of what wood the head which he had carried on his shoulders all his life was made. Masson asks some one why he builds a palace, when a stable would be more appropriate. La Borde tells a coquette, who had said to him that he was the last man she would choose, that he is charmed, because his turn will come. The bulk of French epigrams consists of points of this kind, versified with the greatest possible finesse, and nearly always respecting the boundaries between badinage and brutality.

In Germany, after the epic age of the *Parcival* and the satirical period of Hans Sachs, the third or scholastic period of epigram begins with the classical refinements and affectations of Opitz in 1624, and culminates with Logau in 1653. It was a period similar to that of the *Pleiad* in France, of the *Euphuists* in England, and of *Gongora* and his *stiloculto* in Spain. There was the same substitution of the epigram for the proverb, of point for moral, of historical anecdote for fable, throughout. Writers addressed themselves only to a cultivated public, who could appreciate the allusions to classical mythology; hence their words could never attain the popularity or permanence of a literature of proverbs, fables, and *Mährchen*. For a proverb, which expresses a general truth under a particular figure, is a spring from which new applications continually flow; whereas an epigrammatic point is a particular application, droll in proportion to its strangeness, and therefore not of general interest, and incapable, after being once understood, of affording further action to the imagination and reason. Yet the German epigrams have a national flavour that is often very raucy. Logau, among many stale conceits and imitations, and feeble, pointless, and vulgar inventions, has several patriotic epigrams which have immortal-

ised his name. The following anathema on the Swedes and their ravages during the Thirty Years' War is very characteristic :

“Alles Unschlitt von dem Vieh, das ihr raubtet durch das Land
Asche von gesamtem Ort, den ihr setztet in den Brand,
Gäb' an Seife nicht genug ; auch die Oder reichte nicht
Abzuwaschen innern Fleck, drüber das Gewissen richt !
Fühlt es selbst, was es ist, ich verschweig es itzt mit Fleiss :
Weil Gott, was ihr ihm und uns mitgespielet, selber weiss.”

This kind of patriotic epigram was finally developed in the *Xenien* of Schiller and Göthe. The scholastic and refined tendency was carried out by Wernike (1697), the father of the Roccoco school, and the apostle of French taste. The earlier school of epigrammatists culminated in Lessing, who had the boldness not only to make himself the legislator for such compositions, but to give specimens of what his rules could produce. He defines an epigram to be “a poem in which, as in an inscription, our curiosity and attention are excited by some individual object, in respect to which we are more or less kept in suspense in order to be more piquantly gratified at the close.” In real inscriptions, the monument itself excites the desire to know what it means, and the inscription gratifies this desire. In pretended inscriptions, a short title prefixed shows what is their destination, and excites a curiosity to see what the epigrammatist has to say on the subject. Thus, “on a high bridge built by a rich man over a brook,”

“The lofty arch his high ambition shows ;
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.”

Or, again, an “Inscription for Bath Abbey Church :”

“These walls, so filled with monument and bust,
Show how Bath waters serve to lay the dust.”

But the third step is when the epigram needs no title ; when it contains in itself both the premisses and conclusion. Burns's epigram, “the false face true,” wants no title, but is perfect in itself:

“That there is falsehood in his looks
I must and will deny :
They say their master is a knave,
And sure they do not lie.”

But Lessing's rule is too pedantic and refined to be of practical use to epigrammatists ; while historically, as Herder shows, it is untrue, and inapplicable to many of the best epigrams.

In Holland, Roemer Visscher (1547-1620), the “Dutch Martial,” used the epigram to excite patriotic indignation against

the Spaniard. In Belgium, Anna Byns, a nun of Antwerp, the "spiritual nightingale" of Flanders, had before used it (1553) as a weapon against the "accursed Lutheran sect." The same thing was done by an English priest, who in 1634 printed at Paris a set of epigrams entitled "The Mirror of the New Reformation." They are learned and dull, but probably they gave Dryden some hints for his *Hind and Panther*. The religious and controversial use of the epigram is most characteristic of the Teutonic nations, as its panegyric use is most characteristic of the Italians.

In Italy, after the formation of the vulgar tongue by Dante and his school, the satirical genius of the nation came out in the Strambotti of Aquila (1466-1500), Guidalotto (1504), Accolti (1513), Lappoli (1522), and Aretino, whose *strambotti alla villanesca* (1544) finally disgraced this kind of poetry, though it continued to flourish in pasquils, often with great epigrammatic effect. Some of the best of these are in Latin, such as that on Urban VIII., who stripped the bronze off the Pantheon: "Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini;" and that on Benedict XIV.: "Magnus in folio, parvus in solio." One of the commonest and most successful forms of pasquil is the ingenious application of a trite saying or text to the person satirised. This is a known figure for epigrams: thus we may talk of the "howling wilderness" of parochial psalmody. The application is made more pointed by a slight perversion, as in Sir Humphry Davy's line, "the Highland chiefs were marching bag and bagpipe," where the ear expects "baggage." The scholastic epigram took two forms in Italy; those after the model of the Greeks and Catullus were called madrigals, sonnets, and the like. The great *madrigalisti* were Navagero, Strozzi, Tansillo, Tasso, Guarini, Baldi, and Marini. The *Pastor Fido* is a string of madrigals, and its interlocutors mere epigrammatists. The following specimen from Petrarca will give an idea of the ingenious badinage of these compositions:

"Or vedi, Amor, che giovinetta donna
Tuo regno sprezza, e del mio mal non cura,
E tra duo ta' nemici è sì sicura—
Tu se' armato, ed ella in treccie e' in gonna
Si siede, e scalza in mezzo i fiori e l' erba,
Ver me spietata, e contra te superba.
I' son prigion: ma se pietà ancor serba
L' arco tuo saldo, e qualcuna saetta
Fa di te, e di me, Signor, vendetta."

Epigrams in Martial's manner were not relished in Italy at the Renaissance. Dante had written two; but the thing was considered an inferior article, and a token of false and frenchi-

fied taste. The first and most classical epigrammatist of this school was Alamanni (1530), from whom Quadrio gives the following epigrams as models :

“ Tornata a Menelao l’ingiusta Elena
Dicea, di pianto e di vergogna piena :
Ben fu rapita esta terrena salma,
Ma sempre, il cielo il sa, restò tua l’ alma.
Ed egli : Io il credo ben : ma a non celarti
Mi lasciasti di te la peggior parte.”

“ Riprendea Clitennestra la sorella,
Che no fu sì pudica come bella.
Rispose Elena a lei : S’ io gli ho fallito,
Almen sicuro e vivo è ’l mio marito.”

The new style of epigram introduced by Leporeo was simply an attempt to naturalise in Italian the rhymed cæsuras of the medieval Latin :

“ Io cortegiano, insano, un mal mestiere
Elessi, e sottomessi il mio volere :
Vendei la libertà : credei gioire :
Ma provai mille guai da non ridere,” &c.

Among the Italians it is often the metre only by which strambotti, epigrams, and madrigals are distinguished. All definitions of epigrams agree in calling them poems, yet collectors can scarcely overcome the temptation of including some in prose. In the Latin anthology we have a riddle on a rope-dancer,—“ Vidi hominem pendere cum via, cui latior erat planta quam semita.” Of Beza we have the epitaph on Du Prat. In Mr. Booth’s volume we find epitaphs such as “ Here lies Fuller’s earth,” “ Here lie Walker’s particles,” “ Peace to his [Soyer’s] hashes,” and Mr. Thackeray’s characters of the Four Georges in a kind of rhythmical prose. French collectors cannot bring themselves to exclude Castel’s epigrammatic definition, “ La vie est une épigramme dont la mort est la pointe.” All who have read Bacon’s and Lamb’s essays, Howell’s, Pope’s, or Byron’s letters, Andrewes’ or Barrow’s sermons, or the Latin of Kempis, St. Bernard, St. Augustine, Boethius, Tacitus, or Seneca, know what epigrammatic prose is ; and it is hard to say why a well-balanced antithesis is not as good an epigram in prose as in verse. Schlözer’s saying, “ La statistique est une histoire qui s’arrête, tandis que l’histoire est une statistique que marche ;” Sir F. Walsingham’s, “ Chastity is the honesty of women, and honesty the chastity of men ;” Seneca’s, “ Academicorum nova scientia, nihil scire ;” Chamfort’s division of mankind into “ those who have more dinner than appetite, and those who have more appetite than dinner,” and of friends into “ those who love

you, those who don't care for you, and those that hate you;" Heine's classification of all that is into "eatable and not eatable;" Bazin's description of the Princess de Condé, who "lived happily with her husband from that time till his death—which happened shortly after;" Burke's saying, "Chatham's forte was fancy, while his feeble was ignorance;" Byron's, "Dr. Polidori has no more patients, for his patients are no more;" and Canning's apophthegm on Addington's government, "Every thing is at sea but the fleet;"—all these sentences only want rhyme to be acknowledged epigrams. Every jest, every pasquil, every facetious application of a trite saying to a person or thing, every lusty hyperbole or tart irony, is matter for an epigram. Cicero somewhere says, "*se ipsum amans sine rivali*;" Buchanan, "the busy bee" sucks the honey, and lays it up in an epigrammatic cell—

"Qui te.
Sed sine rivali, Posthume, solus amas."

Another epigrammatist advises a person who wants a new subject for poetry—"things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme"—to write a panegyric on himself. St. Gelais writes:

"On dit que tu es amoureux,
Mais que c'est de ta fantaisie :
S'il est vrai, tu es bien heureux ;
Nul ne te porte jalousie."

Maynard takes up his parable and says,

"Je conseil à ce grand cheval,
Puisqu'il veut aimer sans rival,
De n'aimer jamais que soi-même."

La Fontaine thought the idea was better in its first simplicity, so he wrote about

"Un homme qui s'aimoit sans avoir de rivaux."

And finally, Coquard thought it might be expressed still more sharply, so he wrote an epigram on "Guy," who

"Est devenu, dit-on, amoureux de soi-même—
Il n'aura jamais de rival."

Probably a careful search through several collections of epigrams would give as many more imitations of Cicero's thought as we chose to get together. But when all is done, the question remains, are any of these lines more really epigrammatic than Cicero's original scrap of prose?

Those who maintain that rhyme or rhythm is essential to epigrams must settle how epigrams can be made in languages where the poetry has no measures and no rhymes, or whether

the people who speak such tongues cannot have epigrams at all. Hebrew poetry is recognised not by its prosody, but by its syntax and logical antithesis. The distich,

“ A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass,
And a rod for the fool's back,”

no more scans or rhymes in Hebrew than in English; yet it is as much verse in Hebrew as Bauhusius' epigram is in Latin:

“ Nux, asinus, campana, piger, sine verbere cessant :
Hæc dura, hic tardus, hæc tacet, ille jacet.
Sed simul ut ferri plagam sensere, vel ulni,
Hæc cadit, hic pergit, hæc sonat, ille studet.”

The Arabic anthologies are said to be richer in rhyme than ours. Both the Arabic and Persian poets, if we may take the following translations as specimens, are acquainted with our epigrammatic forms:

“ When I sent you my melons, you cried out with scorn,
‘ They ought to be heavy, and wrinkled, and yellow ;’
When I offer'd myself, whom those graces adorn,
You flouted and called me an ugly old fellow.”¹²

“ On parent knees a naked new-born child
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smiled.
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou mayst smile, while all around thee weep.”¹³

¹² From the Arabic, Booth, p. 139.

¹³ From the Persian by Sir Wm. Jones.

ORIENTALISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

AMONG the hostile influences against which Christianity had to struggle during the first three or four centuries of its existence, the best modern ecclesiastical writers, both Protestant and Catholic, have been almost unanimous in reckoning Orientalism, in some more or less definite form. That Christian missionaries in Eastern countries came into conflict with the local religions is of course evident. But, over and above this, it is assumed, as an undeniable historical fact, that throughout the Roman empire itself Oriental influences were widely prevalent; and the teaching of the Christian Church is supposed to have been considerably modified by them. It is well known how the demand for new and foreign religious rites was supplied by a large influx from all quarters of the East,—how numerous in Rome were the proselytes to Judaism,—how popular were the worships of Isis and Mithra,—how utterly powerless was all legislation against Chaldæans and mathematici,—how entire cities and provinces resorted to the atonement of the taurobolia. But, independent of the direct action of foreign religions and superstitions, each of which had, after all, but a limited circle of votaries, the very air is imagined to have been rife with Oriental influences; and it is by them that some of the most remarkable phenomena in the contemporaneous histories of Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity have been explained. “Asiatic influences,” says Dean Milman, “have worked more completely into the body of Christianity than any other foreign element; and it is by no means improbable that tenets which had their origin in India have for many centuries predominated, or materially affected the Christianity of the whole Western world.” Another well-known English writer speaks of “that awful mistress of the ancient world—the Oriental theosophy—which, under a hundred changeful colours, held the religious mind in thrall during a period of two thousand years,” and calls it “a pestilence born in the mud of the Ganges, and spreading death to the shores of the Atlantic.” He describes it as having held “possession of the religious mind, almost universally, along the shores of the Mediterranean during full seven hundred years.” If these and other writers who agree with them are correct in their interpretation of historical phenomena, M. Renan is certainly fully justified in asking whether Buddhist influences are not visible in the Gospel itself.

It is to Mosheim that later authors have been indebted for the hypothesis of that Oriental philosophy which has seemed to them to furnish a ready and satisfactory explanation of historical phenomena for which they were otherwise unable or unwilling to account. The hypothesis was naturally enough adopted by the learned but uncritical Brucker, in whose great work the Oriental (as then understood) may fitly claim a place by the side of the Antediluvian and other no less imaginary philosophies. From the time of Mosheim and Brucker the hypothesis has enlisted the sympathies of most writers of ecclesiastical history, and of very many historians of philosophy. Mosheim himself did not conceal the fact, that no traces of the so-called Oriental philosophy could be discovered except in the very phenomena which he sought to explain by it; and it is extremely probable that the hypothesis would long ago have been dismissed as completely baseless, had not its credit been revived at a critical period by the publication of Frederick Schlegel's *Language and Wisdom of the Indians*, which awakened so intense an interest in further information about the languages and ideas of the remote East. This interest was still further excited at a later period, not only by the essays of English scholars, but by the appearance, both in France and Germany, of important works professing to illustrate Eastern ideas, and also tending to prove the historical connection of these ideas with the religions and philosophies of Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe. Whatever may have been the worth of these books in their day, it is certain that at present they are almost wholly valueless, especially to readers who, from want of special studies, are unable to distinguish critically between authentic facts and the errors with which they are almost inextricably mixed. These works have, however, tended to keep up the impression that there was, after all, such a thing as Orientalism,—that is, a doctrine common to all the most important nations of the East; and it also became a matter of certainty that India was the cradle of this doctrine. A closer and more accurately scientific acquaintance with the various systems of thought in sacred and profane antiquity has, however, tended more and more towards the final expulsion of the "Oriental" hypothesis from the domain of scientific history. This tendency is visible in all the recent scientific works on the Greek mythology, in such standard works as those of Brandis and Zeller on the Greek philosophy, in Duncker's *Ancient History*, in Döllinger's *Heathenism and Judaism*, and in such books as Baur's *Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries*.

Each of the works just mentioned may be considered as the representative of an entire literature, all the tendencies of which lie in the direction we have stated. The tendencies of Indian archæological science lie too, we are fully convinced, in the same direction. And we are not deterred from making this assertion by the high adverse authority of Professor Lassen, who has collected together all the arguments in favour of the Oriental hypothesis. He has fought its last battle, and, we venture to say, unsuccessfully.

Let us fully understand what is meant by the assertion that the Western world was, shortly before or after the Christian era, invaded by Oriental influences. By the term "Orientalism" it is sometimes implied that there was a religious or philosophical doctrine common to the Eastern nations, which was brought into the West; sometimes, however, "Oriental" is understood simply to mean Indian. The partisans of the Oriental hypothesis, in one sense of the term, need not agree with those who give another sense to it. We shall consider it in both senses, and that rather *ex abundanti cautela* than from strict necessity; for the existence of Orientalism as distinct from Brahmanism, Buddhism, Parsism, or some other equally definite form of thought, may be considered as thoroughly exploded.

In quoting the following description of Orientalism from Milman's *History of Christianity*,¹ we have no wish to consider the author as responsible for all the assertions made a great many years back; for many of them must now appear as incredible to him as they must to all who have carefully followed the course of scientific research for the last thirty years. We quote it simply because we can nowhere find a clearer and more eloquent statement of the Oriental hypothesis in the form in which it was generally adopted by writers of the last generation:

"The religions of Asia appear, if not of regularly affiliated descent, yet to possess a common and generic character, modified, indeed, by the genius of the different people, and perhaps by the prevailing tone of mind in the authors and founders of new doctrines. From the banks of the Ganges, probably from the shores of the Yellow Sea, and the coasts of further India, to the Phœnician borders of the Mediterranean and the undefined limits of Phrygia in Asia Minor, there was that connection and similitude, that community of certain elementary principles, that tendency to certain

¹ Book ii. chap. v. Since the above was written, Dr. Milman has, in the new edition of his *History of the Jews*, ii. 115, once more asserted his belief in the "wide-spread Oriental philosophy" here described.

combinations of physical and moral ideas, which may be expressed by the term Orientalism. The speculative theology of the higher, the sacerdotal order, which in some countries left the superstitions of the vulgar undisturbed, or allowed their own more sublime conceptions to be lowered to their rude and limited material notions, aspired to the primal Source of Being. The Emanation system of India, according to which the whole worlds flowed from the Godhead, and were finally to be reabsorbed into it; the Pantheism into which this degenerated, and which made the collective universe itself the Deity; the Dualism of Persia, according to which the antagonist powers were created by, or proceeded from, the One Supreme and Uncreated; the Chaldean doctrine of divine Energies or Intelligences, the prototypes of the cabalistic Sephiroth, and the later Gnostic Æons, the same no doubt, under different names, with the Æon and Protogenes, the Genos and Genea, with their regularly coupled descendants, in the Phœnician cosmogony of Sanchoniathon; and, finally, the primitive and simpler worship of Egypt;—all these are either branches of one common stock, or expressions of the same state of the human mind, working with kindred activity on the same visible phenomena of nature, and with the same object. The Asiatic mind impersonated, though it did not, with the Greek, humanise, every thing. Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, the Creative and Destructive energy of nature, the active and passive Powers of generation, moral Perfection and Wisdom, Reason and Speech, even Agriculture and the Pastoral life, each was a distinct and intelligent being; they wedded each other according to their apparent correspondences, they begat progeny according to the natural affiliation or consequence of ideas. One great elementary principle pervaded the whole religious systems of the East,—the connection of *moral with physical ideas, the inherent purity, the divinity of mind or spirit, the inalienable evil of its antagonist matter.* This great primal tenet is alike the elementary principle of the higher Brahmanism, and the more moral Buddhism of India and the remoter East. The theory of the division of castes supposes that a larger portion of the pure mind of the Deity is infused into the sacerdotal and superior orders; they are nearer the Deity, and with more immediate hope of being reabsorbed into the divine essence, while the lower classes are more inextricably immersed in the grosser matter of the world, their feeble portion of the essential spirit of the Divinity contracted and lost in the predominant mass of corruption and malignity. The Buddhist, substituting

a moral for an hereditary approximation to the pure and elementary mind, rests nevertheless on the same primal theory, and carries the notion of the abstraction of the spiritual part from the foul and corporeal being to an equal if not greater height of contemplative mysticism. Hence the sanctity of fire among the Persians, that element which is most subtle and defœcated from all material corruption; it is therefore the representative of pure elementary mind—of Deity itself. It exists independent of the material forms in which it abides—the sun and the heavenly bodies. To infect this holy element with any excretion or emanation from the material form of man; to contaminate it with the putrescent effluvia of the dead and soulless corpse, was the height of guilt and impiety.

“This one simple principle is the parent of that Asceticism which maintained its authority among all the older religions of the remoter East, forced its way at a very early period into Christianity, where for some centuries it exercised a predominant influence, and subdued even the active and warlike genius of Mahometanism to its dreamy and ecstatic influence. On the cold table-lands of Thibet, in the forests of India, among the busy population of China, on the burning shores of Siam, in Egypt, and in Palestine, in Christianised Europe, in Mahometanised Asia, the worshipper of the Lama, the Faquir, the Bonze, the Talapoin, the Essene, the Therapeutist, the Monk, and the Dervish have withdrawn from the society of man in order to abstract the pure mind from the dominion of foul and corrupting matter. Under each system the perfection of human nature was estrangement from the influence of the senses—those senses which were enslaved to the material elements of the world; an approximation to the essence of the Deity by a total secession from the affairs, the interests, the passions, the thoughts, the common being and nature of man.”

It must strike any person of education, on reading this statement, that the very doctrine which Dr. Milman considers as characteristic of Orientalism, namely, the dualism of mind and matter, of the spirit and the flesh, is notoriously found in the Platonic philosophy, of which it is one of the most essential doctrines. Plato teaches that the soul is, by its own nature, divine, eternal, and imperishable; that “its entrance into the body is the beginning of destruction to it, as it were a disease;” that, as long as our soul is “polluted with such an evil,” we can never “make any progress in wisdom and attain to truth; that, if we are ever to

know any thing purely, we must be separated from the body, and contemplate things with the eye of the soul only ; that our nearest approach in this life to true knowledge depends on our holding no intercourse or communion with the body except what nature requires, nor suffering ourselves to be polluted by it, but purifying ourselves from it till God shall deliver us." The very aim of philosophy is the deliverance and separation of the soul from the body, wherein it is in bondage as in a prison. And "the philosopher who pursues this aim with the greatest purity is he who approaches each subject by means of intellect only, neither using the sight in conjunction with reflection, nor introducing any other sense together with reasoning, but using pure reflection by itself, freed as much as possible from the eyes and ears, and, in a word, from the whole body, as disturbing the soul, and not suffering it to acquire truth and wisdom, when it is in communion with it."

Every classical scholar knows that this is the doctrine of Plato ; and if he finds it generally adopted along the shores of the Mediterranean during the first centuries of Christianity, he will naturally think of Platonic rather than Oriental influences. If he is wise, he will also think it extremely unlikely that a philosophical doctrine of Plato should be found in all the religions between the Yellow Sea and the Mediterranean, or indeed in any of them. If he finds the doctrine in the East, he will rather be inclined to ascribe it to the influence of Greek teaching, unless it can be proved that such an influence is historically inconceivable.

However excusable the error may have been at the time when Dr. Milman wrote, it is impossible at the present day not at once to see that the term "Orientalism" cannot possibly express any thing definite or accurate. The literatures and antiquities of the East are now far too well known to justify us in confounding things so widely different as the religions (or philosophies) of Egypt, Phrygia, Phœnicia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, and China. There is not much resemblance between Scottish Calvinism and Neapolitan Catholicism ; yet a large portion of the Christian creed is common to both. The Greek mythology has quite a different character from the Indian ; yet the most ancient parts of both have the same origin. No such connecting links (generally speaking) can be traced between the Eastern religions just mentioned. They have nothing in common except what is common to all imaginable religions. Even when the material elements in two of these religions are the same, the formal treatment of these elements is quite different. The sun was wor-

shipped in Egypt as well as in India ; but it would be as preposterous to identify the Egyptian with the Indian religion as to identify the Hellenic with the Peruvian. The only two great national religions in the East which can be traced to the same origin are those of the Aryas of Iran and India ; but the process of development has been so different in them that it is impossible to imagine more violent contradictions than those which they present. Zoroastrianism is fundamentally monotheistic, and considers as evil spirits the *devas*, who form the objects of Brahman worship.

To come more closely to the point. Is it true that the doctrine of the inherent purity of mind and the malignity of matter is a characteristic of Oriental religions ? Is it a Phrygian doctrine ? is it Phœnician ? is it Arabian ? is it Egyptian ? is it Persian ? Lastly, is it Indian ? Is it a doctrine of all these religions, or of any of them ?

It certainly is not a doctrine common to them all. We are not aware of any evidence of its existence in the Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Phœnician, or Syrian religions. In some of these, indeed, flagellations, stabbings, cuttings of the face, and emasculation, were practised in honour of the gods ; but these horrid rites had as little to do with ascetic motives, or metaphysical considerations about matter and spirit, as the hideous sensual debauchery which every where formed their appropriate counterpart.

We know enough of the Egyptian religion to be able to assert with confidence that the dualism of mind and body was unknown to it. Throughout the sacred books of the Egyptians the body is spoken of with the same tenderness as the soul. So far from the body being considered as a hindrance to the soul, the greatest anxiety was felt lest, after death, corruption should seize upon that body to which the soul was once more to be united. A Greek philosopher is said to have blushed at having a body. No such squeamishness was possible for the Egyptian. He not only looked forward to the possession of his body and all its limbs in the future state, but to the exercise of all its physical functions exactly as upon earth. The prayers for the departed petition for him bread, milk, wine, and the intoxicating liquor made out of barley ; nay, flesh-meat, oxen, geese, and "all the good and pure things on which the gods live."² Of the notion of a transcendental beatitude, not a trace will be found in any of the Egyptian texts which have as yet been discovered.

² The Egyptian texts which might be quoted in support of this view are innumerable.

Our knowledge of the religion and literature of the Arabs before the time of Mohammed is not very extensive; but it is amply sufficient to give us a most lively idea of the life of the pagan Arabs—active, independent, sensual, matter-of-fact, utterly at variance with mysticism or philosophy of any kind, and, in short, irreconcilable with that view of Orientalism which Dr. Milman has sketched.

Nor will the sacred books of the Persians countenance any such view. Here, indeed, the dualism of Good and Evil Principles is found; but matter is not identified with evil. Asceticism was quite unknown, and indeed alien to the religion of Zoroaster. Voluntary virginity, so far from being honoured as it is in all ascetic religions, was looked upon as a deadly sin; and the virgin who had reached the age of eighteen was threatened with the most terrible penalties after death, whatever good works she might have performed during life. One of the causes of persecution against the early Christians in Persia was the charge brought against them of discouraging marriage. Conjugal intercourse, on the other hand, was considered as meritorious in itself, and was made obligatory at stated times. Fasting is only mentioned in order to be forbidden. Whatever could strengthen the body or tend to multiply the species was supposed to increase or strengthen the kingdom of Ahuramazdâ. Matter, if the term be not altogether out of place here, was not looked upon as inherently bad; only what was physically and morally injurious was supposed to belong to the kingdom of *Angro-mainyus* [Ahriman]. The human body, in its own nature pure and holy, as the creation of Ahuramazdâ, was looked upon as impure after death, not because it was matter, but because death and corruption were the work of Ahriman. To throw a corpse into the water, or to bury it in the earth, were considered sins no less unpardonable than that of burning it. The resurrection of the body is implied in the *Zend-Avesta*, and is a natural consequence of the genuine doctrine of the oldest books. It was known to Theopompus as a Persian doctrine three hundred years before the Christian era. The 31st chapter of the *Bundehesch*, in which this doctrine is most explicitly stated, contains therefore no addition to the original creed of the Persians.³

It now becomes evident that, if we are to find the Oriental doctrines at all, after which we are in search, we must travel as far as India; and if we succeed in discovering them there, we shall still have to look after evidence of

³ Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, p. 266, and references.

their having been propagated in a westerly direction, and of their having influenced Judaism and Christianity as well as Greek and Roman thought.

In ancient India we find two great religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, and several systems of philosophy. There is no evidence that the religious doctrines of Brahmanism, or influences proceeding from these doctrines and yet distinct from them, ever spread beyond the limits of India. Buddhism, however, at an early period became a missionary religion, and has succeeded in winning the spiritual dominion over a considerable portion of the human race. It is known to have prevailed as far west as Samarkand; it is supposed to have reached the confines of Persia; and the greatest scholars of the present day have been nearly unanimous in looking upon it as one of the principal elements in the great system of Manicheism. Here then, if any where, we may expect to find traces of that doctrine of the inherent malignity of matter which is said to have been the parent of asceticism in all religions. Yet we venture to assert that such traces will be vainly sought in either of the religions, or in any of the philosophies, of ancient India. We shall, indeed, find the distinction drawn between mind and body, as is natural enough. It is not easy to see how philosophical reflection can be carried on for a moment without some consciousness of this distinction; but, owing to the minute and at the same time inaccurate analysis of the Indian anthropologies, the distinction is much less striking than in ancient or modern European systems of philosophy. The superiority of mind to body, and of soul to sense, is recognised; the evil of sensuality is admitted; but we shall vainly look for Dr. Milman's "Orientalism," or indeed for any doctrine which comes so near to it as certain passages of the New Testament.

The notion of acquiring merit by ascetic austerities is common to both Brahmins and Buddhists; but their asceticism in no way sprang from a belief in the malignity of matter. According to Brahmanism and the philosophical systems in harmony with it, all that exists emanates from Brahman, and is at last to be reabsorbed in him; every portion of matter is therefore really consubstantial with him. The Sâmkhya system, which is most closely akin to Buddhism, for which it prepared the way, speaks of nature with the deepest tenderness.

The 21st sloka of the Sâmkhya Kârikâ of Iswara Krishna describes the union of soul and nature, "united for the benefit of the former" (how unlike Plato's ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ ὀλέθρου,

ὥσπερ νόσος !), as "the association of the halt and blind." On this the commentary of Gaurapâda says:⁴ "As a lame man and a blind man, deserted by their fellow-travellers, who, in making their way with difficulty through a forest, had been dispersed by robbers, happening to encounter each other, and entering into conversation so as to inspire mutual confidence, agreed to divide between them the duties of walking and seeing; accordingly the lame man was mounted on the blind man's shoulders, and was thus carried on his journey, whilst the blind man was enabled to pursue his route by the directions of his companion:—in the same manner the faculty of seeing is in soul, not that of moving, it is like the lame man; the faculty of moving, but not of seeing, is in nature, which resembles therefore the blind man. Further, as a separation takes place between the lame man and the blind man when their mutual obligations are accomplished, and they have reached their journey's end: so nature, having effected the liberation of soul, ceases to act; and soul, having contemplated nature, obtains abstractedness; and consequently, their respective purposes being effected, the connection between them is dissolved." "Generous nature," says Iswara Krishna, in another place, "endued with qualities, does by manifold means accomplish, without benefit [to herself], the wish of ungrateful soul, devoid as he is of gratitude." "Nothing, in my opinion, is more gentle than nature; once aware of having been seen, she does not again expose herself to the gaze of soul."

All this is surely very unlike Manicheism, or even Platonism. What, however, is to be said of Buddhism?

The first thing to be said of Buddhism is, that its doctrines have been completely misunderstood by European scholars till a comparatively late period. In his Lectures of 1829, M. Cousin, when treating of the Indian systems, wisely declared himself obliged to omit all consideration of Buddhism for want of authentic data. It was about this time that Buddhist texts first began to be studied. In spite of the obscurity which must still for a long time continue to exist on a good many points, so much independent evidence has been brought to bear on the main parts of the system, that we can safely affirm of some doctrines that they are undoubtedly Buddhist, and of others that they are undoubtedly not. There are some doctrines which are confined to a single country—Tibet, for instance, or China. But others are found in Mongolia, Tibet, Nepal, Burmah,

⁴ *Sânkhya Kârîkâ*, p. 76.

Siam, and Ceylon; in short, wherever Buddhism is professed.

Nothing can be more incorrect than to speak of Buddhism as a pantheistic creed. It is, in the strictest sense of the term, atheistic.⁵ One of its cardinal doctrines is that all living beings are to be considered as essentially homogeneous, and subject to the same fatal law of transmigration. The highest Devas or Brahmas may have once been men; they may become so again, and even be degraded to the condition of the vilest reptile; whilst the latter has the chance of one day becoming the Buddha. But the Buddha himself, though infinitely superior in power and dignity, as long as he lives, to the highest order of beings, is not God; his nature is not different from that of a toad or a dog; he has merely attained what all true Buddhists aspire to—the power of ceasing to be. He is not absorbed into the bosom of the Deity, for whom there is no place whatever in the system; he has simply become nothing. He has passed utterly away from the category of existence. He may be worshipped by the grateful devotion of those who wish to follow in the steps which he taught them to tread; but this worship is not addressed to a living deity who can hear the prayers and praises of his votaries. The future, and as yet unborn, Buddha may perhaps help the living by his actual aid; but the Buddhas who have already attained the state of Nirvâna, or annihilation, have no power beyond what results from the acts they performed whilst yet living.

That the Buddhist Nirvâna consists in utter annihilation, and not in a return of the human soul to the primal spirit, of whom the religion knows absolutely nothing, has been made evident by the independent labours of the most recent scholars. The first European who studied the ancient and authoritative texts in the Sanskrit language was Burnouf; and he found this doctrine in them. Professor Wassiljew, who has studied Buddhism at Pekin, in Chinese and Tibetan documents unknown to other Europeans, gives exactly the same view of the Nirvâna; and the same result is derived from the texts collected by the Rev. Spence Hardy, who himself lived for twenty years among the Buddhists of Ceylon. The same doctrine will be found in the *Life of Gaudama*, translated from the Burmese book entitled *Ma-*

⁵ "In none of the standard authorities translated by M. Burnouf or Mr. Gogerley is there the slightest allusion to such a first cause, the existence of whom is incompatible with the fundamental Buddhist dogma of the eternity of all existence." Wilson, *Essays*, ii. 361. This is a point on which all scholars are now agreed, and on which controversy is impossible.

lalengara Wattoo, by the Rev. Cephas Bennet, missionary of the American Baptist Union in Burma. The truth of this interpretation has been verified by the most competent scholars, as Lassen, Wilson,⁶ Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, and Max Müller.⁷

The "deliverance," therefore, which the Buddhist religion teaches one to attain is not deliverance from the shackles of *matter*, but from those of existence. Life, which was so holy in the eyes of the Persian, is oppressive to the imagination of the Buddhist; the idea of a future state is simply odious to him. He believes in it as in a frightful necessity, from which he sees as yet no chance of being delivered. But the idea of a pure soul delivered from the body is inconceivable to him. We have seen how the Sâṅkhya system, to which Buddhism is so closely allied, looks on the union of soul and body as subsisting solely for the advantage of the former. The Sâṅkhya philosophy distinctly teaches the existence of the soul, its individuality, and its being distinct from nature. This is precisely a point on which Buddhism parts company with the Sâṅkhya philosophy, and falls immeasurably below it in a spiritual point of view. Burnouf's Buddhist texts, in the Sanskrit language, teach that "thought or mind (for the faculty is not distinguished from the subject) first appears with sensation, and does not survive it." The texts collected by Mr. Spence Hardy give the following results:⁸—

"The elements of sentient existence are called *khandas*, of which there are five constituents, literally five sections or heaps. 1. The organised body, or the whole of being, apart from the mental processes; 2. sensation; 3. perception; 4. discrimination; 5. consciousness. . . .

"It is evident that the four last of the *khandas* are results, or properties, of the first; and if there be any thing equivalent to that which we call soul, it must be found under the first class. Now, there are twenty-eight members

⁶ "Utter extinction, as the great end and object of life, is also a fundamental, and in some respects a peculiar, feature of Buddhism. Nirvâna is literally a blowing out, as if of a candle,—annihilation." Wilson, *Essays*, ii. 362.

⁷ "Every Sanskrit scholar knows that Nirvâna means 'blowing out,' and not absorption. The human soul, when it arrives at its perfection, is blown out, is—we use the phraseology of the Buddhists—like a lamp; it is not absorbed, as the Brahmins say, like a drop in the ocean." *Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 46. Lassen describes the Nirvâna as "die vollständige Vernichtung des denkenden Wesens, oder seine gänzliche Auslöschung." *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 462.

⁸ *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 388, 389. On the *khandas*, in Sanskrit *skhandas*, see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 491 et seq.

of the organised body ; but among them no single entity is presented that we can regard as the primary and essential principle to which all the other parts are accessories. It is the office of life, or vitality, to keep together, or preserve, the constituents of the organised body ; and here its office appears to cease. We are told that it is a wind, or air, that imparts the power by which the hand, or foot, or any other member, is moved ; but it is said, again, that the principal cause of muscular action is the *hita*, or mind. When we search further, to find out what the mind is, we are still left in uncertainty as to its real nature. There are mental operations presented of various classes, but we can find no instrumentality by which these processes are conducted. The second *khandā*, sensation, is the result of contact, and cannot exist without it. The third, perception, and the fourth, discrimination, are equally derived or dependent ; they commence and cease simultaneously with contact. And of the fifth, consciousness, it is expressly stated it can only exist contemporaneously with the organised body. On some occasions mind is represented as being merely a result produced by the impinging of thought upon the heart, as sight is produced by the contact of the eye with the outward form, or the ear with sound. At death, or consequent upon it, in the course of time, there is a dissolution, a 'breaking-up,' as it is called, an entire evanishment of the whole of the *khandas*, and of every part of them. The elements that, whilst in juxtaposition, formed what we, in our ignorance, call a sentient being, no longer produce the same effect, as their relation to each other has ceased. Nor is it from want of precision in the language, or defect in the enumeration, that we are led to form these conclusions ; as it is expressly stated to be a heterodox idea that represents the soul as 'flying happily away, like a bird from its cage.' At another time we are informed by Gôtama, that none of the *khandas* taken separately are the self, and that taken conjointly they are not the self. There is no such thing, the home of a self apart from the five *khandas*. There can, therefore, according to Buddhism, be no such progress as transmigration, in the usual sense of the term ; and I have not used it in any of my illustrations." In like manner, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire says,⁹ "*Les Soutrās à la main, je soutiens que le Bouddha n'admet pas plus l'âme de l'homme qu'il n'admet Dieu. Je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de citer un seul texte bouddhique où la distinction la plus simple et la plus vulgaire de l'âme et du corps soit établie,*

⁹ *Le Bouddha et sa Religion ; Avertissement sur le Nirvâna.*

ni paraisse même soupçonnée." Professor Max Müller¹⁰ gives his judgment on the subject in the very words of Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire. "Buddhism has no God; it has not even the confused and vague notion of a Universal Spirit, in which the human soul, according to the orthodox doctrine of Brahmanism and the Sâmkhya philosophy, may be absorbed. Nor does it admit nature, in the proper sense of the word; and it ignores that profound division between spirit and matter which form the system and the glory of Kapila."

It is idle, therefore, to seek to account for the presence of a certain doctrine in the West, where it had been known for centuries, by the influence of an Eastern religion in which it is wholly unknown.

Let us, however, look at the question from another side, and examine the different historical phenomena which are supposed to furnish evidence of Oriental, or rather Indian, influences. These, according to the more judicious partisans of the Oriental hypothesis, are not visible till the last period of the Greek philosophy, in which they make their first appearance with the Neo-Pythagoreans. They are said to be visible in Philo and the Neo-Platonists, in the Jewish Kabbala, in the Essenes and Therapeutæ, in Gnostic and other Christian sects, in the doctrines of Christian asceticism, in Sabianism, in Manicheism, and, at a later period, in Mohammedan Sufism.

The Eastern influences which are thought to be visible in these phenomena are supposed to have penetrated into the West in consequence of the interchange of ideas which had been facilitated by the different Hellenic kingdoms founded in Asia and Egypt by the successors of Alexander. But the extent of this interchange of ideas may be measured by the fact that the Greek language spread throughout the East, whilst it is hardly an exaggeration to say that not a Greek learned an Eastern language. Whilst Greek ideas and civilisation, therefore, penetrated widely and deeply into the heart of Eastern countries, there is no evidence whatever of a corresponding influence of the East upon the Western mind. We know how deeply, owing to the use of the French language, French ideas took root during the last century in Germany and Russia, and how little Russian or German ideas penetrated into France. But if we can imagine Russian or German sovereigns, together with all their courtiers, to have been of French origin, and to have enter-

¹⁰ *Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 20.

tained the most contemptuous feeling towards the histories, languages, literatures, and religions of their subjects, and to have favoured for centuries, by all the means in their power, a civilisation exclusively French, we shall the better understand the condition of the countries which were subjected to Hellenic rule. It is quite certain that Phœnicia and Syria, as far as the Euphrates, were thoroughly hellenised; that, at the time of the Christian era, the whole of its civilisation was exclusively Greek. The old national elements had not, indeed, wholly disappeared; but they were thrust aside into the shade, and had no opportunity of displaying themselves. Seleucia on the Tigris was a focus of Greek civilisation for the populations of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Under the long rule of the Arsacidæ, who took the significant title of Philhellenes upon their coins, Greek arts, religion, and philosophy prevailed in the Parthian empire; and the national religion, though professed by the sovereigns, was allowed to fall into decay. The revolution by which the Sassanidæ came to the throne is described as a national reaction against the Greek religion and philosophy. "For five hundred years" Ardschir is fabled to have written to the Persian chieftains, "the sword of Aristotle the philosopher has been destroying you!" Artavasdes, king of Armenia in the time of Cicero, wrote Greek tragedies and historical works, which were known to Plutarch. We have monumental evidence of the official use of the Greek language and mythology in Nubia and Abyssinia. A native king of Axum, at the end of the first century, is described as *γραμμάτων ἑλληνικῶν ἔμπειρος*; and, what is still more remarkable, Greek civilisation took deep root in many tribes of the indomitable Arab race.¹¹ The arts and sciences of Greece penetrated still farther into the East. The Indian astronomy and mathematics bear indisputable marks of Greek influences, which a high authority considers as even visible in the epic and dramatic poetry of India.¹²

The few native Eastern writers who, like Berosus and Manetho, attempted to interest the Greek public in their national histories were themselves completely hellenised. The Greeks, on the other hand, who undertook to enlighten their countrymen as to the religions of foreign nations never failed to transfer their own theological or philosophical conceptions to the objects of foreign worship. The Egyptian

¹¹ See Renan, *Hist. des Langues Sémitiques*, i. 299, 300, and the authorities referred to.

¹² Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1123, 1133, sq. The very days of the week are named after the planets, in imitation of the Greeks. See also Weber, *Indische Studien*, i. 400, ii. 166-169.

Neith became Athene, and Ptah Hephæstus, from some resemblance which was fancied to exist between the Egyptian and the Greek names. Heracles and Dionysus were discovered among the gods of India, and Zeus in the principal deity of every country; and when the attributes of the Greek divinity had been transferred to the foreign one, the problem was considered as solved. The solitary and austere lives of the Indian ascetics struck the imagination of Greek travellers, who reported what they had seen; but we have no evidence that they took any pains to enquire into what these ascetics believed or taught.¹³ There are really, therefore, no antecedent grounds for supposing that the religious or philosophical doctrines of the East penetrated into the West; whilst there is positive evidence on the other hand that Greek and Christian doctrines penetrated deeply into the East, even into countries where the government was in the hand of native princes. It is even asserted by so competent a scholar as Weber that the entire system of the Avatâras, which was quite unknown to the earlier Hindus, was suggested to them by the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. Part of the legend of Krishna, at least, seems to have been imitated from the life of Christ.

We have said that the more judicious partisans of the Oriental hypothesis no longer profess to discover Eastern influences in the first periods of the Greek philosophy. Twenty or thirty years ago it might have been necessary to show that Plato himself was not a teacher of Eastern doctrines, as he is in fact represented in Dean Milman's *History of Christianity*. But in presence of the many deeply learned and thoroughly scientific works which have appeared in recent times in illustration of the Platonic system, it cannot be doubted that the historical antecedents of every portion of that system are perfectly known, and that every one of them is purely Hellenic. The originality of Plato does not consist in the invention of absolutely new doctrines; all the philosophical systems anterior to and contemporaneous with him have contributed to the formation of his own. There is, perhaps, not a single doctrine of his of which the rudiments may not be clearly traced to one or more of his

¹³ Lassen has collected (ii. 621, sq.) all the information which the Greeks are found to have possessed of India. He excuses and explains away as many of their blunders as possible, and he exaggerates the accuracy of the truer statements. The only Indian doctrine which he is able to discover is that about life and death. We confess we can only see a commonplace, such as the Greeks often used in describing the ideas of barbarians, in what Professor Lassen quotes (p. 699) from Megasthenes. If he really had accurate ideas on the subject, why does he say nothing of transmigration?

predecessors. The originality of his genius consists in the consummate power with which he mastered all the consequences involved in the thoughts which had been uttered before him, brought them to bear on each other, and combined them into one harmonious system. This is now generally recognised; and it is no less generally admitted that the Eastern travels which have been attributed to him, as well as to Empedocles, Pythagoras, and other ancient philosophers, are the invention of writers who lived several centuries after the times of which they speak.

Some writers then are judicious in ceasing to look in Platonism for Oriental elements which are certainly not there. But if they are judicious in retiring from a position which is manifestly no longer tenable, they are not the less short-sighted in persisting to defend the outworks of the citadel of which the enemy is already in possession. If it be granted that the first two periods of Greek philosophy are free from Oriental elements, it is impossible to prove the presence of these elements in the third, because all the main arguments that affect this third period are equally applicable to the first and second, and if confessedly worthless in the latter case must be equally so in the former.

Of all the Greek systems, Stoicism is that which contains the most striking points of resemblance to Indian systems. It is a Pantheism according to which all substances emanate from the Divinity and flow back into him; or rather there is but one substance, of which all phenomena are but modifications, all of them essentially homogeneous, and ever passing one into the other. All things are determined by an eternal necessity, and in virtue of this law the universe is periodically and for ever subject to alternate revolutions of destruction and renovation. The moral ideal of the Stoic sage consists in a total indifference or *ἀπάθεια* with reference to all external goods and evils; and some philosophers went so far as to assert that all pleasures were in themselves contrary to man's true nature, and therefore unlawful. It would be easy to quote extracts from Indian philosophy most strikingly similar in thought to passages from the Stoic philosophy. Yet no one would now contend that Stoicism had derived any of its ideas from Indian sources. The genealogy of Stoicism is too well known. We are too well acquainted with its direct obligations to the Cynic philosophy, to Heraclitus, to the school of Megara, to Aristotle himself, and to the two Academies, to be obliged to have recourse to the hypothesis of a foreign origin, in itself historically improbable, and of which no external evidence can be produced. To the eye of the

philosophical historian, the system most nearly akin to Stoicism is the one which seems to differ the most from it, and which no one would think of deriving from an Oriental source. Stoicism and Epicureanism have the same starting-point; both think cheaply of pure speculation, except as far as it can be brought to bear on ethics; the aim of wisdom according to both is the deliverance of human subjectivity from objective reality, and this aim is finally attained according to both in the same way. The ἀταραξία of the Epicureans is almost identical with the ἀπάθεια of the Stoics. It is Epicurus who says, according to Cicero, "Nullum sapienti esse tempus, etsi uratur, torqueatur, secetur, quin possit exclamare, *Quam pro nihilo puto!*"¹⁴

The case of Stoicism is one which ought to teach us caution against admitting a foreign origin for any Greek system of philosophic thought, unless satisfactory historical evidence of such an origin can be produced. When the spirit of philosophical speculation is once awakened, certain problems are sure sooner or later to present themselves; and it is not wonderful if very similar solutions are arrived at, or if very similar processes of thought are gone through, by thoroughly independent thinkers in very different parts of the world. It has been remarked that parts of the Arabian Al Gazzâli's philosophy bear a most startling resemblance to parts of Descartes' *Méditations*. There are parts of Fichte's *Bestimmung des Menschen* which read as if closely imitated from Berkeley's *Dialogues*.¹⁵ Yet such resemblances by no means imply an identity of fundamental principle, or even a general affinity of thought, between two systems. But we should be particularly cautious against assuming a real historical connection between systems whose resemblance to each other may be derived from the characteristic tendency common to both. As long as philosophical speculation is cultivated, we may expect to meet with materialists, idealists, sceptics, and mystics; and we shall understand but little of philosophy if we are astonished when coincidences are found between the arguments of sceptics in different ages and countries, or between the conclusions of mystics.

The last remark, though almost an obvious truism, is important here, for it meets the only apparently strong

¹⁴ *Tusc. Quæst.* v. 26. Plutarch says: 'Επίκουρος δὲ καὶ γελᾶν φησι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσήματος πολλάκις κάμνοντα τὸν σοφόν. *Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epic.* iii. 10.

¹⁵ See Max Müller's very instructive discussion of the coincidences between the Greek and Indian doctrines of the five elements, in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Indischen Philosophie*; 1. "Kanâda's Vaiçeshika Lehre." *Zeitschrift d.d. Morg. Gesellschaft*, vi. 18.

point in the argument of those who see Oriental influences in the later Greek philosophy. Most of the coincidences, real and imaginary, that have been produced as existing between this and Eastern systems, exist also between these and the earlier Greek philosophy. There are, however, some doctrines and tendencies which are only found in the later Greek philosophy; and these at least, it may be said, must be attributed to a foreign origin. During the first two periods philosophy had been a thoroughly independent science. Theology was at best only a branch of philosophy, and the latter was often openly hostile to religion. In the third period, which may be considered as beginning with the Neo-Pythagoreans, philosophy becomes the hand-maid to theology; it is no longer pursued for its own sake, but as a means to an end which lies beyond it; ethics assume a religious character; holiness is looked up to rather than morality; divine revelation and union with the Divinity take precedence of purely rational speculation. The gravest philosophers occupy themselves with magic and theurgy. That Christianity helped to promote this tendency in the rival heathen philosophy is certain, but it did not create it; for the tendency itself existed before the appearance of Christianity, and no doubt contributed in its degree to the success not only of Christianity, but of those dangerous sects which seemed for a time to have supplied the moral and intellectual wants of the age even more adequately than Christianity itself.

But this tendency is not to be explained by reference to external causes, but by the exact *place* which it occupies in the history of philosophy. It appears at a time when the whole productive energy of the Greek philosophy had long been spent, when the controversy between rival systems of the Stoics and Epicureans had proved fatal to both, and when the sceptics had already drawn the conclusion that human reason was impotent to discover or verify the truth. The Greek philosophy had passed through every stage except the last, and this alone remained for it,—mysticism. If human reason be impotent by itself to attain truth, some principle higher than reason, or at least different from it, may yet satisfy the imperishable yearnings of the soul. It is not until Faust has passed through scepticism that he turns to magic.

No one, perhaps, has better understood than M. Cousin the historical necessity which determined the entire character of Greek philosophy during its last period. His account of mysticism in general, and its origin in previous

forms of speculation, so admirably explains the tendencies of the later Greek philosophy, that when he comes to that portion of his subject he is not obliged, like Ritter, to look out for external causes altogether foreign to the Greek mind. "The reason of the religious character of the third and last epoch of the Greek philosophy by internal movement is the necessary progress of this philosophy." But to this "fundamental cause" he adds external causes, such as the political state of the world, and particularly the contact of the Greek with the Eastern mind. Of this contact there is evidence enough, but the active process is all on one side; the Eastern mind was profoundly affected by Greek influences; but, putting Judaism and Christianity out of the question, it is in vain that we seek for proof that the Greek mind was influenced by the Eastern. We see Hellenism where Dr. Milman and others see Orientalism.

The origin of the Essenes is, or rather was, one of the difficult problems of Jewish history. Considerable light has, however, been thrown upon it by some recent critical researches. The only question can be, whether Essenism is a natural and spontaneous, however one-sided, development of Judaism, as Ewald and Ritschl have maintained, or whether its peculiarities are not rather owing to the influence of Greek ideas, which were not less widely disseminated in Palestine than in other Eastern countries. It is certainly no longer necessary to discuss M. Matter's hypothesis, tracing the doctrines and institutions of Essenes and Therapeutæ to the Zend-Avesta. The hypothesis may be allowed to rest by the side of that which traces the Gospel of St. John to the same source. It has been shown by Zeller that all the characteristics of the Essenes, such as their entire social organisation, their novitiates, their meals, the mystery of their doctrinal books, their unbloody sacrifices, their abstinence from flesh, from wine, from marriage, and from the use of oil, their prohibition of oaths, their doctrine of the etherial nature of the soul and its imprisonment in the body, together with their cultus of the sun (and probably of water), are simply characteristics of the contemporaneous Neo-Pythagorean philosophy. The identity of the Essene and Neo-Pythagorean characteristics is so evident that Ritschl does not attempt to deny the probability of a historical filiation between the two doctrines. He maintains, however,¹⁶ that Essenism was long in existence before Neo-Pythagoreanism, and has therefore a greater right to be considered

¹⁶ In his article "Ueber die Essener," in the *Tübingen Theologische Jahrbücher* of 1855.

the parent doctrine. Nigidius Figulus, who was the contemporary of Cicero, has generally, on the authority of the latter, been considered as the founder of Neo-Pythagoreanism; whereas the Essenes are spoken of by Josephus as already in existence in the time of Jonathan, B.C. 161-143. The question of the comparative antiquity of the two doctrines has been discussed by Zeller in a remarkable dissertation,¹⁷ in which he produces a large mass of historical evidence proving that what is called Neo-Pythagoreanism was in existence several hundred years before the time of Nigidius Figulus. This would already be decisive of the question; but Zeller further doubts, and with reason, whether the simple assertion of Josephus, as to the existence of the Essenes in the middle of the second century before Christ, is to be unconditionally accepted.

The Therapeutæ have generally been supposed to be allied to the Essenes. Dr. Döllinger, however, justly observes that there is no external evidence of this, and that the characteristic (that is, the Neo-Pythagorean) doctrines of the Essenes are nowhere attributed to them. We are not quite so sure that he is right in thinking them altogether free from Greek influences. The question is an extremely difficult one. That they were, however, untouched by any foreign Oriental influence must be taken for granted, until some necessity can be proved for such a hypothesis, or until some external evidence of it can be produced.

The sources of Philo's doctrines are so plainly visible on the very surface of his writings, that it is difficult to understand why one should attribute to him a knowledge of sources of which he is apparently unconscious. All Philo's writings are devoted to the task of harmonising the Jewish religion with the results of Greek philosophy. In this process the Jewish element has sometimes the advantage; but in most cases, perhaps, the Greek is dominant. Not unfrequently the two discordant elements are found together. Philo's genius was not of the creative order; and the result of his speculation is a mere syncretism of heterogeneous materials, which he has not succeeded in bringing into systematic unity, and which rarely fail to betray their origin. No writer enables us to say with equal certainty, this proposition is taken from Plato, this from Aristotle, this from the Stoics, this from the Old Testament. He was not a deep or subtle thinker; and he has added but little to the intellectual capital he has borrowed. It is but rarely that we have

¹⁷ "Ueber den Zusammenhang des Essäismus mit dem Griechenthum," in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* of 1856.

a difficulty in tracing his conclusions back to the principles from which they are derived. Conclusions and principles lie close together. We do not know that he can be held to speak more strongly than Plato of matter as the source of all disorder and evil; but it is certain that he could not speak otherwise after having admitted the principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and ascribed all the order in the universe to the Logos. Philo's dualism at least is purely Platonic. His doctrines of emanation and ecstasy are, however, at first sight, less easy to reconcile with the current of Greek speculation. Brandis thus describes the first of these doctrines:¹⁸ "The relation of the world to the deity he conceived of partly as the extension (*ἐκτείνειν*) of the latter to the former . . . or as the filling of the void by the boundless fullness of God . . . partly under the image of effulgence: the primal existence was then looked upon by him as the pure light which shed its beams all around, the Logos as the nearest circle of light proceeding from it, each single power as a separate ray of the primordial light, and the universe as an illumination of matter, fading away more and more in proportion to its distance from the primal light." The first thing to be observed with reference to this doctrine, whether found in Philo or in later systems, is that the notion of emanation is, as we have already seen, not at all foreign to Greek philosophy. It is an essential notion of the Stoic system, to which Philo is indebted for so many of his own ideas, and from which, indeed, he has borrowed almost the whole of his ethical doctrine. In the second place, we must admit with Zeller¹⁹ that Philo himself hardly seems to be conscious of the importance of the doctrine in question, as he never makes use of it to explain the imperfection of derived being, as he would have certainly done if he had borrowed it from a system similar, for instance, to any of the Gnostic heresies which sprang up after his time, or to one of the Brahmanic philosophies. Owing to his attachment to Plato, Philo's doctrine is less materialistic than that of the Stoics, to which he has given an altogether Platonic colouring.

The doctrine of ecstasy is found for the first time in Philo. It reappears, with less distinctness, however, in Plutarch, and is one of the most prominent features of Neo-Platonism.

¹⁸ Article "Philon," in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

¹⁹ *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 617 (1st ed.); but see the entire section. The supposition of any derivation of Philo's doctrine from Indian sources is sufficiently met by Georgii (*Die neuesten Auffassungen der Alexandrin. Religions-philosophie*), in Ilgen's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1839, 3 Hefte, p. 62.

Were the doctrine peculiar to Philo, it might be argued, with some degree of plausibility, that a latent Jewish element had some share in the production of a notion apparently so new to the Greek mind. But the writings of Plotinus give the plainest proof that this notion had become an absolutely necessary complement to all the later forms of Greek speculation. The difficulty which is so often felt on the subject simply arises from a misconception of the history of philosophy in general. The doctrine of ecstasy implies the mystical stage of speculation. Now this stage is never reached till all others have been passed through. To look for ecstasy, or for any other mystical doctrine, in Parmenides, Plato, or Aristotle, is, therefore, like judging of the fruit of a tree before the proper season has come. That ecstasy, or at least some similar doctrine, is the natural, if not necessary, fruit of mystical speculation is certain from the history of all philosophies. Why should Greek philosophy be less impotent to produce it than the Indian or the German? Why must it be considered original in India, and borrowed in Alexandria? Where did Jacob Boehme learn his theosophy? Is the "intellectual intuition" to be explained by the influence on Schelling of Indian or Alexandrian philosophy, or by the exact *place* which he fills in the history of German philosophy? The doctrine of ecstasy is found in India only where it ought to be looked for,—not in the Nyaya, or even in the Sâṅkhya of Kapila, but in the Yogism of Pâtanjali. It would be indeed astonishing if we found it in the system of Epicurus; but it is only natural that we should find it in the systems of Philo or Porphyry.

Although the doctrine of ecstasy could not have been developed as a philosophical theory in any of the earlier systems, it must not be supposed that elements were wanting there, which might necessarily assume a new importance when viewed by the light of a later philosophy. Plato acknowledges *μανία* and *ἐνθουσιασμός* as direct means of communication between the deity and the human soul. They cannot, however, play a very important part in a system where the highest objects of science are the Ideas (for a personal God is no essential doctrine of Plato), and where its only organ is dialectics. But it is clear that in systems like those of Philo or Plotinus, where God is the one great object of knowledge, and knowledge itself is only sought for the sake of acquiring holiness, *ἐνθουσιασμός* must be looked upon in a quite different light. All those passages of Plato which speak of the *θεά των ὄντως ὄντων* would suggest meanings not contemplated by the author. If we fur-

ther take into consideration Aristotle's doctrine of the *voûs* as an organ of immediate knowledge, wherein identity is effected between the subject and object of cognition, we shall not perhaps find it difficult to conceive how, in systems of a profoundly mystical character, the notion of ecstasy may have been developed.

It has for a long time been assumed, as an undoubted fact, that Gnosticism is largely indebted to Orientalism for some, if not most, of its characteristic doctrines. The ancients never suspected this. They invariably represent the Gnostic heresies as the produce of Greek philosophy. "The philosophers," says Tertullian, in a well-known passage, "are the patriarchs of the heretics." It is also well known how the author of the *Philosophumena* undertakes to prove this by pointing out the Greek sources whence each of the heresiarchs has drawn his doctrine; and if he is not always successful in convincing the critical reader of the present day, he has at least produced sufficient evidence to show that the Oriental colour which was supposed to be attached to some of these systems is purely imaginary. It has been customary to designate some of these systems as Oriental, and others as Hellenising; but so arbitrary have been the judgments which have presided over these attempts at classification, that sects which are classed by some historians as decidedly Hellenising are classed by others as decidedly Oriental in their origin. Sects too which, if judged by their characteristic doctrines, would have as much right as any to be classed as Oriental, belong geographically to the west of Europe.

The leading doctrines of Gnosticism may be said to consist in assuming the absolute opposition of mind and matter; a supreme and inaccessible God; a series of emanations ever growing less and less pure in proportion as they recede from their origin and as they approach to contact with matter; the creation of the world by the Demiurgus; and the restoration, through Christ, of mind which had been polluted by its intercourse with matter. The person of Christ was conceived *docetically*, that is, his human nature was supposed to be a mere deceptive appearance. With the exception of the notion of a restoration through Christ, all these doctrines are of a purely Greek origin; and if we look more closely into the details of each system, it is impossible to point out a single doctrine which, if not directly borrowed from Judaism or Christianity, is not traceable to the Greek philosophy. The doctrines of the Ophites, perhaps the oldest Gnostics known to us, stand in the closest possible relation-

ship to the doctrines of Philo ; the system of Valentinus is chiefly Platonic ; that of Basilides contains Stoic and Peripatetic elements ;²⁰ and Marcion's system is the nearest approach to orthodox Christianity, from which it is, however, chiefly separated by its Platonic dualism, its Demiurgus, and kindred ideas. It has been asserted, but not proved, that the hypostasising of the different emanations is Oriental. Gnosticism was a philosophy of religion. It admitted a speculative monotheism, and rejected the popular Greek mythology ; but this could not prevent it from having a mythology of its own. The old mythology had personified the elements and powers of nature ; in later times abstract ideas were personified, and such deities as Persuasion, Good-luck, Wealth, Friendship, and Necessity, were added to the Pantheon. Plato's writings had made every one familiar with a number of beautiful philosophical myths of his own invention ; and we cannot see why personifications of Nous, Aletheia, Anthropolos, and Ecclesia, and their mythical history, should be considered as wearing a more Oriental aspect than the myth according to which Eros is made the child of Penia and Poros, or the still earlier one in which Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene are daughters of Zeus and Themis, and in which Hesychia is the daughter of Dike. The real difference between the old and the Gnostic mythologies is, that the former was produced by the spontaneous and unconscious growth of popular feeling, whilst the latter was the work of deliberate philosophic reflection. That personification of abstract conceptions which Neander and others consider as an essential characteristic of Oriental theosophy is notoriously characteristic of the poorest and least imaginative of all ancient mythologies—the Roman. And Neander himself, who contrasts "Greek speculation" with "Oriental intuition," is obliged to allow that "in all cases where the latter theory becomes more speculative, it passes into the former. . . . On the other hand, whenever the former conception, assuming a more poetic dress, strives to present itself more vividly to the imagination, it passes imperceptibly into the latter ; and this it might do with a distinct consciousness that the whole was but a symbolical dress, whereby abstract conceptions were to be rendered more vivid to the imagination." He gives an excellent example from Plotinus,

²⁰ Jacobi (*Basilidis Philosophi Gnostici Sententiæ*) sees chiefly Platonism in Basilides. But see Uhlhorn's *Basilidianische System mit besonderes Rücksicht auf die Angaben des Hippolytus* ; and particularly Baur's article, "Das System des Gnostikers Basilides und die neuesten Auffassungen desselben," in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* of 1856.

in which this philosopher represents matter "as seized with a longing for light or the soul, and describes how it darkens the light in attempting to embrace it." He might also have remembered the old systems of Greek philosophy, according to which *Πόλεμος ὁ πατήρ πάντων, Νεῖκος, Φιλίη*, and such-like abstract entities, were hypostasised and made to appear as agents in the formation of the universe. It might indeed be supposed that Church historians had never seen the fragments of the early Greek philosophers.

The first really important attempt to identify Gnostic with Indian, and particularly with Buddhist, ideas was made in 1828 by Isaac J. Schmidt,²¹ one of the first scholars who undertook the special study of Buddhism from original texts. He was followed by Baur, in two very remarkable works,—one on the Manichean system, the other on the Christian Gnosis. Neander and many other writers adopted the same hypothesis. The only writer of name who resolutely set his face against it from the first was Gieseler, who, in a review²² of Schmidt's essay, protested against it as unsupported by evidence, and as wholly unnecessary to explain phenomena which had their origin much closer at hand. Even Baur made very little use of the hypothesis in his masterly explanation of the Gnostic systems; and he seems to have completely abandoned it at a later period, for there is no trace of it in his more recent writings on Gnosticism. The manifest objection to Schmidt's essay is that it proves too much; for if the evidence be good for the Buddhist origin of Gnostic ideas, it is equally good for the same origin of Platonism. Nor does he shrink from this conclusion. He considers the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophies as bearing evident marks of Indian influences. This would alone be sufficient to condemn his view in the judgment of all judicious critics at the present day. Another objection no less serious is that his representation of Buddhism is erroneous. The points of resemblance which he discovers between Buddhism and Western systems of thought (for instance, the opposition between spirit and matter) are not really Buddhist at all. If the view we have given of Buddhism in this article, in accordance with the best Orientalists of the day, be correct, Schmidt's view is absolutely wrong. And it is wholly on the data supplied by Schmidt, that Baur, Neander, and a host of other writers have based the hypothesis of a connection between Buddhism and Gnos-

²¹ *Ueber die Verwandtschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religions-Systemen des Orients, vorzüglich des Buddhismus.*

²² In the *Studien und Kritiken* of 1830.

ticism. It would be most unjust not to state, that Schmidt's translations from the Mongolian versions of Sanskrit documents are so literal that Burnouf declares that they might serve in general as translations of the original Sanskrit texts. Burnouf, however, finds fault with his renderings of very important technical terms; and it is not difficult to perceive that he has borrowed many of these terms from European philosophy. The Platonism, therefore, which he discovers in Buddhist texts is only what he has himself unconsciously added to them.

Few persons have contributed so much as Professor Lassen to the spread of accurate notions respecting every branch of Indian archæology. It is therefore the more to be regretted that he has lent the weight of his high authority to the revival of what ought certainly now to be regarded as an exploded hypothesis.²³ He has reproduced the arguments which Baur used upwards of thirty years ago, at a time when Buddhism had not yet been critically studied, and which he would certainly not have used had he been in possession of that information on the subject which is to be found in Professor Lassen's own work on India. To these arguments the learned Professor adds a considerable number of coincidences between Indian and Gnostic and other Western doctrines, which are sometimes, though rarely, undeniable; but we do not find a single one which would be likely to have much weight with his learned colleague, Dr. Brandis.

Baur and Neander had both derived the docetic conception of Christ from the Indian doctrine of the *Mâyâ*, or divine illusion. The two doctrines are, in fact, not only different but utterly at variance with each other. Gnostic docetism is founded on the dualistic opposition between spirit and matter, and the doctrine of *Mâyâ* on an absolute negation of dualism. Another objection is that put forth by Professor Lassen; the doctrine of *Mâyâ* is comparatively modern, and probably more recent than Gnostic docetism. The same thing is true of the doctrine of the Indian *Trimurti*, to which Baur was disposed to attach importance, and which used to be considered as the most ancient and important of Indian doctrines. And may we not boldly assert the same thing of the doctrine of the *Âdi-Buddha*, with which Professor Lassen compares the supreme God of the Gnostics?

It seems utterly incomprehensible that one should look to Buddhism for the origin of the most strikingly theistic

²³ In the third volume of his *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

feature of Gnosticism, when Platonism, Judaism, and Christianity are so much closer at hand. The notion of the Âdi-Buddha is allowed by the unanimous consent of competent scholars to be a foreign excrescence on the essentially atheistic system of Buddhism.²⁴ It was always a purely local doctrine; it never took deep root where it was admitted; and it cannot be traced with certainty farther back than the *tenth* century after Christ. The evidence to which Professor Lassen appeals in behalf of its antiquity is extremely unsatisfactory. He refers, in the first place, to some coins of the Turushka kings.²⁵ On one of these the inscription is "probably" *Odi Bod*; on another, "when perfect," *Odi Bod Samana*, which in Sanskrit would be *Âdi Buddha Gramana*. Now, even if we allow these inscriptions on these ancient coins to be rightly read, it still remains to be proved that they involve that conception of a supreme divinity which is so repugnant to the genuine system of Buddhism. And Professor Lassen is almost compelled²⁶ to confess that the term *Samana*, which is found on the second coin, is fatal to this supposition. *Gramana* simply means "pious person;" it was originally applied to Brahman ascetics.

Another argument is drawn from a tope at Sanchi near Bhilsa, which Professor Lassen believes to be more ancient than Christianity. In places where the doctrine of the Âdi-Buddha is admitted, that supreme deity is typified by a pair of eyes placed on each of the four sides of either the base or the crown of the building. On the topes of *mortal* Buddhas the eyes occupy the sides of the basement. A specimen of the first kind is represented in the third compartment of the inner face of the left-hand pillar of the eastern gateway at Sanchi, in which the two eyes are placed one above the other.²⁷ Now Professor Lassen candidly observes, that it is well worth examining accurately whether the two eyes which typify the Âdi-Buddha are of the same antiquity as the building itself; but it is obvious that, even were this

²⁴ "Âdi-Buddha . . . ist den Tibetern, Mongolen und Chinesen durchaus unbekannt, und in ihren Büchern findet sich keine Spur von ihm." Schmidt, *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Petersbourg*, i. 97. Csoma de Cöros has shown that the doctrine was not introduced into Central India till the tenth century. *Asiatic Researches*, xx. 488. See also his "Note on the origin of the Kâla-Chakra and Âdi-Buddha Systems," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii. p. 59. Cf. Wilson, *Essays*, ii. 361.

²⁵ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 849.

²⁶ "Ein Widerspruch mit den spätern Ansichten von den höchsten göttlichen Wesen der Buddhistischen Religion liegt in dem Beinamen *Gramana*, welchen sonst nur den frommen Anhängern derselben beigelegt wird." *Ib.* 851.

²⁷ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xiii. p. 109.

point satisfactorily established, the premisses from which he draws his conclusions have yet to be proved. The antiquity of the building being also taken for granted, it is surely conceivable that the habit of connecting the two eyes in a certain position on the topes with the notion of the Âdi-Buddha may be extremely modern.

Let us now examine some other points of resemblance said to exist between Gnostic and Indian ideas.

Valentinus, we are told, taught that the world would be destroyed by fire: the Buddhists have a doctrine somewhat similar; but surely so had the Stoics, and so had Heraclitus and Anaximander long before them, perhaps even before Buddhism came into existence. Some Gnostic sects admitted a system of heavens, or superterrestrial worlds: so do the Buddhists; but so again did the Pythagoreans and other Greek philosophers. The Marcionites looked upon Justice as the attribute of the Demiurgus, and the law of the world governed by him. With this doctrine Professor Lassen, like Baur, compared the Buddhist notion that every thing in this life is a consequence of something that has happened in a previous existence. We can see no real resemblance between these two doctrines; but even if there were, it would be impossible to forget that Pythagoras and Plato had taught the doctrine which the Marcionites are supposed to have borrowed from India, but which they really did not hold. And when such Buddhist expressions as that fluidity is the *dharma* of water are quoted in illustration of the resemblance between Buddhism and Gnosticism, we are much more inclined to compare with Buddhism on the point the Stoic definition of εἰμαρμένη, namely, ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος ἢ νόμος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προνοία διοικουμένων, only the Buddhists do not acknowledge πρόνοια, as Professor Lassen is well aware. But we particularly recommend to his notice the doctrine of Anaximander,²⁸ at the beginning of the sixth century before Christ, who not only teaches the alternate periods of destruction and renovation of the universe, but the very notion of τίσις καὶ δίκη as affecting all things.

The learned professor considers the doctrine of the Ophites in reference to the male and female principle, and also the mode in which they represent the imprisoned spirit as freed from its bonds, to be borrowed from the Sâmkhya philosophy. The Ophites were one of the oldest

²⁸ Ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις ἐστι τοῖς οὐασι καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ρεῶν. διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ τίσιν καὶ δίκην τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν. Ap. Simplic. in Arist. Physic. fol. 6 a.

sects of Gnosticism; and it will not be uninteresting to examine one of their leading tenets.

The first doctrine of the Ophites mentioned by the author of the *Philosophumena* is that of the First Man, the heavenly Adam, whom they represent as being at once male and female, ἀρσενόθηλυς. This idea is so strange to our own minds, that we are inclined to attribute it to some remote foreign origin. We have, however, only to reflect for a moment that, according to the Platonising theories of Philo, the ideal man must have preceded the real man, and contained within himself all that characterises every human being in the world of experience, and the idea of the androgynic archetype of the human race will not appear so strange. On turning to Philo himself, we find the doctrine thus formally stated: πρὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰδῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὰ γένη ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προτυπώσας γὰρ τὸν γενικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος φασιν εἶναι, ὕστερον τὸ εἶδος ἀπεργάζεται, τὸν Ἀδάμ.²⁹ The notion itself is found in Plato; but from Philo it passed, under a corrupt form, into Judaism, as furnishing a literal interpretation of the text, "male and female created He them." The Talmud repeatedly speaks of the androgynic Adam, and betrays the Greek origin of the notion by the very word אנדרόγυνος.³⁰ A doctrine similar to that of the Ophites is also ascribed by the author of the *Philosophumena* to Simon Magus.

The Ophites further distinguished three principles in the celestial Adam, namely, the spiritual, the psychic, and the material; and they believed him to be present in all things, as the life of all. There is no evidence tending to prove that they identified the female side of his nature with the material principle; and it would be an entire misconception of the system to suppose that they did so. We have already quoted the Sāṅkhya theory of soul and nature, to which Professor Lassen refers; and we confess our inability to see any resemblance between it and the Ophite doctrine, even though soul (*purusha*) be conceived as masculine, and nature (*prakṛiti*) as feminine. Both systems, it is true, make much of self-knowledge; but they do so in quite different ways. In the Sāṅkhya system contemplation of nature leads to the knowledge of soul; and this knowledge is of itself sufficient to produce deliverance. The Ophites start with the knowledge of man, as a first step towards the knowledge of God. In this, as in most other doctrines, they simply follow Philo. And in the importance which Philo attached to self-know-

²⁹ *Quis rer. div. heres.* p. 503.

³⁰ See Buxtorf. *Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabbinic.* in voce.

ledge he merely followed the tradition of the Socratic *γνωθι σεαυτόν*.

The speculative doctrines of the Kabbala are universally acknowledged to be identical in their origin with those of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. The Kabbala stands to Judaism in the same relation that Gnosticism stands in to Christianity; it is, in other words, Platonised Judaism. M. Franck, perhaps the ablest advocate of the antiquity of the Kabbala, has no hesitation in admitting the common origin of Kabbalism and the later Platonism. "Nous sommes obligés," he says, "de le reconnaître, il existe entre la Kabbale et le nouveau platonisme d'Alexandrie de telles ressemblances qu'il est impossible de l'expliquer autrement que par une origine commune." He argues, however, that the Kabbala is much more ancient than the time of Philo; that it has been transmitted through the Jews of Palestine; that the latter had no intercourse with the Jews of Alexandria; that Greek was imperfectly known to them; and that the Greek philosophy was held in abhorrence by them. He endeavours, on the other hand, to show that the religion of Zoroaster exerted a considerable influence on that of the Jews at the time of the Captivity, and that it contains many striking coincidences with the doctrines of the Kabbala; and he concludes that the common source of these doctrines, of Philo's philosophy, and of Neo-Platonism, is to be found in the sacred books of the Persian religion.

M. Franck has not been successful in proving the great antiquity of the Kabbala. He is unable to produce any direct evidence in favour of it, and can only infer it from the similarity of philosophical ideas current among the Jews of Palestine and Egypt, and the assumption that the former could not be prevailed upon to borrow Greek ideas. This assumption must be abandoned. It has been proved that the Greek language was at least as current in Palestine in the first days of Christianity as French was in Germany in the days of Frederick the Great.³¹ The passages quoted by M. Franck from the rabbinical writers, to prove how repugnant the Greek philosophy was to the orthodox Jews, are the very passages quoted by Gfrörer³² in proof of the spread of Greek ideas in Palestine. Gfrörer's conclusion is evidently the right one. The Greek philosophy was violently hated by one party, but as ardently embraced by another. St.

³¹ See *Discussions on the Gospels*, by the Rev. Alexander Roberts. We by no means always agree with the author's arguments, but his facts are of decisive importance.

³² See his *Philo u. die jüdisch-alexandrinische Theosophie*, ii. 350 et sqq.

Paul was certainly familiar with Greek literature and philosophy; and his teacher, Gamaliel, is remembered in the Jewish traditions as a decided partisan of Hellenic ideas. But long before this the royal high-priest Aristobulus (B.C. 107) was a Philhellene; and one of his successors, Hyrcanus, was so decidedly favourable to the Greeks that he was rewarded by the people of Athens with a golden crown and a brazen statue.³³ One of the most striking instances of the adoption of Greek ideas by orthodox Judaism is found in the notion, so frequent in the Targums, of the Memra, or Word of God, which is simply the Alexandrian Logos.

M. Franck is not more successful in his attempt to establish proofs of relationship between the Kabbala and the religion of Zoroaster. As these proofs are intended even to throw light on the philosophy of Plotinus, it may be imagined that the coincidences are superficial indeed. The only kind of influence which the religion of Zoroaster has had upon that of the Jews has been well explained by Gieseler. Both religions have certain doctrines in common; and, with reference to these, the presence of the more developed religion tended to accelerate the development of the other. But it certainly is not true that any new elements were introduced from the Persian into the Jewish system.

Sabianism, as found in the Mendaite *Liber Adami*, is considered by Neander and others as a form of Gnosticism. But the singular production through which alone the ideas of the so-called "Christians of St. John" are known is, in its present form, posterior to the rise of Mohammedanism; and the traces of Buddhism, or other Indian doctrine, which it is supposed to contain must be pointed out before they can be discussed. It is certain, at least, that it contains none of those ascetic doctrines which are held to be infallible tests of "Oriental dualism."³⁴

³³ Josephus, *Arch.* xiii. 11. 3; xiv. 8. 5.

³⁴ The following is a specimen of the Sabian doctrines on celibacy:

"Exposui vobis de adolescentibus et puellis, de viris feminas non quærentibus, et feminis viros non quærentibus. Ascendite in ripam maris, videte pisces in mari commeantes neque eos ignavos. Videte aves volucres binas sub cælo volantes neque eas inertes. Provide et tu ne ignave agas. . . Vide fluvium sitientem, aqua non adfluente atque aqua siccescente, etiam arbores in ripa sicciscentes ac morientes. Moriuntur pari modo sicciscentes animæ adolescentium et puellarum, virorum qui eos feminas non quærent, feminarum quæ viros non quærent. Quæ vero corpore suo exeuntes in caligine tenebrarum habitabunt. . . Vobis ego amplius de mundo in quo consistitis pronuntio et dico: Conficite nuptias filiis vestris maribus et filiabus vestris feminis." *Codex Nasoræus, Liber Adami appellatus*, i. p. 127 sq.

The book proceeds as follows, according to Norberg's translation:

"Cur haberetis commercium *libidinis* cum his adolescentibus et puellis, viris

If Manicheism be excepted, it will be impossible to mention any Eastern doctrine which can be proved to have formed combinations with Christianity, Judaism, or Greek philosophy, and afterwards to have penetrated into Europe and flourished there. The Gnostic sects found in Syria and Mesopotamia represent the propagandism exercised in Eastern countries by Hellenic ideas. Manicheism is the only example that can be cited of a doctrine widely spread throughout the Western world whose origin can be historically traced to an Eastern source. But the real origin and history of this heresy are problems which cannot be considered as satisfactorily solved as yet. The important extracts lately published by Dr. Flügel from the *Kitâb el Fihrist* prove that Manicheism extended its conquests as far as the frontiers of China. Is it certain that Manicheism, as taught in Rome and Carthage, was identical with the religion as taught in the remote East? Can Manicheism in the West be considered in any other light than as a philosophical sect closely akin in many of its features to the Gnostic sects which preceded it; and is not the secret of its success owing rather to what may be called its European affinities and sympathies than to the Oriental elements which are to be found in it?

The founder of Manicheism was considered as a heretic by the orthodox followers of the religion of Zoroaster. His system stands in evident relationship to schools whose orthodoxy had been corrupted by the influence of Greek ideas in the times of the Arsacidæ; and he was put to death by the second sovereign of that house of the Sassanidæ whose mission it was to break "the sword of Aristotle." On comparing Manicheism with Zoroastrianism, the characteristics of the former lie in the admission and transformation of Western ideas derived from Christian, Jewish, and Greek sources. The beginning of the human race is connected with Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. Mani describes himself as "called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the election of God the Father." He is the Paraclete promised to the Apostles. It is through Christ alone, according to his doctrine, that man is restored and united to God. The New Testament was accepted subject to the interpretations of the

qui feminas non quærun et feminis quæ viros non quærun? Quibus obnoxios si vos reddideritis, in gehennam præcipitabit: quo loco non umbræ sufficient millia millia cedrorum ut nec earum myriades myriades igni sufficient."

The word *libidinis* is not any way implied in the original text, and involves a misconception of the passage. The speaker certainly supposes that any intercourse with the ascetics of whom he speaks is contaminating, corrupting, blighting. This is all that is expressed by the word *shdaf*. Gesenius has repeated Norberg's mistake in his *Thesaurus*, at the word שדף.

Paraclete. We are very far from wishing to assert that Mani did not greatly alter the notions which he borrowed from Judaism and Christianity. But there is, at least with reference to part of his doctrine, no mistaking the sources whence he borrowed. The elements, however, which we consider him to have borrowed from Greek philosophy, either directly or through Gnosticism, are precisely those which the best scholars of the last thirty years and more have generally attributed to the influence of Buddhism.

The connection between Manicheism and Buddhism was first positively asserted by the learned Abbate Giorgi in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, published in 1762. He even asserts that Mani is invoked in the Buddhist ritual. More than forty years before this, Asseman had suspected Indian influences; and the Abbé Foucher was led to a similar conclusion from the well-known passage of St. Ephrem, in which Manicheism is called "an Indian error." The writings of Schmidt and Bohlen tended to give these conjectures a high degree of probability; and Baur's masterly treatise, which appeared in 1831, and has ever since remained the classical work on Manicheism, has been almost unanimously supposed to have demonstrated the truth of Giorgi's discovery.

Baur's exposition of Manichean doctrines is as perfect as the data before him permitted. It will, perhaps, never be surpassed as a model of that inimitable scientific analysis of which its author was so wonderful a master. That portion of his work which treats of the origin of Manicheism must necessarily, at the present day, be considered unsatisfactory, because he was unavoidably misled by the best authorities on the subject of Buddhism to which he could have recourse; and the very skill with which he discovers external evidence in support of his conclusions may serve as a warning against the peril of the most tempting historical inductions. His conclusions have been accepted by nearly every scholar of eminence who has expressed an opinion on the subject. Writers as little inclined as Neander and Pusey to the theological opinions of Baur have followed him in representing Manicheism as a combination of Buddhist with Zoroastrian ideas. The same view is taken by eminent Orientalists, such as Reinaud, Renan, Spiegel, Wilson, Weber, Lassen. The weight, however, of these authorities is very considerably diminished in several cases, in which it is evident that the judgment is not founded on a personal examination of the evidence. The most important name that can be cited on the other side is Gieseler.³⁵

³⁵ See, however, an excellent review by Schneckenbürger of Baur's book

Baur's chief argument for his hypothesis lies in the supposed agreement of Manicheism and Buddhism on five cardinal points, viz., (1) the opposition of spirit and matter; (2) the origin of the world; (3) the process of its development; (4) its end; and (5) the moral code. Now, on the first four and most important of these points it is certain that Baur was simply misinformed as to the doctrines of Buddhism. In 1831 Buddhism was not yet understood by Europeans. Upham is not even superficially correct in his conception of Buddhism. Klaproth and Abel Rémusat are somewhat more advanced; yet even the latter writer speaks of the incarnations of the Tathâgatas as one of the most important articles of the Buddhist creed, whereas, as Mr. B. H. Hodgson says³⁶ in reply, "the epithet of *tathâgata*, so far from meaning 'come' (avenu), and implying incarnation, as Rémusat supposed, signifies the direct contrary, or, 'gone for ever,' and expressly announces the impossibility of incarnation." If there be really, as Schmidt's translations might lead one to suppose, Mongolian documents, according to which some Buddhist doctrines agree with the Manichean, the only conclusion to be drawn is that Buddhism among the Mongols has been corrupted by Manicheism, or at least Parsism.³⁷ But we are now too well acquainted with genuine Buddhism to identify with it a system so radically different from it. Buddhism, as we have seen, knows nothing about spirit and matter, or of the opposition between them.³⁸ In Buddhism the world has, properly speaking, neither beginning nor end. "The earth, inhabited by men, with the various continents, lokas, and sakwalas connected with it, is subject alternately

in the *Studien und Kritiken* of 1833. The Baron d'Eckstein, in *Weber's Indische Studien*, ii. 373, says: "Die Philosophie des Buddhismus ist eine durchaus andere wie die des Manichäismus."

³⁶ "European Speculations on Buddhism," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. iii. p. 384. There are other interpretations of the word (see Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 75), but not of the doctrine.

³⁷ Schmidt has himself in the *Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens* produced evidence of Persian influences on Mongolian culture. The Mongolian alphabet is derived in part at least from the Zend. Instead of burying their dead the Mongols preferred exposing them to birds of prey. They had a sort of religious cultus for dogs. Fire, too, was held in religious veneration. And in the Mongolian mythology the thirty-three Toegri under Chormousda on Mount Sumer are in constant warfare with the Assuri, just as the thirty-three Amschaspands under Ormuzd on the Mount Albordj are at war with the dewes. Here the Mongols, it is true, follow a legend which is Indian as well as Persian; but the name of Chormousda is certainly borrowed from a Persian source.

³⁸ "La matière, notion abstraite de laquelle je ne crois pas qu'ils se soient occupés." Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, p. 636. Wutke rightly says: "Nirgends in der alten reinen Buddhalehre ist auch nur eine Spur dualistischen Weltanschauung." *Geschichte des Heidenthums*, ii. p. 529.

to destruction and renovation, in a series of revolutions, to which no beginning, no end, can be discovered. Thus it ever was; thus it will be ever." "Whence come existing things?—from their own nature—swabhâvât. Where do they go after life?—into other forms, through the same inherent tendency. How do they escape from that tendency? Where do they go finally?—into vacuity—sûnyatâ."³⁹ Now, whereas a doctrine very similar to the first of these quotations may be found in several systems of the older Greek philosophy, nothing like it can be found in Manicheism. There is no metempsychosis, properly speaking, in Buddhism, nor can there be; for it does not, like Manicheism, Pythagoreanism, and other Western systems, recognise the identity of the soul as distinct from the body through all successive changes of existence. Nor is there in Manicheism any thing corresponding to the Buddhist Nirvâna, which is wrongly supposed by Baur to signify the realm of pure absolute spirit.⁴⁰ Neander identifies it with the Gnostic Pleroma.

If the metaphysics of the two systems differ so radically from each other, it is plain that the ethics of one system can at best have but an external resemblance with those of the other. Each moral code is determined by principles wholly unknown to the other. The Buddhist aims solely at arriving at the Nirvâna, and he knows no other ethical principle. Even on points where the two doctrines might be supposed to coincide most closely, the difference of principle brings out widely-different results. Buddhism may be styled a religion of benevolence and mercy towards all, but particularly to the poor. St. Athanasius considers the absence of these virtues a characteristic of Manicheism; and St. Augustine explains why it must necessarily be so. "Mendicanti homini, qui Manichæus non sit, panem vel aliquid frugum, vel aquam ipsam, quæ omnibus vilis est, dari prohibetis, ne membrum Dei, quod his rebus admixtum est, suis peccatis sordidatum a reditu impediatur." Beausobre, in his shallow apologetic way, looks upon this as a calumny; but Baur acknowledges its accurate agreement with the fundamental principles of the system.⁴¹ It is difficult to imagine any thing more contrary both to the principles and to the practice of Buddhism.

³⁹ Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 5. Wilson, *Essays*, ii. p. 363, from a Buddhist Pâli book, already quoted by Burnouf.

⁴⁰ "Je ne trouve pas de trace d'un esprit absolu ou élémentaire." Burnouf, p. 636. "The Buddhists recognise no such recipient for the liberated soul." Wilson, *Essays*, ii. p. 363.

⁴¹ *Manichäisches Religionssystem*, p. 288.

The external evidences of the connection between the two systems vanishes as soon as the internal evidence has turned out to be illusory. Mani is said to have travelled into the countries east of Persia, as far as Cathay. These are countries where Buddhism flourished. Converts from Manicheism were forced at one time to anathematise "Zarades and Boddas and Scythianus, who were the predecessors of Manes." The first two of these names are supposed to refer manifestly to Zoroaster and the Buddha. This is not the only place in which the name of Mani is associated with that of Boddas or Buddas. According to the Acts of the disputation with Archelaus, bishop of Cascar, Mani had come into possession of the heretical books which Scythianus, a Saracen merchant, had left to his disciple Terebinthus, who afterwards called himself Buddas. After the death of the latter they became the property of a widow, in whose house Mani was originally a slave. The whole story is full of anachronisms, contradictions, and other evidences of its fictitious character; and it is quite unknown to the author of the *Fihrist*. There is no reason, however, for identifying the Buddas of this story with the Indian Buddha; and the story itself fully accounts for the anathema. We might as rationally identify the Buddha with the Greek Hermes, because the latter is the son of Maia. The speculations of the learned, only thirty years ago, about the name Terebinthos are simply pitiable. Neander gravely mentions the hypothesis of Ritter, that the name is "based on a predicate of Buddha, originating in those countries where Mani became acquainted with Buddhism — Tere-Hintu, lord of the Hindoos." According to Baur, the Greek Terebinthos etymologically signifies a tree consecrated to the god Tir. Tir is the Oriental name of the planet Mercury; and with this planet Budha is identified. There is a confusion here between two totally different personages; the planet Mercury is identified with Budha, an ancient Indian deity, who has no more relation with the founder of Buddhism than Dr. Baur of Tübingen with Bruno Bauer, who is often confounded with him. It is still more astonishing to find M. Renan⁴² admitting the possible identification of Scythianus with Sakya and Mani with Muni, and saying, "Il n'est pas impossible que *l'Évangile de Manès ou Évangile selon Saint Thomas*, ne fut quelque soutra bouddhique, le nom de *Gotama* étant devenu *κατὰ Θωμᾶν*." If we want etymologies of this value, we had better go back to the time when Wilford explained the name of Mani by the

⁴² *Hist. des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 275.

Hindu word which signifies *jewel*, and is not uncommon to this day in compound names as Mani-Rama, Nila-Mani. He was also called Cubricus. Cubri in Hindu signifies a hunchback. Cubrica is a derivative form, signifying either a man who is crookbacked or the son of such a man. His father's name was Patekius; and Pathaca to this day is a very common surname in India. These etymologies are at least as good as M. Renan's; but they are equally imaginary.

Professor Lassen has not added any new arguments to those of Baur; he has merely repeated these, and, instead of adding new force to them, has felt himself compelled to weaken them very considerably. On all the characteristic resemblances which Baur had discovered between the two systems, Professor Lassen is too well informed not to see that the picture of Buddhism is incorrectly drawn. Some of the very elements of Manicheism, which Baur sees in Buddhism, Lassen sees much more strongly in Zoroastrianism. We have no doubt that Baur himself would have abandoned his own arguments, as stated by Professor Lassen, who sees Buddhist analogies much more unequivocally in Gnosticism; whereas Baur is already, in his first work, much more readily disposed to abandon the Buddhist hypothesis with reference to Gnosticism than to Manicheism.

Before we can thoroughly understand the real origin of Manicheism, the admirable analysis which Baur has sketched of that system must first be corrected and completed from the information supplied by Shahrestâni and the Kitâb el Fihrist. But, even when this is properly done, great obscurity must still remain on the subject, owing to the absence of authentic information as to the schools of opinion flourishing in Persia towards the close of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ. In spite, however, of this obscurity, which may perhaps never be wholly cleared up, there is every reason to believe that that part of the system which so many learned men have ascribed to Buddhist influences is, in fact, the result of hellenising speculation. However great may be the differences between Manicheism and Gnosticism, there can be no doubt as to their being phenomena closely allied to each other. Neander considers Manicheism as one of the forms of Gnosticism. Many notions are common to both; and some of them are clearly borrowed by Manicheism from Gnosticism. Where else did it get its notion and name of the Archons? And if Gnosticism be the undoubted source of some of the notions which are common to both, why should we hesitate to consider it the source of all such common notions, unless, indeed, we admit the direct influence of

Greek philosophy, which is the chief source of Gnosticism itself? Now, it is either to the direct influence of Greek philosophy, or to that of Gnosticism, that Manicheism is indebted for the identification of the good and evil principle with spirit and matter respectively, perhaps for the very notion of matter. We may refer to the same source or sources the notions of the *πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος* and the *anima mundi*. The doctrine of metempsychosis was known in Persia before the time of Mani. It was, however, a foreign doctrine, and no doubt introduced by the Neo-Pythagorean school. The learned editor of that portion of the *Kitâb el Fihrist* which treats of Manicheism has been struck by the many remarkable coincidences between Manichean and Pythagorean doctrines. Baur has shown the affinity which exists between many speculative ideas of Manicheism and doctrines of the Clementine Homilies. Now, these Homilies exhibit the strongest evidence of that same Neo-Pythagorean influence which is visible in the Jewish Essenes. What is commonly called judaising Christianity was, in spite of its narrow prejudices, more thoroughly hellenised, in fact, than the more large-minded portion of the Church, which followed the direction of the Apostle of the Gentiles. It would be easy to show that a large portion of the Manichean system might, with great plausibility, be explained, or at least illustrated, by Pythagorean doctrines, as modified by such Stoic and Platonic interpretations as were extremely common in the later times of Greek philosophy.

The Pythagorean doctrine, for instance, of the opposition of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, the Straight and Crooked, Right and Left, Male and Female, &c., is understood to imply, not distinct pairs of principles, but one and the same dualistic opposition of elements, from the mixture of which all material objects have been produced. With this doctrine, in later times, the Platonic doctrine of Spirit and Matter was combined. The Central Fire, which Philolaus calls the "Mother of the Gods," plays already a most important part in the original system. But, in later times, it was identified with the soul of the world; it was supposed to pervade every part of the universe; the souls of men and animals were parts of it, and hence the prohibition to kill and eat animal food. The doctrine that the soul is held captive in the body, as in a prison, is confessedly borrowed by Plato from Philolaus; and it is very frequently quoted by the later philosophers. It is hardly necessary to mention the doctrine of metempsychosis, and its importance in connection with the other doctrines. The doctrine that

each man has two souls is Neo-Pythagorean. The notion of an evil soul of the world is already found in Plato's *Laws*, and was revived by the Neo-Pythagoreans. The doctrine of man's being a microcosm, combining in his own nature all the powers of the universe, is also Neo-Pythagorean.⁴³ To what extent these, and several other doctrines that might be mentioned, did, in fact, influence the founder of the Manichean system, we do not pretend to say. We have no historical evidence on the subject. We only wish to show, in the first place, that it is not necessary to look so far as Buddhism for the origin of doctrines taught by Mani; and secondly, that the principal doctrines which were propagated as Manichean through the Roman empire were by no means novelties there, but had already been taught there, at least in substance, long before.

We purposely abstain from entering upon the question of Christian asceticism, which is necessarily mixed up with theological questions, which we wish to avoid. It will always be impossible to convince persons whose dogmatic prejudices lie in an opposite direction that the first teachers of Christianity propagated ascetic doctrines. This fact is palpable to all who have no such dogmatic prepossessions.⁴⁴ We will confine ourselves to one or two considerations which must be borne in mind whenever the subject is discussed

It is, in the first place, historically untrue that asceticism is necessarily based on the doctrine of the inherent malignity of body or matter, as contrasted with the inherent purity of spirit. Buddhist asceticism is completely free from the influences of such a doctrine. It was never heard of in the Christian church, except as a matter of condemnation. Those writers who were not only the loudest in its condemnation, but the most radically opposed by their whole mental constitution to such anti-materialist views, Tertullian, for instance, were not the less deeply attached to the ascetic doctrines of the Church. It is well known how strongly some of the early Christian writers express themselves, even on the corporeal nature of God and the soul;⁴⁵ how anthro-

⁴³ Vit. Pythag. ap. Photii *Bibliothec.* p. 1317. 'Ο ἄνθρωπος μικρὸς κόσμος λέγεται . . . ὅτι πάντας ἔχει τὰς κόσμον δυνάμεις. On the extreme importance of this doctrine in the Manichean system, see Baur (pp. 138-146, 172, 200, 281), who does not seem to be aware of its existence in Greek philosophy.

⁴⁴ See Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. § 77.

⁴⁵ See Petavius, *de Deo*, ii. 1-4 sqq., and Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, tom. i. 6^e leçon. There is no denying the fact that "the idea of the material nature of the soul was more general among the Christian doctors from the first to the fourth century than among the pagan philosophers of the same period."

pomorphic views persisted till a late period; and how the most passionate partisans of anthropomorphism, were found among the most ascetic monks of Egypt. It was one of these who, on being convinced of his error, exclaimed with the bitterest wailings, "Heu me miserum! tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem aut interpellem jam nescio!"⁴⁶

Asceticism may be based on the most different principles. It might exist in the least as well as in the most spiritual of religions. The same reasons which induced men to sacrifice their children to their divinities might persuade them to torture their own flesh, and to abstain from all earthly pleasures, in hopes to propitiate the gods or gain merit with them. Asceticism may be considered by others as a penance for sin, or in the light of satisfaction to an offended God. It may be practised out of a deep sense of the emptiness of the present life, and the overwhelming importance of eternity. We do not care to enquire at present how far any of these motives are right or wrong. We only mention them to show that *other* motives are assignable besides the one spoken of by Dean Milman. Several motives are, in fact, to be assigned to the growth of Christian asceticism. One of them, however, has been greatly misunderstood; and on this account we shall say a few words in reference to it. We allude to the ἐνεστώσα ἀνάγκη, the "immediate" or "present necessity" spoken of by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 26. This has generally, by Protestant commentators, been supposed to refer to the peculiar difficulties existing in the apostolic age. Such is certainly not the sense of the passage, as read by the light of the context.⁴⁷ The "present necessity" is occasioned by the expected coming of Christ, and is not to cease till the world comes to an end. "This I tell you," says the Apostle, "that the time is short; it remains then, that those who have wives should be as though they had them not; and those who weep, as though they wept not; and those who rejoice, as though

⁴⁶ Cassian, *Collat.* x. 2.

⁴⁷ "Der Apostel gibt nicht nur der Ehelosigkeit an sich der Vorzug, und lässt die Ehe nur zu, um das grossere Uebel der πορνεία zu verhüten, sondern erklärt es auch für das Beste, dass die, die noch nicht verehlicht sind, so bleiben wie sie sind, offenbar aus dem Grunde, weil er die Katastrophe der ihrem Untergang entgegengehenden Welt schon in der nächsten Nähe vor sich sieht, 7, 26, 29, 31. Es scheint ihm daher gleichsam nicht mehr der Mühe werth zu sein, in einem Zeitpunkt, in welchem alles schon wankt, sich ändert und vergeht, noch eine Veränderung der äussern Verhältnisse vorzunehmen, bei welcher man doch auf nichts Bleibendes rechnen kann, und sich nur neue Sorge und Mühe macht." Baur, *Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrhunderte*, p. 489.

they rejoiced not; and those who buy, as though they possessed not; and those who use this world, as though they used it not; for the figure of this world passeth away." The *ἀνάγκη* of which he speaks is the *ἀνάγκη μεγάλη* of which our Lord speaks in Luke xxi. 23. The term was a technical one, even in Jewish theology,⁴⁸ for the distress which was expected to precede the coming of the Messiah. There is a remarkable passage in a Jewish work of the first century, in which a practical conclusion exactly similar to that of St. Paul is deduced from the same premisses. The world, it is said, in the 4th book of Esdras,⁴⁹ is distributed into ten periods. To the tenth it is arrived, and a half of that tenth remains. "Nunc ergo," continues the Voice in the bush, "dispone domum tuam, et corripe populum tuum, et consolare humiles eorum, et renuntia jam corruptelæ, et dimitte abs te mortales cogitationes, et projice abs te pondera humana, et exue te jam infirmam naturam, et repone in unam partem molestissima tibi cogitamenta, et festina transmigrare a temporibus his." It is not our business to defend or explain away the belief of the primitive Church with reference to the second coming of Christ, and of the consequent worthlessness of the present life, but merely to insist upon it as a historical fact, which has certainly a great deal to do with the growth of asceticism. It explains this partly, but not entirely. It does not account for the saying, "All are not able to receive this word, but those only to whom it is given He who is able to receive it, let him receive it;"⁵⁰ nor does it account for St. Paul's exclusion of digamists from the episcopate,⁵⁰ nor again for the position given to

⁴⁸ See Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, § 13: de tempore τῆς ἀνάγκης adventum Messiae præcessuro.

⁴⁹ xiv. 10-14. Another passage of the same import will be found at xvi. 41-46, but is probably from the hand of a Christian interpolator. It is not without value as evidence of how 1 Cor. vii. 26 was understood in early Christian times.

⁵⁰ "Cette interprétation de la fameuse phrase *μὴς γυναῖκας ἀνὴρ* choquera beaucoup de nos lecteurs, mais nous ne saurions nous approprier les autres versions qui en ont été données. Il est impossible d'y voir la recommandation pure et simple du mariage, car alors *μὴς* serait superflu, et il y aurait contradiction avec ce que Paul dit ailleurs (1 Cor. vii. 1, 7, 8, 26, 38, 40). S'il fallait adopter cette explication, il l'ensuivrait nécessairement que les deux épîtres ne sont pas authentiques. Il est également impossible d'y voir une défense de la vie déréglée en général, parce que la circonlocution ressemblerait à un euphémisme, et Paul ne se gêne nulle part de nommer les choses par leur nom. Enfin, nous ne croyons pas que Paul ait voulu défendre la polygamie légale. Car d'abord elle n'était plus dans les mœurs des Juifs, elle n'avait jamais été dans celle des Grecs, et l'avis donné ici ferait supposer qu'elle était dans celle des Chrétiens, et ne devait être évitée que dans certaines circonstances." Reuss; *Hist. de la Théologie chrétienne au Siècle apostolique*, ii. 523. M. Reuss is the most learned theological writer of the French Protestant Church. Compare Baur, *Die 3 ersten Jahr.* p. 503.

virgins in the Apocalypse:⁵¹ "These are they who have not been polluted with women, for they are virgins. These are they who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These have been purchased out of men, a first-fruit to God and to the Lamb."

The subject of Sufism, as belonging to a much more recent period of history, lies beyond the scope of the present article. It is right, however, to say that, even with reference to this phase of mysticism, Indian influences have been asserted rather than proved. Tholuck has shown the close resemblance between Neo-Platonism and Sufism;⁵² and when we are aware that all the Greek philosophy known to the Mohammedans, and eagerly studied by them, came through Alexandrian channels, it is only natural to consider the Greek philosophy as an important element of Sufism. If we may trust the evidence of Hammer's *History of Arabic Literature*, Sufism did not originate in Persia, though it took deep root there, but in the Greek provinces; and even in Persia Greek philosophical schools had flourished long before the Mohammedan invasion. However this may be, it is certain that an accurate examination of facts will prove that the interchange of ideas and influences in the first ages of the Roman empire between the Eastern and the Western world has been greatly over-estimated. There is, on the one hand indeed, most positive evidence that the Greek language, ideas, and culture prevailed to an astonishing extent in some Eastern countries, and ruled there despotically until the Mohammedan conquest; but it is equally certain, on the other, that Christianity is the only "Oriental doctrine" that has ever had any permanent success in Europe. The foreign heathen worships at one time imported from the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean never took root in the Western world, but perished without leaving a trace of their effects in the literature, art, science, philosophy, or religion of Europe. Before Mithraism had penetrated into Europe it had been divested of all its character-

⁵¹ xiv. 4. "Ce dernier passage doit être interprété littéralement; il est impossible d'en atténuer la portée." Reuss, *ubi supra*, i. 370.

⁵² In the introduction to his *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*. Cf. his *Sufismus, sive Theosophia Persarum*, and his dissertation "*De vi quam Græca philosophia in theologiam tum Muhammedanorum tum Judæorum exercuerit*," p. 1. M. Renan says (*Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, p. 71), "Quoique Plotin soit resté inconnu aux Musulmans, rien ne ressemble plus à la doctrine des *Ennéades* que telle page d'Ibn-Bûdja, d'Ibn-Roschd, d'Ibn-Gabirol (Avicébron)." Even if the assertion about Plotinus be admitted, we are in possession of various Arabic translations from mystical writings of the Greeks. And even the name of Aristotle may, as we know from the "*Mystica Egyptiorum philosophia*," be a mask for the doctrines of Plotinus.

istically Oriental elements. The doctrines of India and the far East never reached the shores of the Mediterranean. "That awful Oriental theosophy" which is the bugbear of some modern writers is the mere creature of their own imaginations, and will cease to be believed in when more correct notions of the real doctrines once current in Eastern nations come to be generally admitted.

ULTRAMONTANISM.

KNOWLEDGE is treated by the Christian Church not merely as a means, but much more as an end, because it is the only sphere in which her progress is unwavering and subject to no relapse. When in successive ages she defines or surveys anew the system which it is her mission to teach, she has always to record some advance upon the past. Though, amongst the units of mankind, the boundary of her dominion may waver or recede, yet, in the order of truth, she works out a law of inevitable and invariable advance. She must teach all nations; but she has no special promise that any one will listen to her. She must watch over those within her fold, but she knows not whether her vigilance will avail. No divine protection ensures her against losses by persecution, dogged unbelief, neglect of her law, or apostasy from her creed; and there is no assurance that the means of grace which she dispenses will effect by degrees the moral improvement of our race, or that sanctity will gain in intensity or in extent as time goes on. There may be diminution in the area of Christendom, and decline in the virtue of Christians. But there must be some exception to the possibility of retrogression, or Christianity would be inferior to Judaism; nay, if stagnation could paralyse every function of the Church of Christ, His works would be less perfect than the works of men. The divine nature of the institution which He founded must therefore be manifest in some element which is secured against loss or deterioration by the assurance of a constant growth. To refuse to the Church this character of progress is to deny the divinity of her Founder; and if we seek it any where else than in that order of truth which is subject to the immediate guidance of the Holy Ghost, we are contradicted alike by the holiness of the early ages, and by the most memorable lessons of later religious history.

In this growth the Church does not yield to the action of external forces, or simply consent to a change which she cannot impede. Progress is a necessity of her existence, and a law of her nature. She does not passively suffer it, but actively imposes it upon society. Whilst she continually and continuously developes her doctrines, and evolves truth from the inexhaustible tradition of the teaching of our Lord, her action is the ever-present impulse, pattern, and guide of society in the formation of law, and in the advancement of

learning. How great is the influence thus exercised by the example of the Church on civil government, and how close is the parallel between her method and the principles of political science, we do not here enquire. Her more direct and necessary action is on human knowledge. For the full exposition of truth is the great object for which the existence of mankind is prolonged on earth. It may be that individual goodness is not greater, or the proportion of the saved larger, than in earlier times; but Almighty God is more fully known, the articles of faith are multiplied, and the certainty of knowledge is increased. This growth in knowledge is not by new revelations or by a continuance of inspiration, but it is a conquest of the Christian mind in its conflict with the phases of untruth. It is earned by exertion; it is not simply given, like faith itself. The development of doctrine is essential to the preservation of its purity; hence its preservation implies its development; and the intellectual act which accompanies belief is the agent of progress of the Church in religious knowledge. In the course of this process she lays under contribution all human learning, which she exalts and sanctifies by using it. As she does not possess at once the fulness of all knowledge, and as her authority leaves many things uncertain, she must rely on other resources to provide that which is not hers by inheritance; and her demand must necessarily promote the supply of that on which she so much depends. Therefore, by the side of the progressive study of revealed truth a vast intellectual labour continues incessantly, carried on in the presence of authority, on the basis of faith, and within the sphere of unity and charity, in order that all science may become tributary to religion, and that God may be worshipped in the harmony of His words, His works, and His ways.

This duty has been discharged in all ages, except the intervals of corruption and decline, with a zeal commensurate with its importance; and the bitter anxiety which has accompanied each rising doubt and division has equalled that excited by assaults on the faith itself. For in disputes with a hostile religion there is the certainty of belief to guide, and confidence in authority to sustain the combatant. He confesses himself inferior to his cause; he dares not degrade it by the introduction of personal motives or emotions, or allow it to be desecrated by the conditions of human controversy; and he is not tempted to do so, for neither fear nor doubt mingles with his feelings. But in discussions confined within the sphere of religious unity, which do not directly involve fundamental truths, and where private judgment

occupies the place of faith and obedience, the antagonism is necessarily more personal, there is more selfishness in opinion, and less assurance of victory, and the purest motives may become tainted by ignorance, interest, or pride. Disputes which authority cannot decide are an excitement for those to whom its restraint is irksome, and an indulgence for those who are weary of acquiescing in silent unity. The lines of separation are more distinctly marked because the chasm is less wide.

Hence arise two phenomena which vex the Catholic and perplex the Protestant—the number of parties within the Church, and the heat of their dissensions. It is not always easy for a stranger to reconcile these things with the notion of unity, or for a friend to be sure that they involve no breach of charity; and it is very hard for either to discover, when orthodoxy is disputed and authority necessarily silent, the true exponent of the Catholic idea. As the rise of heresies furnished the test which defined Catholicism to be the most perfect expression of Christianity, so the growth of internal controversy requires some further test to ascertain the purest form of thought on open questions within the Church. For the control of religion extends farther than its dogmas; and a view which contradicts no prescribed doctrine may be a more serious symptom of estrangement from the spirit of the Church than some unconscious doctrinal errors. There are certain questions to which the test of orthodoxy does not apply, which yet are more significant than some of those which it decides. The liberty which prevails on doubtful points does not justify a resignation that acquiesces in doubt, and deprecates the efforts by which it may be dispelled. In the absence of the decrees of authority, such points may be settled by scientific enquiry, and an opinion which can never be enforced may claim to be received. Yet, though Catholics may be ready to adopt a criterion which excludes some of those who are in communion with them, they dread what may repel those who are not; and they naturally conceal in the presence of strangers a weapon which they use amongst themselves. It is impossible that varying parties which cannot agree in a common definition should accept a common term.

Protestant observers have adopted a designation to indicate the esoteric spirit of Catholicism, the real essence of the system they oppose. That designation is *Ultramontanism*. Unquestionably the signification attached to it has a certain reality and truth which ought to overcome the reluctance to admit the term. *Ultramontanism* stands in the same relation

to Catholicism in matters of opinion as Catholicism to Christianity in matters of faith. It signifies a habit of intellect carrying forward the enquiries and supplementing the work of authority. It implies the legitimate union of religion with science, and the conscious intelligible harmony of Catholicism with the systems of secular truth. Its basis is authority, but its domain is liberty, and it reconciles the one with the other. A Catholic may be utterly deficient in human learning, or he may possess it in such a measure as presents no difficulties to his faith, or he may find a ready and universal solution for all such difficulties in an unhesitating sacrifice either of faith or of reason. In no one of these cases, whether he be a good or a bad Catholic, has he any pretensions to the name of Ultramontane. His religion derives no strength or resources from his knowledge, nor does his knowledge find a principle of unity or a guide in his religion. If neither of them has lost any thing of its integrity and truth, neither has gained any thing from the other. If there is no struggle in his mind, there has also been no combination—no generation of something previously non-existent which neither science alone nor religion alone could have produced. His conscience has obtained no security against the necessity of sacrificing faith to truth or truth to faith, and no impulse to that reflection which recognises the ultimate unity.

It is plain that Ultramontanism, in this acceptation of the word, can only be a fruit of mature civilisation and of a very advanced stage of scientific investigation. Natural science before it was purified by the methods of observation, and historical science before it was regenerated by criticism, consorted better with superstition and error than with religion. But a change took place in their nature at the beginning of this century. There is an interval as it were of centuries which divides Cuvier from Buffon, Niebuhr from Gibbon, with a distinctness almost as great as that which separates chemistry from alchemy, astronomy from astrology, history from legend. A similar change ensued in the political system, and established in almost every country the theory and the desire of freedom. In one of the contests arising from this altered condition of society, about a quarter of a century ago, the term Ultramontane began to be applied to those who advocated the rights and principles of the Catholic Church. In one sense the designation was just: in another it was a strange inversion of the meaning which had been hitherto attached to the word.

During the period between the Reformation and the Re-

volution, Ultramontanism, like Gallicanism, was used as a party term. It designated the strict Roman system as developed by the antagonism of the Gallican theories of the fifteenth century. In comparison with the practice of the Middle Ages, it was a jealousy of liberties, stimulated by an equal jealousy of authority. Such a controversy, raising a false issue on the law and constitution of the Church, could only engage the masters of ecclesiastical learning during an age when history, the touchstone and solvent of extreme systems, was very imperfectly known. At the time when it raged little had yet been done to illustrate the medieval Church, and men were still without the means of solving such historical problems as that of the Donation of Constantine, the spurious Decretals, the story of Pope Joan, and all the various fables which furnished the bases of the rival claims for an almost absolute national independence, and for an arbitrary and universal power. In those days Gallicans and Ultramontanes contended for narrow, extreme, subordinate, we might almost say uneducated, views. The conflict between them was an abatement of the true Catholic spirit, and was lamented by the saints as a disaster to the Church. "Je hais" (says St. Francis of Sales) "par inclination naturelle, et, je pense, par inspiration céleste, toutes les contentions et disputes qui se font entre Catholiques, et dont la fin est inutile; encore plus celles dont les effets ne peuvent être que dissensions et différends, surtout en ce temps plein d'esprits disposés aux controverses, aux médisances, aux censures et à la ruine de la charité. Je n'ai pas même trouvé à mon goût certains écrits d'un saint et très-excellent prélat, dans lesquels il a touché du pouvoir indirect du Pape sur les princes; non que j'aie jugé s'il a tort ou raison, mais parce qu'en cet âge où nous avons tant d'ennemis en dehors, nous ne devons rien émouvoir au dedans du corps de l'Eglise." St. Francis also says: "Il est malaisé de dire choses qui n'offensent ceux qui, faisant les bons valets, soit du Pape, soit des princes, ne veulent pas que jamais on s'arrête hors des extrémités."¹

Intellectual indolence conspired with the ignorance of the age to promote these theories. Men were glad to find a formula which saved them the trouble of thinking, and a view which enabled them to shut their eyes. For the defence of a thesis is far easier than the discovery of truth. There is something alarming in the labour of distinguishing and comparing times and places, and of making due allowance for qualifying circumstances and conditions. The followers of a system dreaded lest the knowledge of facts should interfere

¹ Œuvres, xi. 406, 401.

with the certainty of their opinions, and lest the resistless stream of history should be let in upon their settled and compact conclusions.

The political condition of those times is an important element in the history of the controversy. Gallicanism and Ultramontanism both professed to represent liberty; but they both belonged to an age of absolute power. One system was the instrument by which absolute monarchs extended their power over the Church, whilst by the other the same principle of absolutism was introduced into the Church herself. Both were expedients by which ecclesiastical liberty was curtailed, and authority made superior to law. The source of their vitality and the reason of their existence disappeared when the Revolution put an end to the old society which tolerated, and even approved, the system of arbitrary government. At a later period, under the Restoration, the reverence for law, and the religious aversion for absolute power, which resisted the encroachment of civil governments on the liberties of the Church, caused her to maintain, in her own internal system, the authority of law and tradition over the temporary will of her rulers. Instead of Church and State being rivals in absolutism, it came to be understood that both ought to obey their own legislation; while the horror of the lawless epochs they had lately traversed, in the Revolution and the Empire, came to be the predominant influence in the minds of men.

Early in the present century, while Chateaubriand was explaining the charm of religious emotions, and when in Germany the distinction of creeds was all but obliterated by the powerful current of Romanticism, it cannot be said that there were any distinguishable groups of Catholic opinions. Ecclesiastical literature was at a low ebb, and controversy was almost extinct. There was neither learning nor leisure, nor definiteness enough to awaken the old discussions. They appeared again when peace and freedom were restored to religion, and literary activity revived, after 1814. In those days the memory of the revolutionary period and its unbelief was very vivid, and the ideas of the Holy Alliance found much favour with thinking Catholics. They dreamed of a league between Church and State, of a renovated loyalty identified with a revived religion, and of a combination between men of good-will for the restoration of the great interests which had fallen before the common foe. It was hoped that religion might enable the state to protect society against the recurrence of such a catastrophe. There were many who relied for the realisation of this scheme (half religious and half political) as much on the Czar as on

the Pope. The strong practical purpose by which it was animated is one leading characteristic of the literary movement which followed. Another is, that its writers were chiefly laymen; for the problems of the day were rather social than ecclesiastical, and even theology was treated with a view to the State. Long before the French Revolution the schools of theology had generally declined, and then, for five-and-twenty years, ecclesiastical studies were almost every where suspended. No successors had sprung up to the great scholars who had lived far into the pontificate of Pius VI.; and many of the most cultivated priests on the Continent were deeply marked with Rationalism. At the Restoration the clergy, as a body, were not in a condition to take an active part in literature. Their place in the van was supplied by laymen,—often recent converts, seldom trained scholars, and all rather inspired by the lessons of recent history than versed in the older details of theological discussion.

The foremost of these men was the Count de Maistre. During the evil days he had made himself a name by two political pamphlets, written with the power, the eloquence, and the depth of Burke, with more metaphysical ability than Burke possessed, but without his instinct for political truth, or his anxious attention to the voice of history. In these pamphlets he had laid down some of the most important principles of civil government, and had explained with special success the necessity of aristocracy for the establishment of freedom. His writings had displayed extensive knowledge, earnest faith, a pointed wit, and an almost unexampled union of common sense with love of paradox and passion for extremes. After his return from St. Petersburg, in the first years of the Restoration, he published several works in rapid succession, which have earned for him perhaps the highest place next to Pascal among laymen who have defended religion without the advantage of a theological education.

Society, said M. de Maistre, has been ruined by the want of faith, or by its equivalent in the civil order, the weakness of authority. It is necessary that mankind should be taught the duty of unconditional obedience, the merit of suffering, the sinfulness of self-assertion, the peril of liberty, and the evil of securities against the abuse of power.² Tyranny, poverty, and slavery are not the faults of society, but the

² "Il est vrai au fond que les peuples ont des droits, mais non celui de les faire valoir ou d'en punir la violation par la force." *Correspondance Diplomatique*, ii. 36. "Le dogme catholique, comme tout le monde sait, proscrit toute espèce de révolte sans distinction; et pour défendre ce dogme nos docteurs disent d'assez bonnes raisons, philosophiques même, et politiques." *Du Pape*, p. 161.

penalties of sin. Monarchy is the only legitimate form of government, because monarchy alone gives the nations a master, and places the sovereign under the restraint of conscience. It is his duty to promote as well as to preserve religion, to suppress error and sin like crime, and to defend the faith by proscribing knowledge³ and encouraging superstition.⁴

In these writings De Maistre unquestionably relinquished or modified some of his earlier opinions. There was no longer that love of freedom which he had opposed to the violence of the Revolution, or that admiration for England with which he had been inspired by her long resistance to Napoleon.⁵ His ideal state had become more centralised, his sovereign more absolute, his nobility less independent, his people less free. The dread of revolutionary despotism had given place to a horror of constitutionalism. This was the current of the hour. But it inspired De Maistre with the theory which is

³ "Les inconvénients inévitables de la science, dans tous les pays et dans tous les lieux, sont de rendre l'homme inhabile à la vie active, qui est la vraie vocation de l'homme; de le rendre souverainement orgueilleux, enivré de lui-même et de ses propres idées, ennemi de toute subordination, frondeur de toute loi et de toute institution, et partisan-né de toute innovation. Elle tend donc nécessairement à tuer l'esprit public et à nuire à la société." *Quatre Chapitres inédits sur la Russie*, 1859, p. 38. "Restreindre de même la science, de plusieurs manières, savoir. . . . en supprimant tout enseignement public des connaissances qui peuvent être livrées au goût et aux moyens de chaque particulier; comme l'histoire, la géographie, la métaphysique, la morale, la politique, le commerce." Ibid. p. 147. "Il y a dans la science, si elle n'est pas entièrement subordonnée aux dogmes nationaux, quelque chose de caché qui tend à ravaler l'homme, et à le rendre surtout inutile ou mauvais citoyen. . . . Il faut subordonner toutes nos connaissances à la religion, croire fermement qu'on étudie en priant; et surtout lorsque nous nous occupons de philosophie rationnelle, ne jamais oublier que toute proposition de métaphysique, qui ne sort pas comme d'elle-même d'un dogme chrétien, n'est et ne peut être qu'une coupable extravagance." *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, ii. 221, 223.

⁴ "Je crois que la superstition est un ouvrage avancé de la religion qu'il ne faut pas détruire, car il n'est pas bon qu'on puisse venir sans obstacle jusqu'au pied du mur, en mesurer la hauteur et planter les échelles. . . . Croyez-vous que les abus d'une chose divine n'aient pas dans la chose même certaines limites naturelles, et que les inconvénients de ces abus puissent jamais égaler le danger d'ébranler la croyance?" *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, ii. 234.

⁵ "On a bientôt dit: 'Il faut des lois fondamentales, il faut une constitution.' Mais qui les établira, ces lois fondamentales, et qui les fera exécuter? le corps ou l'individu qui en aurait la force serait souverain. . . . L'Angleterre seule a pu faire quelque chose dans ce genre; mais sa constitution n'a point encore subi l'épreuve du temps. . . . Qu'arrivera-t-il? je l'ignore; mais quand les choses tourneraient comme je le désire, un exemple isolé de l'histoire prouverait peu en faveur des monarchies constitutionnelles, d'autant que l'expérience universelle est contraire à cet exemple unique." *Du Pape*, pp. 159, 160. Ten years earlier, he had said: "La constitution est l'ouvrage des circonstances. . . . l'unité la plus compliquée et le plus bel équilibre des forces politiques qu'on ait jamais vu dans le monde." *Essai sur le Principe Générateur des Constitutions Politiques*, p. 16.

the chief cause of his celebrity, a theory new to the Catholic thinkers of his time. Catholicism, he maintained, inculcates the absolute authority of the sovereign, and forbids resistance even to the gravest wrong.⁶ This unity and absolutism of authority spring from the very nature of religion, and are not only necessary for the State, but essential to the Church. Civil society cannot subsist without the maxim that the king can do no wrong. The Church requires the same privilege for the Pope. Absolute infallibility in the one is a corollary of despotism in the other.⁷ It is also its remedy. Denying to the people any part in the vindication of right, De Maistre transferred to the Pope alone the whole duty of moderating kings. Thus the argument for the papal power flowed in two streams from one source—the theory of civil absolutism. Reasoning by analogy, the Pope ought to be an arbitrary ruler within the Church; while, by contrast, his power was extended over states, and the security of civil rights was to be sought in the completeness of hierarchical despotism.

Whoever studies the writings of De Maistre will find far more than the memorable theory by which he became the founder of a new school of Ultramontanism. He will find some of the best and wisest things ever written on religion and society,—a generous tone, an admirable style of discussion, and the Catholic system presented often in the noblest manner. These qualities have exercised a powerful and salutary influence on all the succeeding schools of Catholic thought; and some who differ most widely from De Maistre on the questions which he made more particularly his own owe much to his writings. But it was only in the course of years, as the publication of eight posthumous volumes defined more clearly and more amply the character of his mind, that men learnt to separate the man from his peculiar theory. At first, all the merits of his system and his style

⁶ "Si l'on veut s'exprimer exactement, il n'y a point de souveraineté limitée; toutes sont absolues et infaillibles, puisque nulle part il n'est permis de dire qu'elles se sont trompées. . . . Elle est toujours et partout absolue, sans que personne ait le droit de lui dire qu'elle est injuste ou trompée." *Du Pape*, p. 165. "Il faudroit que les souverains protestants eussent perdu le sens pour ne pas apercevoir l'insigne folie qu'ils font, de soutenir une religion qui pose en maxime le jugement particulier et la souveraineté du peuple, contre une autre religion qui soutient que contre notre légitime souverain, fût-il même un Néron, nous n'avons d'autre droit que celui de nous laisser couper la tête en lui disant respectueusement la vérité." *Correspondance Diplomatique*, ii, 132.

⁷ "Il ne peut y avoir de société humaine sans gouvernement, ni de gouvernement sans souveraineté, ni de souveraineté sans infaillibilité; et ce dernier privilège est si absolument nécessaire, qu'on est forcé de supposer l'infaillibilité, même dans les souverainetés temporelles (où elle n'est pas), sous peine de voir l'association se dissoudre. L'église ne demande rien de plus que les autres souverainetés." *Du Pape*, p. 147.

served but to give attractiveness and splendour to the theory of the papal power, which became the symbol of a party, and gave the impulse to an important movement. No distinct view had yet been put forward so positively or so brilliantly; and its influence on contemporaries was extraordinary. It appeared to a large class of persons as the only perfect form of Catholicism. Every thing that fell short of it seemed to them treason or surrender. To limit the authority of the Holy See in Church or State was to attack religion, and open the door to Jansenism, Protestantism, and infidelity. Inasmuch as authority was especially odious to irreligious Catholics, it became the part of good Catholics to vindicate it with at least a corresponding zeal. All qualification was taken to be opposition, and was deemed to imply a secret aversion.

Since the question raised by De Maistre was one of fact, and not of speculation, its solution was to be found not in theory but in history. For, as the standing object of his school was to establish a prejudice favourable to the supreme authority in the Church in every period, their labour would be in vain if it could be shown that the pontifical power had manifested itself in various degrees in various times, or that there had been serious vicissitudes in its spirit. Here an entrance was found for a personal element new to ecclesiastical literature, which caused the discussion of character to become more prominent than discussions of principle. Those who identified a particular view of canon law, history, or politics with orthodoxy obliged themselves to treat all objections to this view as blasphemies against religious truth; whatever was inconsistent with the theory was regarded as really equivalent to a denial of the continuity of tradition.⁸ Large tracts of history which had formerly involved no theological interest became the arenas of controversy; and their adverse and telling facts were only in the brief to be explained away and amplified respectively. De Maistre had given the example of discussing these questions with the arts of advocacy. His rhetorical dexterity enabled him to put wit in the place of argument, to disconcert adversaries by spirited retaliation, or baffle them by in-

⁸ On the 5th of February 1820, Lamennais wrote to De Maistre on the publication of his book *Du Pape*: "En défendant l'autorité du saint-siège, vous défendez celle de l'église, et l'autorité même des souverains, et toute vérité et tout ordre. Vous devez donc compter sur de nombreuses contradictions; mais il est beau de les supporter pour une telle cause. L'opposition des méchants console le cœur de l'homme de bien, il se sent plus séparé d'eux, et dès lors plus près de celui à qui le jugement appartient et à qui restera la victoire."

geniously dissembling or boldly denying whatever might serve their purpose. Many followed him in good faith, fully persuaded that nothing opposed to the theory could be true; but he had other followers who were not in good faith.

The long opposition of science and philosophy to religion had brought their methods into a discredit which the practice of the writers of that time by no means tended to dissipate. Men doubted whether scientific method could be really reconciled to religious truth; and it was felt that so ambiguous a weapon was least unsafe when least used. Men suspected that it was altogether inadequate to give certain demonstration of the truths with which it is conversant,⁹ and that human reason was incompetent to gain such certitude without the aid of external authority. On this idea a theory was founded which seemed at first to support De Maistre's argument for the papal authority, though it ended in decided contradiction to it. Lamennais, the author of this new philosophy, taught that no evidence amounts to certain demonstration unless confirmed by the universal consent of mankind; that the individual has no other test of truth than the general testimony; and that the organ of this universal reason is the authority of the Holy See. This principle, laid down in the second volume of the *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, led necessarily to the rejection of that theory of the absolute authority of the civil power which had furnished De Maistre with the analogy he used with such effect. If the infallibility of universal opinion is the origin of certainty, it is the source of authority; and the Holy See is therefore exalted over princes as much as over philosophers and thinkers. When, therefore, the French monarchy became odious to the people, and at the same time hostile to the Church, Lamennais denied its right, and appealed against it to the people as the source of power, and to the Pope as their organ. This was the spirit of the *Avenir*,¹⁰ and it still largely tinges the political Catholicism of France. The doctrine of the impotence of reason was wrought into a system by Father Ventura, and was adopted by the Traditionalists, who, on the plea of Rationalism, anathematised all the writers who did most honour to the clergy of France. During many years Traditionalism preserved an

⁹ "Je n'irai point tenter follement d'escalader l'enceinte salutaire dont la sagesse divine nous a environnés; je suis sûr d'être de ce côté sur les terres de la vérité: qui m'assure qu'au delà (pour ne point faire de supposition plus triste), je ne me trouverai pas sur les domaines de la superstition?" *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, ii. 227.

¹⁰ The Abbé Gerbet wrote in the number of February 21, 1831: "L'ordre légal peut cesser de la même manière qu'il a été établi, c'est-à-dire par voie de consentement."

organ in the journal of the indefatigable M. Bonnetty, until it was condemned, and the claims of reason vindicated, both by Pope and Council.¹¹

This theory of the vanity of science applied to history made it as uninteresting as an old almanac, and at the same time as arbitrary, unreal, and unreliable as the annual prophecy of a new one. It made the teaching of the Church the sole foundation and test of certain knowledge, a criterion alike of the records of history and of the arguments of unbelief. It recognised no means of ascertaining the truth of facts, or the authenticity of documents, sufficiently trustworthy to interfere with theological opinions. It supposed the part of malice and ignorance to be so large, and the powers of unaided reason so minute, that ecclesiastical authority could be the only guide, even in matters foreign to its immediate domain,—the next place being given to the presumptive authority of the more probable opinion. Otherwise, it was thought, the constant fluctuations of profane science would oblige theology to obey all its movements, and religion would ape the mobility which passion, ignorance, and error impart to literature. Hence it was held impossible to verify the facts of religious history, or to argue from the monuments of tradition. Catholics had no basis of criticism in common with others. Every Protestant was *principia negans*. In all likelihood quite as strong a case might be made out against the Catholic view of the past as in its favour, and no appeal to history was expected to confound adversaries or to confirm belief. The immediate consequence was to set aside historical study as useless or dangerous; and that courageous logician M. Veuillot affirmed ignorance to be quite as serviceable as knowledge for the vindication of truth, and urged that no time should be wasted in exchanging the one for the other.

A particular suspicion rested on history, because, as the

¹¹ The decree of the Council of Amiens, quoted by Father Gratry, explains better than any description the extremes to which the school had come: "Dum rationalismum impugnant, caveant etiam, ne rationis humanæ infirmitatem quasi ad impotentiam reducant. Hominem, rationis exercitio fruentem, hujus facultatis applicatione posse percipere aut etiam demonstrare plures veritates metaphysicas et morales . . . constanti scholarum catholicarum doctrina compertum est. Falsum est, rationem solvendis istis questionibus esse omnino impotentem, argumenta quæ proponit nihil certi exhibere et argumentis oppositis ejusdem valoris destrui. Falsum est, hominem has veritates naturaliter admittere non posse, quin prius per actum fidei supernaturalis revelationi divinæ credat." The *Congregatio Indicis* defined the doctrine of the Church against the Traditionalists in four sentences, of which this is the second: "Ratiocinatio Dei existentiam, animæ spiritualitatem, hominis libertatem cum certitudine probare potest. Fides posterior est revelatione, proindeque ad probandam Dei existentiam contra atheum, ad probandam animæ rationalis spiritualitatem ac libertatem contra naturalismi ac fatalismi sectatorem allegari convenienter nequit."

study of facts, it was less amenable to authority and less controllable by interest than philosophical speculation. In consequence partly of the denial of historical certainty, and partly of the fear of it, the historical study of Dogma in its original sources was abandoned, and the dialectical systematic treatment preferred. Theology became almost entirely scholastic. It was regarded as complete, not susceptible of development, looking backwards and not forwards, more interested in the vindication of authoritative names than in the cultivation of those original studies which are needed for its advance. This movement, which for a time had its centre at Rome, found its most brilliant expression in Father Kleutgen's work on the theology of the old times.

That principle of De Maistre's philosophy which is common to works so discordant in spirit and so dissimilar in execution as the *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, Ventura's *Traditionalisme*, and the *Theologie der Vorzeit* of the accomplished Roman Jesuit, has displayed itself in politics as vividly as in theology. The same dread of an outward independent criterion, which causes divines to reject the facts of history, leads canonists, in disputes involving civil questions, to turn from the State to the sole and supreme authority of the Church. Building upon the weakness of human reason and the malice of the outer world, the men of this school arrived at the opinion that, as civil interests are subservient to those of religion, the civil law is necessarily subject to that of the Church. At the same time they could not admit that the interests of the Church might be sacrificed to the letter of her own law. They concluded that no merely political institution, no legislation which is so indirectly connected with the moral law that it can assume various forms in various Christian states, could be permitted to stand in the way of considerations of religious advantage. In canon law, they said, the Holy See can dispense from any obligation which is not of divine right. Why should civil laws be more sacred? If the Pope can permit a brother and sister to marry for the sake of expediency, how can any opinion of political right and wrong be allowed to supersede that highest argument? They held, therefore, that no spiritual advantage could be surrendered in obedience to the variable legislation of any local power. Hence arose a system very remote from the servile loyalty of the Gallican Church, a system which assumed on many occasions a liberal and sometimes a revolutionary appearance. But if no civil authority was sacred beyond the limit of religious expediency, no civil rights could enjoy a higher immunity. The Church could make no dis-

inction between political freedom and wrong, but must unite with that cause whose alliance promised most profit. The standard of political duty was held to exist for those only who recognised no higher law ; those who did so felt no difficulty in bestowing an equal and consistent admiration on Gregory XVI. rebuking the Archbishop of Paris for his legitimist sympathies, and on Pius IX. supporting the Neapolitan Bourbons. Thus it was made to appear that Catholics are not guided in public life by sentiments which constitute the honour of other men, and that they absolutely repudiate political principle. A feeling of distrust and of contempt was thereby engendered in the minds of governments and nations. The religion which suffered by this conduct was appealed to by one party, and condemned by the other, as countenancing it. Catholic parties did duty for the Church, and eagerly transferred to her the obloquy which they themselves had incurred.

This theory, which has so much affected both theology and politics, has exercised a still deeper influence on the treatment of history ; and in this field it has passed more gradually through the successive steps which have led to its complete display. First, it was held, the interests of religion, which are opposed to the study of history, require that precautions should be taken to make it innocuous where it cannot be quite suppressed. If it is lawful to conceal facts or statements, it is equally right to take out their sting when they must be brought forward. It is not truth, but error, which is suppressed by this process, the object of which is to prevent a false impression being made on the minds of men. For the effect of these facts or statements is to prejudice men against the Church, and to lead them to false conclusions concerning her nature. Whatever tends to weaken this adverse impression contributes really to baffle a falsehood and sustain the cause of truth. The statement, however true in its own subordinate place, will only serve to mislead in a higher order of truth, where the consequences may be fatal to the conscience and happiness of those who hear it without any qualification. Words, moreover, often convey to the uninstructed mind ideas contrary to their real significance, and the interpretation of facts is yet more delusive. Put the case of a Protestant sincerely seeking to be instructed, and earnestly enquiring into the spirit and practices of the Church, who perhaps on the very threshold of conversion, when the dogmatic difficulties are over and the longing for the sacraments is awakened, asks if it be true that the spiritual rulers of the Church have been sometimes men of scandalous lives, or whether Catholicism has encouraged or ordained persecu-

tion. If he finds the enquiry answered affirmatively in Catholic books, it is probable that he may be disappointed, or even disgusted, and that a few idle sentences of an indiscreet or superficial writer may undo the work of his conversion and bring ruin to his soul. What end could that writer have in view that would bear comparison with the evil of such a consummation? Nothing obliged him to write at all, still less to write on so delicate a topic, and to handle it without reserve. If his words were true, they still deceived the reader who found in them the evidence of great defects in the Catholic system. The real duty of Catholics is not to gratify an idle curiosity or mere literary vanity, but to bring souls to Christ. The next step is to annul the effect of what has been said and cannot be unsaid. This may be done in several ways. Reprisals are often successful; for in choosing between rival systems it is natural to compare them. But there are cases to which this argument does not apply, and minds on which it is without effect. Here there may be room for the simple contradiction,—a favourite weapon with De Maistre. There have been many forgeries in the world, and it is natural to suspect that they proceed from enemies of truth. If documents on which the Church long relied are proved to be the works of fraud, it may reasonably be assumed that some of those on which her adversaries depend will ultimately meet with the same fate. And if the document is genuine, the writer may have been inspired with bad motives, or his text interpolated, or his information unauthentic. A great deal may be done in this way; and where there is really no room for doubt, it is still unnecessary to say so. For the object is not the discovery of objective truth, but the production of a right belief in a particular mind. When all is in vain,—when the argument by reprisals, and the argument by denial, and the argument by insinuation of motives, or imputation of fraud, and last of all the argument by diversion, have failed,—there is the last resource of admitting the fact and defending its righteousness. This may be done in two ways. The most common is to say that the only blame falls on those who shrink from heroic deeds, and judge them by the paltry cowardly standard of a selfish morality.¹²

¹² M. de Falloux has shown, in his essay *Le Parti Catholique (Le Correspondant, N.S. ii. 192)*, how this temper carried a party among the Catholics of France to defend the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He quotes the following characteristic passage from the *Univers*: "Aujourd'hui, avec les ridicules idées de liberté et de respect des opinions, avec l'opprobre public jeté sur l'inquisition et la crainte de la faire revivre, avec l'absence enfin de foi et de règle dans les consciences, peut-on supposer que les maires soupçonneront qu'ils ont en ce point quelque devoir à remplir. . . ."

The other is to attribute acts which are hard to justify to the superior insight of those who committed them in the higher interests of religion, and their superiority to the conventional regulations which guide ordinary men. The examples of the Old Testament, the wisdom of the saints, the special illumination which God vouchsafes to those who rule His Church, may all be appealed to in support of this argument. It is the duty of the son to cover the shame of his father; and the Catholic owes it to the Church to defend her against every adverse fact as he would defend the honour of his mother. He will not coldly examine the value of testimony, or concede any point because it is hard to meet, or assist with unbiased mind in the discovery of truth before he knows what its bearing may be. Assured that nothing injurious to the Church can be true, he will combat whatever bears an unfavourable semblance with every attainable artifice and weapon. Mindful of the guilt of those who scandalise the weak, or interpose between the waverer and the Church, and fully conscious that a lie may in some cases be the nearest approach to truth, he will allow no adverse statement to pass without contradiction, or without at least an antidote which may remove its danger. For there is but one thing needful; and all facts and all opinions are worthless except to minister to the salvation of men and the promotion of religion.

Those who traversed unconsciously the course which marks the genesis of these views, and arrived at the extreme we have indicated, were generally sincere at least in the belief that they were defending the cause of religion, and not merely their own interests or opinions; and they succeeded in communicating this belief to Protestants. The enemies of the Church supposed from their example that she could only be defended on the principle that the means are justified by the end; and this identification of her methods with those of a party within her led them to think that in exposing the latter they were tearing down a real outwork of Catholicism. They showed themselves expert in this, without discovering that they were really serving the Church which her own defenders were betraying. But those defenders were not conscious traitors, and honestly thought their own cause that of the Church. Hence they shrank from exposure and danger of scandal, and insisted that Catholics should not show them up, or renounce complicity with their arts, lest the world should lose all confidence in Catholic controversy, and come to believe that a cause so defended cannot be good. And when indignant men vindicated the Church from the suspicion

which this conduct had brought upon her, they were accused of introducing discord into the sanctuary, of firing on their own troops, of exhibiting to adversaries the repulsive spectacle of internal discord in a Church whose mark is unity, of bringing sacred things before the incompetent judgment of the outer world. This consideration, and the fear of injuring influences that might be powerful for good, have restrained many from repudiating practices from which their hearts revolted.

The extracts which we are about to give in illustration of this spirit are taken chiefly from books of a popular kind, which have very little authority to lose. We might begin with Damberger's voluminous *History of the Middle Ages*. It would be hard to find in the whole range of Protestant literature since the Centuriators a more monstrous production. But the character of the work is so notorious that, in spite of the real erudition of the author, it has fallen into an obscurity which it is better not to disturb. A far cleverer writer, Wilhelm von Schütz, whose works were much read and admired twenty years ago, will supply us with an example of German aberrations in this direction. In the year 1845 he wrote a tract on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with a view to vindicate the Catholic cause from that long-standing imputation. He explains the case as follows:—the massacre was planned for the purpose of ruining the Catholics, not the Huguenots; and its author was not the Catholic royal family, but the Protestant leader, Henry of Navarre, whose marriage with Margaret of Valois was part of a scheme to betray the Catholic Church and introduce a reactionary policy in favour of the Protestants. His accomplices were pseudo-Catholics acting in the Huguenot interest. "The mistake is to suppose that the massacre was a blow aimed at the Huguenots, a conspiracy against them; it was a conspiracy in their favour. . . . The court had sold Catholicism to Protestantism. . . . Attention was to be diverted from the mixed marriage. Therefore the spectacle of a pretended Protestant massacre was instituted in order to deceive the Catholics."¹³ In short, it was a got-up thing, perfectly understood

¹³ "Darin beruht das Missverstehen der Geschichte, dass man sich einbildet, die sogenannte Bluthochzeit sei ein Schlag gegen die Hugenotten, eine Verschwörung gegen sie gewesen: es war eine Verschwörung für die Hugenotten.—Der Hof hatte den Katholicismus an den Protestantismus verkauft und gab dafür den betrogenen Katholiken ein Feuerwerk, das scheinen sollte einen Schlag gegen die Hugenotten, statt mit Raketen, mit Blut zu feiern.—Das Wesentliche lag in dem Katholisch-Protestantischen Beilager. Dies sollte Niemand sehen: von ihm wollte man die Blicke abwenden. Deshalb ward das Feuerwerk eines Protestantisch sein sollenden Blutbads abgebrannt, dessen Prasseln die Katholiken zu täuschen die Bestimmung

by the so-called victims, and a shameful deception on the unfortunate Catholics.

While Schütz in Germany attributes the massacre to the Protestant interest, Rohrbacher in France shows that it proceeded from Protestant principles. His way of defending the Catholics is to lay the blame on Protestant doctrines. Judged by the Reformers' standard, "the massacre was a divine act, which deserves our respect and admiration;" and "Charles IX. had a right to do what he did, not only as king but as a private individual; and any one may go and do likewise, whenever he has the power and the inclination."¹⁴

The sixteenth century offers many tempting opportunities for manipulations of this kind. Rohrbacher's tone and manner may be gathered from what he says of Queen Elizabeth. Speaking of her refusal to marry, he says: "L'histoire remarque en effet qu'elle n'a pas eu un mari, mais plus d'un: Lingard en nomme jusqu'à huit."¹⁵ The heading of the paragraph where this occurs, in which the author follows a notorious calumny of Cobbett, runs thus: "La papesse Elizabeth, avec ses maris et ses bâtards, ses emportements et sa tyrannie." Rohrbacher is still more unscrupulous in dealing with the death of Henry III. He was stabbed by a Dominican, and fell crying that he had been murdered by *ce méchant moine*. For fear of scandal the historian says not a word of all this. Jacques Clément had only been "educated in a Dominican monastery;" he was carried away by Protestant principles, which justify his act, and Rohrbacher insinuates that he defied the authority of the Pope, and was at heart a Huguenot. So that the reader would never learn that the regicide was a Dominican, but might be led to suppose that he was in fact a crypto-Calvinist.¹⁶

hatte.—Die sogenannte Bluthochzeit war eine Austiftung von Pseudo-Katholiken zu Gunsten einer Katholisch-Hugenottischen Reaction.—Dies geschah nur um die Katholiken zu täuschen und sie glauben zu machen, das, was in hugenottischem Interesse geschehen war, sei zu gunsten der Katholiken verübt worden." *Die aufgehellte Bartholomäusnacht*, pp. 11, 25, 31, 34.

¹⁴ "D'après la croyance des huguenots et de leurs patriarches Luther et Calvin, que Dieu opère en nous le mal comme le bien, c'est une opération divine qui mérite nos respects et notre admiration. D'après le principe fondamental du protestantisme, que chacun n'a d'autre règle ni d'autre juge que soi-même, Charles IX avait droit de faire ce qu'il a fait, non-seulement comme roi, mais encore comme particulier; et à chacun il est permis d'en faire autant, dès qu'il en a l'envie et la puissance." *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise*, xxiv. 640.

¹⁵ Ibid. xxiv. 583.

¹⁶ "Il fut tué la veille par Jaques Clément, né au village de Sorbonne, près de Sens, élevé au couvent des Dominicains de cette ville, et âgé alors de vingt-deux ans. Les assistants le mirent en pièces sur l'heure même. Il s'était porté à ce crime par de prétendues révélations. D'après le principe

In comparison with the systematic deceitfulness of Rohrbacher the arts of Audin appear innocent. He is partial, unjust, and very often ill-informed or misguided, but he is rarely guilty of wilful mendacity. No man is honest who refuses to censure vice in persons of exalted station; but there is after all only a qualified dishonesty in such passages as that on the election of Alexander VI.: "In these difficult times a man of the character of Alexander might well be regarded as an instrument of Providence. There is nothing, therefore, but what is quite natural in his election." Audin's irresolute wavering between straightforwardness and falsehood is fairly illustrated by his critical remark on the authority of Burchard: "Nous voudrions bien savoir comment on doit s'en rapporter aveuglément au protestant qui s'est chargé de déchiffrer ce journal."¹⁷ He knew perfectly well that Mss. of the Journal abound,—there are at least half a dozen at Paris alone,—and they have often been consulted by historians; but he preferred to take advantage of the badness of the published text to excuse his refusal to avail himself of the authority of the journalist.

M. Nicolas, one of the most popular Catholic writers in France, in a volume written for the purpose of repudiating the coöperation proposed by M. Guizot for the defence of society against the principles of the Revolution, has been obliged to speak of the moral and social influence of the Protestant religion. Wishing to show that Luther encouraged polygamy, he quotes the Reformer's well-known answer to Brück, which, though sufficiently discreditable, is not enough so for M. Nicolas: "Luther lui répondit par cet oracle vraiment delphien: 'Il m'est impossible, en vertu de l'Ecriture Sainte, de défendre à qui que ce soit de prendre plusieurs femmes en même temps; mais je ne voudrais pas être le premier à introduire cette louable coutume chez les chrétiens.'"¹⁸ Here every word is omitted by which Luther expresses his real sentiment on the matter; another is coolly introduced which converts an expression of dislike and disapproval into a positive recommendation, and the words *nollem primo introduci*

fondamental du Protestantisme, que chacun n'a de règle et de juge pour sa conscience que soi-même, Clément avait droit de faire ce qu'il a fait. D'après cet autre principe de Calvin et de Luther, que Dieu opère en nous le mal comme le bien, le régicide de Jacques Clément était une action divine. Il est criminel, comme Catholique, d'avoir agi en Huguenot, pour mettre la main, lui particulier, sur un roi, sur le chef d'une nation, sans le jugement ni l'ordre d'aucun tribunal supérieur à ce roi et à cette nation." Ibid. xxiv. 655.

¹⁷ *Léon X*, i. 157, 304.

¹⁸ *Du Protestantisme et de toutes les Hérésies dans leur rapport avec le Socialisme*, p. 560.

are insidiously misinterpreted. Although the passage is well known, we must quote it for the purpose of comparison : "Ego sane fateor, me non posse prohibere, si quis plures velit uxores ducere, nec repugnat Sacris literis ; verum tamen apud Christianos id exempli nollem primo introduci, apud quos decet etiam ea intermittere, quæ licita sunt, pro vitando scandalo, et pro honestate vitæ."¹⁹

It is recorded that when Papebroch, at the beginning of his long career as a Bollandist, visited Rome, and explained to the Pope the scheme of that great undertaking, Alexander VII. expressed delight at hearing that there were methods by which the authentic lives of the Saints might be distinguished from spurious fabrications. The art of criticism was then just beginning ; it soon made progress in the hands of Mabillon, Ruinart, and Tillemont ; and, in the perfection it has now attained, it is one of the surest defences of the Catholic system. But to writers of the school we have described its control is naturally unwelcome ; for it prevents the arbitrary selection of facts and authorities, interferes with the perfect freedom of speech, and establishes something different from convenience as a test of truth. They therefore reject its laws, not only on principle, but in detail and in practice, and deliberately return to the traditions of a period when the means of distinguishing truth from falsehood in ecclesiastical literature did not exist. Dom Guéranger, the learned abbot of Solesme, is the most outspoken of these systematic adversaries of modern knowledge. The critical spirit of the close of the seventeenth century, in which the members of his order took the lead, and in which they were followed by the most learned men among the Jesuits as well as the Janse-nists, sprang, he says, from a spirit of party, and belongs legitimately to the infidel Germans. If we would avoid scepticism, we must revise the canons of critical science, and we shall recover much contested literature.²⁰ On these principles, Dom Guéranger proceeds to rehabilitate many rejected documents and to revive exploded legends, such as the baptism of Constantine by Pope Sylvester. Before long we shall pro-

¹⁹ *Luther's Briefe*, ed. De Wette, ii. 459.

²⁰ "On commence à se douter déjà que l'entraînement et l'esprit de parti ont été pour quelque chose dans la rénovation pour ainsi dire complète qui s'opéra, vers la fin du XVII^e siècle, dans la science de l'antiquité ecclésiastique. Les principes de critique qui prévalurent alors, et que les écoles incroyantes de l'Allemagne appliquent de si bon cœur aux évangiles même, ont l'inconvénient de conduire logiquement au pyrrhonisme historique ; les esprits sensés se trouvent donc réduits à les soumettre à l'examen ; et l'on ne peut nier qu'il n'y ait là un profit tout clair pour la science, en même temps qu'un secours pour la religion et la société, qui ne sauraient s'accommoder du scepticisme." *Essai sur le Naturalisme Contemporain*, i. 227.

bably hear of writers who defend the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine and the works of the Areopagite, and who will compensate for their credulity by an equally wilful rejection of authentic works; for the opposite exaggerations of literary scepticism and literary credulity are manifestations of the same reckless spirit.

Dom Guéranger's denial of the principles of science has necessarily conducted him to a position of hostility to all those who understand the manner in which learning serves religion. In particular, he has attacked the most accomplished layman among the French Catholics and the most eminent divine of the French clergy; and he has elicited replies from both. We will quote a passage from that of the Prince de Broglie, because it describes so accurately the method of the school of which Dom Guéranger is perhaps the most learned representative. He had assailed the *History of the Fourth Century* in three articles in the *Univers*, which were the beginning of those *Essays on Naturalism* from which we have already quoted. M. de Broglie says: "In the first and second articles I am a timorous Christian, who, to please the philosophers, attenuates dogmas, dissembles and tones down miracles, loves to give to the facts of the Gospel and Church history a natural character and a rational interpretation. In the third, on the contrary, I am transformed into a blind enemy of reason, who denies it even the power of demonstrating the existence of God, and thus falls under the liberal decisions of the Church, so clearly confirmed by a recent document. By turns, I have passed so severe a judgment on the ancient nations as to cast doubts on the goodness of God, and, on the other hand, have carried indulgence so far as completely to excuse idolatry. Either I am guilty of the most contrary things, or every thing will serve to accuse me."²¹

While the Prince de Broglie treats his assailant with great consideration, the reply of Monseigneur Maret to the attack on his work on the Dignity of Human Reason and the Necessity of Divine Revelation strikes more vigorously home. Dom Guéranger had accused him of asserting the absolute necessity of revelation, and the impotence of the human reason. He was reminded that M. Maret teaches only the moral necessity of revelation, and that these words are in the heading of the chapter which he criticised. To this he replied that he had indeed seen the words in the summary, but that he had not paid regard to them, because they were

²¹ Réponse aux Attaques du R. P. Guéranger: *Questions de Religion et d'Histoire*, ii. 221.

contradicted—not by the text, but—by the title of the book.²² Monseigneur Maret adds some touches to the description of the method given by the Prince de Broglie: “I have shown that, in order to avenge some imaginary concessions to a separatist philosophy, and perhaps also unconsciously gratifying the jealousies of party spirit, Dom Guéranger consents to misrepresent, mutilate, and suppress my texts. He makes me say exactly the contrary of what I say; and if his quotations had been entirely faithful, he could not have made himself the accuser of my book. Carried away by controversy, he goes so far as to affirm absolute propositions which, if so stated, would deserve severe censure, and would be reached by pontifical condemnations. So far does prejudice lead a monk worthy of all respect, and whom I honour for his learning and his virtues.”²³

Nothing is more characteristic of the spirit of Dom Guéranger's writings than his repudiation of the liberty of conscience, and his denial of the inclination of the Church to freedom. M. de Broglie had written: “C'est donc avec la liberté et non avec le pouvoir qu'est l'alliance fructueuse et naturelle de l'Eglise. Elle a été autrefois le plus éclairé des pouvoirs, elle doit être aujourd'hui la plus pure et la plus régulière des libertés.” Perhaps this may not be a very philosophical or exact statement; but to Dom Guéranger it appears as an insult to the Church: “De quel droit osez-vous ainsi dégrader celle qui n'a été élevée à la dignité d'Epouse d'un Dieu que pour régner avec lui?”²⁴ And in asserting the rights of the Church he is careful to assert her enmity to freedom: “Est ce que, par hasard, l'Eglise serait exclue de la liberté, par la raison que l'erreur n'y a pas droit?”²⁵

In this matter of the freedom of conscience Father Perone, the last writer whom we shall cite among the repre-

²² “Quand mon honorable ami M. l'abbé Hugonin, s'étonnant d'une accusation que rien ne justifie, rappelle à D. Guéranger que je soutiens uniquement la nécessité morale de la révélation, et qu'il a pu lire ces mots dans le sommaire même du chapitre qu'il critique, que répond M. l'abbé de Solesme? *Il a vu, en effet, dit-il, ces mots dans le sommaire; mais il n'en a pas tenu compte, parce qu'ils sont contredits par le titre du livre, qui porte, sans correctif, Nécessité de la Révélation.* Est-il permis à un homme grave, à un religieux, à un prêtre, lorsqu'il s'agit de l'honneur d'un autre prêtre, de recourir à de pareilles échappatoires? Dans presque tous les traités de la religion, ne trouvons-nous pas un chapitre intitulé: *De necessitate revelationis*, sans autre explication?” *Lettre de M. l'abbé Maret, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris à Nos Seigneurs les Evêques de France sur les attaques dirigées contre son liere: Dignité de la Raison Humaine et Nécessité de la Révélation Divine, par le R. P. D. Guéranger, 1858, p. 15.*

²³ Ibid. p. 23.

²⁴ *Essais*, préface, p. xxxv.

²⁵ Ibid. p. xlii.

sentatives of the unscrupulous school, speaks with much greater judgment. But as a historical question he treats it with as little reverence for the moral obligations of literature as an Orangeman could have shown. Whilst the State punishes open nonconformity, but is compelled to respect concealed dissent, the peculiarity of the penalties imposed by the Church consists in their being directed against the sin of the individual, not against the danger to society; hence they may be incurred by thought as well as by word or deed. The object of the Church is always the conversion of the sinner, while that of the State is simply his exclusion or suppression. Therefore, it has always been deemed unnatural that capital punishment for heresy should be inflicted by the priesthood; and those who, like De Maistre²⁶ or Balmez, have defended the Inquisition as a political tribunal in Spain, have denied that persecution ever raged in Rome. Father Perrone boldly denies that the Church proceeded against private opinions, and says that executions for heresy were rare or unknown in Rome.²⁷

In his catechism of the Protestant religion, he uses arguments of the most calumnious kind in order to turn the mind of the people away from it:—that the Reformers were men whose private lives were infamous; that Calvin died of a shameful disease, blaspheming, and invoking the devil; and that the reform of morals and discipline, commonly attributed to the Council of Trent, was proceeding prosperously, and the Church improving daily, when the Reformation interrupted the reform.²⁸ Such language, if it was not intended to mislead uneducated persons, would read like a satire on the Council of Lateran.

²⁶ "Jamais le prêtre n'éleva d'échafaud; il y monte seulement comme martyr ou consolateur: il ne prêche que miséricorde et clémence; et sur tous les points du globe, il n'a versé d'autre sang que le sien.—Voulez-vous de plus connaître, par l'expérience, le véritable esprit sacerdotal sur ce point essentiel? Etudiez-le dans les pays où le prêtre a tenu le sceptre ou le tient encore. . . . Assurément, c'est dans le gouvernement des pontifes que le véritable esprit du sacerdoce doit se montrer de la manière la moins équivoque." *Lettres sur l'Inquisition Espagnole*, pp. 18, 21, 22.

²⁷ "La chiesa non ha mai proceduto contro le opinioni finchè queste rimaneano nella coscienza o nel cervello balzano di chi le aveva.—In Roma poi o non v'è, o appena v'è qualche rarissimo esempio di alcuno messo a morte per sola eresia." *Catechismo intorno alla chiesa Cattolica ad uso del Popolo*, pp. 93, 94.

²⁸ "Già parecchi di essi ai tempi di Lutero erano tolti, ed altri scemati, e la riforma dei costumi e della disciplina si perfezionava oggidì, allorchè risorsero quegli uomini ribelli contro la chiesa.—Tali sono i corifei del protestantesimo, uomini cioè, che a detta di un protestante, erano tutti per la loro malvagità degni del capestro.—Calvino per ultimo morì disperato bestemmiando e invocando il diavolo, di una malattia la più vergognosa, roso dai vermi." *Catechismo intorno al Protestantismo ad uso del Popolo*, pp. 11, 23.

It would have been easy to quote from the writings of Monseigneur Gaume against the Classics passages more striking than these; but his writings belong to a different movement, and the object of his attack is not knowledge in itself, but profane learning. "It is the devil," says Gregory the Great, "who takes away from certain persons the desire of mastering secular sciences, because he knows how much they serve us in religious questions." The *Ver Rongeur* was the prelude to a general attack on the pursuit of all learning that is not purely religious; but writers like Father Ventura and others whom we have quoted went beyond this, and thought that even the things of the Church cannot be the objects of scientific knowledge. There is but one step from the denial of certainty to the denial of truth; and the theory of the applicability of falsehood followed immediately on the theory of the utility of ignorance. By a similar process calumny was grafted on mendacity.

There are two things which it specially behoves every Catholic engaged in controversy to observe in his treatment of adversaries:—that the discussion ought to be a means of converting them from error, instead of repelling them from truth by the fault of its defenders; and that no bitterness or personality should scandalise them by occasions of sin. The course enjoined by the Church is to endeavour to win over opponents by considerate, gentle, generous, and affectionate treatment, joined to the most uncompromising and relentless exposure of their errors. If gentleness is a duty in the case of those errors against faith which are sinful in themselves, it is even more imperative where the error is a defect of knowledge, which, though it may indeed be a consequence of sin, can hardly be traced to its origin in the will. All Christians must in some measure feel and acknowledge this duty: but Catholics especially can judge of its importance by the horror with which the Church regards the giving of scandal, combined with her doctrine of exclusive salvation. It has been often disregarded in former disputes; but in our time a regular theory has been devised which inverts the law and renounces the Catholic spirit. Two paths appear to have led to this transition. One is the transfer of ecclesiastical language to another sphere. Those who have the sacramental power to bind and to loose, and who administer the ecclesiastical discipline, speak, by virtue of their office, in language of severity and commination even to individuals. It may fall within their province to utter the most solemn maledictions, and they may judge it probable that vehement denunciations will move to repentance those

who are not utterly deaf to a voice that unites all the kinds of authority that belong to the father, the judge, and the king. Naturally, and almost imperceptibly, in an age when laymen exerted through the press an influence not less deep, and an authority often more extended, than the bishops themselves, they usurped the same weapons, spoke in the same tone, and affected to deal blows of equal weight. When the most illustrious prelates themselves, like the bishops of Orleans and Mentz, mingled in the fray and placed themselves on equal terms with adversaries, it very easily happened that some of their privileges were forgotten by those who fought beside as well as against them, and that the thunder was sometimes imitated by those who could not wield the lightning.

Another course was more consciously followed with the same result. Catholics continually see things stated against the Church by educated and even learned men which, they are persuaded, cannot be sincerely believed. They are aware of the malignity of some, and are unable to credit the ignorance in which others persist with regard to Catholic matters. When, therefore, the inventions of men whose trade is lying are repeated by men whose profession is controversy, it is almost impossible to understand that ignorance can assume so closely the guise of wilful calumny. The plea of ignorance may be allowed in the case of Dr. Cumming or Mr. Whalley, but how can it be urged for Baron Bunsen, or M. Michelet, or Mr. Buckle? It is scarcely possible for Catholics to avoid feeling aversion and contempt for men whom they conceive to be wilfully distorting truth; and therefore, instead of confining themselves to the refutation of falsehood, which they are persuaded their opponent does not desire, they endeavour to expose his iniquity. This temper of mind was gradually transferred from controversy with aliens to discussions amongst Catholics, where there was the new element of insubordination, to which the origin of errors might be attributed. A Catholic might reasonably be supposed to know the religion he had been taught from childhood, and in which he ought to have been more and more confirmed by the practices of piety. If he erred, there was at once a suspicion that he had neglected those practices; or that he was moved by the dislike of obedience to hold what was not held by his teachers; or that he had culpably turned away from the proper guides to hearken to the flattering seductions of hostile parties. In every such dispute a question of morality was directly at issue. Both antagonists could not be equally in harmony with the sentiment of authorities which both acknowledged. In cast-

ing off this blame from himself, each necessarily fixed it on the other as a prejudice against his virtue. But where a writer is persuaded that his adversary is persisting in his error insincerely, or from wrong motives, the triumph he seeks is not to convince but to convict him. He desires to produce an effect, not upon him, but upon the audience, which may be impressed by the exposure of the man, while he will be insensible to the confutation of his views. Therefore he strives less for truth than for effect, and abandons the argument in order to pursue the man. He tries to gain every advantage over him; and the best chance he has is to disturb his presence of mind by making him lose his temper. That which will irritate him most is most likely to make him expose himself and give an opening to reply. It would be too long to enquire how many things contributed to promote this habit: in some places, the want of that forbearance which public assemblies often engender between men subject in common to a local special disciplinary system; in others, the terror which anticipated or the temper which followed great social convulsions; in others, the extreme fierceness or perfidy of an infidel press. It was soon justified by theory; and in practice it seems becoming more general and more vehement.

To these combined causes it is due that a strong and vituperative opposition has been uniformly offered to the progress of Catholic thought. With scarcely one exception, all those who were most eminent in religious science have been denounced, by men not less zealous and devout than themselves, as the corrupters of doctrine and enemies of the Church; and the distance between the two parties was such as to justify a doubt as to their agreement in the same faith or in the same morality. This persecution of those who really advanced religious knowledge is, on the one hand, a direct and natural consequence of that common spirit which manifests itself in different ways in the philosophy of Ventura, the scholasticism of Kleutgen and Clemens, the politics of Donoso Cortes, the polemics of Veuillot, the educational theories of Gaume, and the historical method of Rohrbacher and Guéranger, and on the other the most characteristic symptom of the present condition of the Catholic Church. It assailed alike the two greatest thinkers among the Italian clergy, Rosmini and Gioberti, and in a less degree the best of their ecclesiastical historians, whom their knowledge of the Middle Ages prevents from becoming the supporters of things as they are,—the Benedictine Tosti, the Oratorian Capececiattolo, and the Dominican Marchese. In France it fell on the theoretical defenders of profane learning, like the Bishop of Orleans, and on the first Catholic autho-

rities on theology and metaphysics, Monseigneur Maret and Father Gratry. The two foremost living divines in Germany, Döllinger and Kuhn, were accused in like manner,—the one for his treatment of Church history, the other for a dogmatic method which seems heretical to the advocates of the scholastic theology; both alike for their theory of development. The few laymen out of Germany who occupy a rank in Catholic literature approaching that of the ecclesiastical leaders fared scarcely better. The Baron d'Eckstein was held a dreamer and an innovator, indifferent to the dogmas of the Church, for reasons such as in earlier times procured Gerbert and Bacon the reputation of wizards. The Prince de Broglie, while he was attacked by Donoso Cortes with the courteous arms of chivalry for preferring liberty to feudalism, incurred the ruder censures of Dom Guéranger because he recognised in history, beside the action of Providence, the operation of natural and secondary causes. Beyond the Atlantic the spirit is the same. When Dr. Brownson, urged forward by his powerful and independent mind, emancipated himself from the narrow intolerant school which in the first moments of his conversion he had been taught to consider the legitimate form of Catholic thought, his great services did not protect him from denunciations as violent as those which, in the immaturity of his Catholic ideas, he had heaped on Dr. Newman. These, however, are difficulties in the way of improvement, which eminent men are able to overcome; and it is well that they should confront the obstacles which they alone can ultimately remove.

That which one class of Catholics sought by a sacrifice of truth on behalf of religion, others aimed at by making some scientific opinion the arbiter of doctrine. If there was a deliberate denial of the moral law, there was on the other hand an unconscious surrender of dogmatic truths. The philosophies of Hermes and Günther, Frohschammer's theory of the independence of speculation, and the extreme proposals of ecclesiastical reform made by Hirscher, before he became the adviser and defender of the Archbishop of Freiburg, are instances of such a failure resulting rather from confidence in human reason than from timid solicitude for the safety of God's Church. But the errors of these men proceed from no common principle, and in no wise agree together. The real antithesis to the spurious Ultramontanism that ramified from De Maistre into so many branches is to be found, not in the opposite errors, but in the true course which deflects on neither side.

The rise of the school we have considered depended,

first, on the low ebb of scientific knowledge, and on its open hostility to religion, and, secondly, on the absence of any literary coöperation of Catholics with Protestants. Among its leaders there were men of great virtues and talents, and at least one man of genius; but there is not one to whom religious or secular learning is really indebted. As they renounced more and more the results and spirit of modern science, they repelled Protestants, and ended by presenting religion in an aspect which did not easily attract converts. The want of contact with men who believed in other religions left them in ignorance of real difficulties and of their true solution. To the opposite circumstance of familiarity with non-Catholic science we trace the formation of that Ultramontanism which we have described as the highest intellectual development of the Catholic system.

The prostration of religion on the Continent at the close of the last century was shared by the Protestants in an equal measure. But it was followed by a revived literary activity among them to which there is no parallel in modern history except the Revival of the fifteenth century, to which it bears a real resemblance. For, first, the intellectual movement which proceeded from Weimar to Jena, and Halle, and Heidelberg, and then to the other German universities, like that of the Medicean age, obeyed no religious impulse, but was indifferent to doctrine. The churches were not then either feared for their power or envied for their wealth; and Rationalism ignored, as it had no inducement to assail them. Secondly, the mental exertion of the period of Göthe, like that of Erasmus, had no definite practical end to attain, no reward to earn but that of literary enjoyment, no mission to fulfil but that of satisfying the thirst for knowledge. Thirdly, the Revival of the nineteenth century, like that of the fifteenth, was distinguished principally by the recovery from oblivion of a forgotten age. But here the analogy is exhausted; for the effect of reviving antiquity was exactly contrary to that of the medieval restoration. The learning of the Renaissance was antiquarian. It overleapt a vast interval which it consigned to a complete neglect, in order to resuscitate an extinct society. It set up a remote ideal in all the arts of life, and bent its own civilisation to fit the model it had disinterred. Therefore it predominated more in art than in science, because of its luxurious and idle temper, and it was also artificial, unnatural, imitative, and like all imitators arbitrary, and in theories of government absolute, and often revolutionary.

The character of the medieval Revival, which is the dis-

tinctive achievement of the age in which we live, was not antiquarian but historical. Its study was not of death, but of life, — not of a world of ruins, but of that which is the foundation of our own. Therefore its lesson was a lesson of continuity, not of sudden restoration or servile copying. It taught respect for the past, encouraged patriotic sentiments, and awakened the memory of hereditary rights. The study of national history, literature, and art was one of its most important results. This impulse was strongest in the north of Germany. There the feelings of men towards the Catholic Church were free from bitterness. She had been their companion in misfortune, had suffered under the same tyranny, and had been delivered by the same victories, and nowhere seemed to them formidable or oppressive. As the patriotic feeling carried back these thoughts to the period of the preponderance of their country, the Reformation ceased to be the supreme glory of the nation, and the boundary of their retrospect. They recognised in its system one of the chief elements in their history, one of the most powerful influences over their ideas; but they also recalled a happier period of national greatness, when the princes of the Church were the best and the most beloved rulers of Germany. It was remembered that among the emperors who continued the long struggle with Rome there were many who could not be remembered by Germans with unmixed pride—that Henry IV. and Henry VI. were men of evil lives, Frederick I. a tyrant, and Frederick II. an alien; whilst the most devoted protectors of the Church—Charlemagne, St. Henry, Otho the Great, Henry III., and Rudolph of Habsburg,—were the greatest of the rulers of the Empire.

Men approached these studies with minds that had been trained in pursuits free from the temptations of party-spirit, and from the influence of religious opinions. They came from the study of antiquity, which from the time of Heyne had its home in the schools of Germany; and they applied to the investigation of the medieval records the tone and method of classical philology. Other causes contributed to this indifferent rather than impartial temper. The union of the Prussian Protestants had expressed the ruling disregard of dogmatic definitions; and the vague theology which it established could not so heartily oppose Catholicism as a more consistent system. Something must also be attributed to the influence of the Hegelian philosophy on the Rationalists. The pantheism of that school, regarding all things alike as manifestations of the same universal nature, substituted the test of success, and even the order of succession, for

the distinction of right and wrong. It was held that all religion is a form of truth, good of its kind; but that the law of life is progress, and the earlier is less perfect than the later. Therefore the advance constituted by Catholicism over the religions of antiquity was explained with the same curious interest as the progress effected by the Reformation upon the medieval Church, or by the Philosophy of the Absolute on dogmatic Protestantism. The question of truth resolved itself into one of fact. Events were studied in their nature rather than in their character; and mankind was allowed to exhibit properties rather than qualities. The action of divine or human will was alike excluded; and accident was denied as well as morality. The Hegelians asserted the unbroken continuity of cause and effect, and held that all the phenomena of history are reasonable and intelligible. There ensued a kind of optimism very conducive to a dispassionate treatment of the past. Then out of the Hegelian philosophy arose the school of infidel and almost atheistic criticism, which ignored the dogmatic differences, and reserved its hardest blows for the foundations of Protestantism.

These causes did not indeed dissipate ignorance and prejudice, but they promoted a critical study of details, and prevented the interference of passion, or interest, or zeal. A school of historians arose who made it their business to write on the Middle Ages as they wrote on the Persian war; who spoke of the Church as they would of the Areopagus, and applied to the most obscure moments of her history those tests of credibility and authenticity which had been lavished on Herodotus and Livy. They had nothing of the spirit either of panegyrists or accusers; but with all their learning, acuteness, and equity, most of these men were destitute of that faculty or experience which would have enabled them to understand the significance of religion. They understood, better than any Catholic writers before them, the outward action of the ecclesiastical organism, the moral, intellectual, and social influence of the Church; but they knew nothing of her religious character. They betrayed the same incapacity in the study of paganism; and their interpretations of the Hellenic theology were often as superficial as their explanations of Catholic doctrine. The most universal of all modern scholars believed that sacrifice originated in the idea that the gods required food; and the most learned of all writers on mythology explained its rise and power by the artifices of the priesthood.

Catholics were astonished to find that men who wrote with fairness, and often with admiration of the Church, who made

themselves the champions of her maligned or forgotten heroes, who threw a new splendour over the lives of saints, and gave meaning and reality to much that had seemed simply marvellous, cared nothing for the doctrines of the institution they laboriously defended, and repudiated with indignation the proposal to submit to its authority. Subsequently, under the influence of the rising Catholic literature, there were many conversions among the historians, such as Phillips, and Hurter, and Gfrörer; but the great schools of historians who wrote, like Luden and Menzel, under the influence of the War of Independence, the disciples of Eichhorn, who sought after legal antiquities, the pantheistic followers of Hegel, and the disciples of Ranke, who were the critics and commentators of medieval texts, were generally as far as possible from the faith of the Church. But the method they pursued in the investigation of truth prevailed against all hostile inclinations; and the scientific spirit which arose out of the decomposition of Protestantism became in the hands of Catholics the safeguard of religious truth, and the most efficient weapon of controversy.

It is little more than thirty years since a class of writers arose so completely masters of the science of the age that they required to apply no other test but its methods in order to judge of its results. The name of Ultramontanes was given in consequence of their advocacy of the freedom of the Church against the civil power; but the characteristic of their advocacy was, that they spoke not specially for the interests of religion, but on behalf of a general principle which, while it asserted freedom for the Church, extended it likewise to other communities and institutions. Convinced of the efficacy and right of the fundamental precepts of politics, they knew that the Church desires nothing incompatible with them, and can no more require the suspension of political law than of the moral order from which it springs. Pursuing the strict analogy between science and polity, they carried out the same principle in the investigation of philosophy and history. In history, they sought to obtain for the ecclesiastical authority no immunity but that which it would enjoy from the promotion of political rights; and in philosophy, they provided no protection for religious doctrines but in the advancement of scientific truth.

The causes which in Germany gave rise to this school of Catholic apologists did not exist in Italy, and were but partially present in France. The overwhelming authority of De Maistre, and the subtle influence of the theories of Lamennais, were serious obstacles. The want of a severe sci-

entific training was felt by many very accomplished men whose natural place would have been among the defenders of these higher principles. Yet if we compare the tone of the writings of Eckstein and Lenormant, Ozanam, Maret, and De Broglie, with the histories of the Counts de Montalembert and Falloux, or with the works of Father Lacordaire and Monseigneur Dupanloup, the difference between the more scientific and the more brilliant portion of the liberal party among French Catholics is very apparent. But it is due to the general spirit of this school of writers, rather than to the special character of its deeper scholars, that so large a portion of the higher intellects of France, formerly more or less separated from the Church, have during the last few years gradually approached her.²⁹ The strength of this school was necessarily confined to Germany, where its most eminent representatives were the divines Möhler, Döllinger, and Kuhn, the metaphysicians Baader and Molitor, the political writers Görres and Radowitz, and historians such as Movers and Gfrörer. On all the questions of the authority of science and its agreement with religion; of the influence of the Church on the state of intellectual and political liberty; of the propriety of concealment for fear of scandal;—the example and the precepts of this Ultramontane school are diametrically opposite to those of the Catholics whose language we have quoted.

The first Catholic theologian who commenced the protest on behalf of Christian science against obscurantism was Gügler of Lucerne, a man not surpassed in knowledge of Scripture and originality of mind by any of those whom we shall have to name. The intensity of the antagonism reveals itself very clearly in the energy of his language, which the present state of literature would not justify. In a lecture against the opponents of a scientific and critical study of Holy Writ, he expresses himself in the following terms: "Timidity is a child of darkness. . . . Wherefore do you complain of us, that we investigate the sacred writings? Because, indeed, we are in danger of falling away from the truth; as if truth resided only in Unreason, as if the sun's light shone only for the blind! You may be led to unbelieving thoughts quite as easily by merely reading the Scriptures as by a deeper study of them; much more easily, indeed, for error floats upon the surface, while truth lies deep below. If you would be faithful to your cause, you must close these books, and conscientiously abstain from reading them; and this, in fact, is what you really do, and

²⁹ Cousin, Villemain, Augustin Thierry, Barante, and even Guizot.

so are secure not only from evil thoughts but from all ideas whatever. At least the lofty freedom of the Christian spirit is far from you, and you labour zealously to reach an opposite extreme. We are to believe the voice of the Church, you say, without seeking to understand; but where do we hear that voice? Not in your mouths certainly, or with the ears of the body; it must be sought for in history and in the written records of the Church. . . . We must examine each document historically, in order to know whether it is the authentic expression of the mind of the Church, without interpolation; only then does faith begin. . . . You endeavour to lull to sleep the spirit of enquiry, to suppress it when it is awakened, to check it in its growth; and by what means? Is it by a great intellectual preponderance and authority which enable you to assume the guardianship of the rest of the world? Far from it; but by ignorance, and by blindly casting suspicion on that which you do not understand. These are your arts, these are your only weapons; and thus you resemble madmen who would extinguish a conflagration, not by work, but by outcry. . . . The universal scorn under which you have fallen is of your own making; for as you will not listen to any thing, and understand nothing, men deem that your cause is at an end, and you will seldom find any like ourselves who will honour you with a single word. . . . By your resistance you cast a hideous shadow on Christianity. When the ignorant, who are carried along by the current of the hour, look on you who profess to be true Christians, must they not believe that Christianity is taking darkness under its protection, and making it essential to its own existence? Will they not suppose that Christianity must dread all enquiry, and dare not approach the light? You have betrayed the sanctuary; you are the cause of the decline of faith, because its purity was long ago dimmed in yourselves. . . . Faith is not your motive, for it has no object but truth. . . . Embrace reason and science, become what you ought to be, and your kingdom will rise again from the dead. Give us a protection not only against unbelief, but one equally potent against superstition. It can only be truth, which lies hidden in the depths. To depart but a hair's-breadth from it is as bad as to be a hundred miles away. . . . Your disposition is very remote from that love of truth which always asks, True or not true? Your question is, Shall we have it so, or not? He that loves the truth has divested himself of all particular inclinations and preferences. He views every thing with love or aversion as he finds it true or false. You, on the contrary, care only for externals, and, if the thing were not

true, you still would not abandon it. This is the disposition that nailed Christ upon the cross, and made the Jews blind to the dazzling light."³⁰

In 1826 the Baron d'Eckstein founded a review, *Le Catholique*, for the purpose of promoting these ideas in France. He pointed out the backwardness of the clergy in learning, and the necessity of a great improvement. The freedom of the press was requisite, he said, in order to restore to Catholicism its proper influence. Left without official protection, it would be obliged to look for support in all the sciences, and to furnish itself with new armour. But if the Church of France should make no effort to recover the supremacy of learning, and to master religion intellectually as she practised it in life, she could not resist science and impiety.³¹

About the same time Baader was expounding at Munich, in an obscure, unsystematic, and aphoristic style, the most profound philosophy yet attained by Catholic speculation. The understanding requires to be satisfied just as much as the religious feelings of man; we cannot therefore rest contented with faith alone. Faith is the basis of true knowledge, and knowledge the complement of faith; for uninstructed faith is liable to be shaken, but he who has proceeded from faith to knowledge is sure of his belief. Therefore he insisted on the necessary progress of science as the safeguard of religion against unbelief, the only conciliation of authority and liberty, and the only means of protecting the faithful from the burden of a merely external authority which, when it imposes itself on the processes of the understanding instead of confining itself to its own sphere in the will and the reason, becomes as arbitrary as the systems of unbelievers.³² Molitor, the only rival of

³⁰ Gügler: *Rede gegen die Feinde wissenschaftlicher, besonders historisch-kritischer Untersuchung der heiligen Schrift*,—*Nachgelassene Schriften*, i. 75-86.

³¹ *Le Catholique*, i. 100, iii. 202, vi. 536, vii. 326. "Nous insistons fortement sur ces points, parceque l'Eglise est plus que jamais appelée au combat, et que, si elle néglige le soin d'unir le savoir aux croyances, toutes les connaissances, toutes les découvertes des hommes tourneraient au profit du mauvais esprit et non à celui de la vérité. A l'avenir rien de ce qui constitue la science ne doit rester étranger à ses principaux défenseurs. Avec la simplicité de la foi on opère la conversion des barbares et des sauvages; mais c'est avec la science unie à cette divine simplicité, que l'on peut conquérir les peuples vieilliss au sein d'une longue civilisation. Il ne faut pas craindre les véritables lumières, et redouter de s'en servir, si l'on veut anéantir les fausses." iii. 204.

³² Hofmann: *Vorhalle zur speculativen Lehre F. Baader's*, pp. 20, 31. "Es muss erkannt werden, dass jede neugewonnene Wahrheit keine frühere aufhebt, sondern vielmehr bestätigt, indem sie dieselbe bestimmter entfaltet, und in der Aufzeichnung neuer Beziehungen bereichert. . . . Sie müssen zur Erkenntniss kommen, dass eine neue Wahrheit gar nicht möglich ist, wenn sie nicht in der schon gewonnenen ihre Wurzel hat, dass somit jede neue Wahrheit die alte voraussetzt, und derselben ihr Offenbar geworden seyn zu verdanken hat." p. 35.

Baader among the Catholic philosophers of his day, dwells more particularly on the union of faith and knowledge. Science, which seeks to clear up what our consciousness dimly and uncertainly perceives, is the guide through the labyrinth of the feelings, and therefore harmonises necessarily with faith. Human nature strives after unity with itself; and the union of faith and reason, things equally necessary and important, must be practically attainable at least to a certain extent.³³ "Knowledge," says Döllinger, "is one of the forms, and a necessary portion of morality; and as without an enlightened understanding there can be no real and perfect morality, so also a true and comprehensive knowledge can subsist only in a mind disciplined by morality. . . . It is true that this love of wisdom, often as it is proclaimed and paraded, is as rare as it is precious; for he alone can claim to possess it who is able and willing to dedicate himself to Truth with an absolute and unreserved devotion, and to make even the most painful sacrifice in its behalf. This resolute determination ever to seek the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, is a most difficult and unusual thing; and a man of whom this may be fairly said is not more easy to find than a man who is really determined to fulfil God's will alone." He says more particularly in another passage: "The understanding of ethical matters, or of matters approaching the domain of ethics, cannot be acquired by the operation of the reason alone. Otherwise the clever and the educated would be infinitely superior to the poor and uninstructed even in the knowledge of good and evil. But it is not so, and by an equally wise and equitable law man cannot master with his head what he does not at the same time receive into his heart; and if he hardens his will, he hardens at the same time his understanding against the truth."³⁴

Nothing is more striking in the contrast which the opposite schools present, in their treatment of religious opponents, than the manner in which they speak of the Reformation. The difference cannot be explained by the national prejudices; for there are many Germans whose language is as sweeping as that of Audin or Perrone. The tone of the greater German writers is very different. Görres speaks as follows: "In truth, it was a great and noble movement in the German people that brought about the Reformation. The Latin nations may condemn it altogether, but we cannot, for it sprang

³³ *Ueber die Tradition*, ii. 215, 216.

³⁴ *Irrthum, Zweifel und Wahrheit*, pp. 25, 33, 37. "The real seat of certainty is in the conscience alone. . . . Do not expect that in return, as it were, for your supposed good intentions, a mere superficial acquaintance and dilettante occupation with science and its results will really lead you to truth and supply you with firm convictions."

from the inmost spirit of our race, and extended nearly to the same limits. It was the spirit of a lofty moral disgust at every outrage on what is holy, wherever it may appear; of that indignation that is roused by every abuse; of that indestructible love of freedom which is sure always to cast off every yoke that perfidious violence would impose; in a word, the whole mass of salutary qualities which God bestowed on this nation, in order, when need should be, to ward off the corruption to which the warm South so easily inclines.”³⁵

Möhlér says in his *Symbolik*: “Protestantism arose from the opposition to much that was undeniably evil and defective in the Church, and this is its merit—a merit not indeed peculiarly its own, since those evils were incessantly attacked, both before and after, on Catholic principles. It sprang partly from hostility to certain scientific representations of dogma, and certain forms of ecclesiastical life, which we may designate by the common term medieval, although these, again, had been the object of transforming endeavours, on behalf of the true system of the Church, from the end of the fourteenth century. . . . The Lutheran system will appear more excusable, as it will be shown to have proceeded really from a true Christian zeal, which indeed was, as in most other cases, injudiciously directed.”³⁶ “At the beginning of the sixteenth century,” says Döllinger, “a profound disgust at the Papacy of those days, and a not undeserved indignation at the abuses in the Church and the moral depravity of a too wealthy and too numerous clergy, had spread widely over Germany.”³⁷

It belongs to the nature of this school of divines that their theology is not scholastic. The systematic discussion of doctrines occupies but a subordinate place in their method, as it is but one of several modes of ascertaining the teaching of the Church. The historic method, which considers less the convenience of imparting than the means of advancing the knowledge of religious truth, and which proceeds directly to the study of its sources and original records, alone suited their scientific spirit and the necessities of their position; whilst they renounced and condemned the other as barren and obsolete. In his letter to Bautain, Möhlér thus described it: “You have repeatedly and vehemently assailed the scholastic method, which still prevails in the schools of France, as incapable of embracing the boundless substance of the Christian religion, and bringing it to its full development. . . . You attack a form of theological science

³⁵ *Der Katholik*, xv. 279.

³⁷ *Kirche und Kirchen*, p. 10.

³⁶ *Symbolik*, pp. 11, 112.

whose special characteristic I would describe as a love for external demonstration, with a theology that supplies a quantity of proofs, but does not help us to know the thing itself which is to be proved; a theology that never gets through the mass of arguments to the truth itself, and understands better how to hang Christianity round about a man than how to convert him into a Christian. . . . This appears to me your most signal merit.”³⁸ Professor Kuhn expresses himself still more strongly in reference to Kleutgen: “If we believe the modern restorers of Scholasticism, the older divines taught with one voice exactly the same doctrine on all the chief points of science which they now proclaim as perfect wisdom and genuine Catholic science. . . . From this wholly unhistorical view of the theology of former days they draw conclusions for the pursuit of theology in our day, which must inevitably injure it; besides which, the partisans of this view, by investing their own knowledge and opinions with the authority of the Catholic schools, make their own intellectual work much too easy, and that of others unnecessarily difficult.”³⁹

The principles of civil and intellectual freedom are maintained by the Ultramontane writers as the necessary condition of that harmony between religion and political as well as moral science which it is their object to obtain. Eckstein deplores, in the first number of his review, that the fear of revolution should have given to the writings of apologists a reactionary taint which was neither requisite nor useful for the maintenance of sound doctrine.⁴⁰ He thundered against that monstrous combination of politics and religion which was sought by the intervention of a religious police; and he warned the Royalists that a terrible explosion might be the fruit of such mean and secret efforts, and of an impotent oppression exercised by men who, unable to obtain a triumph by open combat, sought it by artifices.⁴¹ A quarter of a century later, Dollinger appealed to the French clergy with a similar warning in favour of liberty: “The Church

³⁸ *Sendschreiben an Bautain*,—*Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 142. Not long before, Eckstein had sketched the state of scholastic theology in France: “Mère céleste des sciences, la théologie n’est enseignée que comme une scolastique stérile dans l’école cartésienne. Dans celle de M. de Lamennais, elle dégénère en une vaine ostentation de polémique sur l’autorité. Nos aïeux, que nous appelons grossiers, étaient plus avancés que nous dans la science catholique: aujourd’hui un certain parti semble croire que tout a été dit, qu’il n’est plus besoin de penser, d’aimer, de méditer, mais de croire et de s’endormir.” *Le Catholique*, viii. 650.

³⁹ *Katholische Dogmatik*, i. 916.

⁴⁰ *Le Catholique*, i. 9.

⁴¹ *Avant-propos*, pp. 85, 99. “La liberté eût conservé à la religion tout le terrain que les inquisitions lui ont fait perdre.”

of France cannot expect that she will be allowed to constitute permanently an exceptional domain of freedom in a state which is not free. . . . She will obtain her just share of the general freedom, and will find it more satisfactory and more secure than if she only forms an exception to the general rule."⁴² The Bishop of Mentz speaks with the same frankness of the political claims of the Church: "It is perfectly untrue that the Church now claims for her external position all that in former times may have been laid down by a Pontiff when all Christendom revered him as a father. . . . The altered circumstances necessarily require a completely new arrangement of the relations between Church and State. This is what our age is struggling to effect. From the Reformation to the present day it has never been possible to realise it. The recollection of the old Catholic unity survived in men's minds, and they attempted to settle matters in accordance with these recollections in all the lesser states, without reflecting that the old conditions had departed. Thence arose a truly absurd imitation of medieval institutions; and that which had been great and legitimate, considered from the point of view of Catholic unity, became, in different circumstances, unnatural and intolerable. Let the world manage its relations with the Church after the manner of the Middle Ages, when by God's mercy it has returned to the unity of religious belief; till then another basis is needed, which I can discover nowhere but in an honest recognition of the freedom of all Christian communities admitted by the State."⁴³

The defence of intellectual freedom is founded, not on the rights of reason so much as on the duty and interests of the Church. The danger to the priest, wrote Eckstein, is less in a momentary oppression than in exaggerated triumph. By every act that does violence to intellect he deludes himself, and the motive is either passionate anger or pure idleness.⁴⁴ Neither academies nor universities, but the Church alone can reconcile the unrestricted progress of science with human welfare; the Church, not by acting as she did in the Middle

⁴² *Betrachtungen über die Kaiserkrönung*, 1853, p. 40. "It is the first principle of the constitutional system that the sovereignty resides, not in the person of the monarch alone, but in the monarch and the people in inseparable unity." *Debates of the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies*, 1849, i. 432.

⁴³ Ketteler: *Soll die Kirche allein rechtlos seyn?* p. 30. In the National Parliament of 1848 he spoke in the same way for the freedom of instruction: "I desire that the unbeliever shall be allowed to bring up his children in unbelief; but it must be lawful for the strictest Catholic to give his children a Catholic education." *Frankfort Debates*, p. 2183.

⁴⁴ *Historisch-politische Blätter*, xl. 578.

Ages, or by striving, as she strove through the Jesuits, to control the education of European society,—for we are neither in the Middle Ages nor in the sixteenth century,—but by employing all the knowledge and reflection of mankind, without putting any impediment in its way.⁴⁵ With Görres this was also a favourite theme: “Where will this freedom of speech and writing end? Will not the eternal pillars of religion, law, virtue, and society at last be undermined and washed away? Fools! to believe that God has made the enduring order of the universe to depend on your vigilance, and has planted the foundations of the moral world in the blind wit of man! . . . The mind tolerates no tyrants. You can measure off the fields, they bear your limits patiently; but draw your boundary round the flood, divide the air into compartments and districts, contain the fire,—how shall you, with your rude instruments, shut up ideas and arrest the beams of thought? All that you will gain is, that, by the indignation with which men will be animated at the sight of your violence, the spark that goes forth still and harmless will be transformed into a thunderbolt, and that which would have passed away in a mild electric glow will gather into a destroying tempest.”⁴⁶

In an address to King Lewis of Bavaria on his accession, which he places in the mouth of the greatest prince of his line, Görres takes care to exhort him faithfully to protect the freedom of thought against the interference of the clergy: “Pride has ever been the rock on which the priesthood was most easily wrecked. As they are always busied with exalted things, . . . and are instituted by God Himself, . . . it may but too easily happen that they will confound His spirit with their own, identify themselves with the sanctity of their vocation, and, instead of obeying the command to govern only by voluntary self-abasement, and to seek their pride in humility, will glory in their office, and extend its functions over a sphere from which by nature it is excluded.”⁴⁷ The

⁴⁵ *Historisch-politische Blätter*, p. 581.

⁴⁶ *Politische Schriften*, v. 166, 135. “Resist the advance of learning, and, behold! the genius strikes with his staff, the waters are parted asunder, and the waves stand up like walls on either side; pursue with your hosts, with your warriors and chariots and horses, and the waters shall close over you, and Pharaoh shall be drowned with all his army. . . . Go rather and cultivate the new land in the sweat of your brow, and learn to adapt yourself to the altered times. Learn that, in order to govern, wisdom, understanding, ability, and virtue are henceforth required, and make your peace with the coming generation.”

⁴⁷ *Maximilian der Erste an den König Ludwig von Baiern*,—*Politische Schriften*, v. 256, 241. “While faith, which is internally free and inevitably tends to freedom, is externally bound within the Church, . . . knowledge, on the contrary, inasmuch as it acts through conviction, and compels minds

peculiar autonomy of science is accurately defined by Möhler. Science, he says, resting on a law of internal necessity which is identical with truth, can arrive at a conscious knowledge of it only by freedom. External bonds produce in literature miserable, superficial, sophistical results. He that has penetrated, by means of original research, to the inmost sanctuary of science, knows how solemn is the reception she gives to her followers,—what self-denial, what sacrifice of their own will, and what renunciation of all personal interest she demands,—and how she exacts that they shall give themselves up to her own laws.⁴⁸

These extracts must suffice towards the solution of the doubt whether the Church desires the establishment of freedom as the highest phase of civil society, independently of her own interest in it, and of the question of her attitude towards the promotion of learning. But it is necessary to notice briefly an opinion held by some who are either ignorant of the Catholic system or especially hostile to it, that an arbitrary authority exists in the Church which may deny what has been hitherto believed, and may suddenly impose on the faithful, against their will, doctrines which, while there is no warrant for them in the past, may be in contradiction with the existing and received conclusions of ecclesiastical, or even of profane science. The Ultramontane divines, having regard to this impression, have stated with special care the limited nature and the limits of the papal authority. Möhler affirms that it was at one time greater than it has since come to be in consequence of the general progress of civilisation and knowledge, which rendered its leading-strings insupportable. Rude times, he says, required a strong concentration of power to reform them; and the violence of internal forces called into existence a strong external control. In this way a dictatorship was given to

by internal force, must be outwardly free, and the interchange of ideas in its special sphere must be arrested and controlled by no unnatural restriction. Be you, therefore, a Christian prince, at once a pillar of faith and protector of the freedom of intellect; and let your example put to silence the zealots of both kinds who hold the two things to be incompatible. . . . As deep as thought can penetrate into the nature of things, as high as it can breathe on the summits of the intellectual world, every where let its course be kept free by you; and be not frightened if in the ardour of its progress it quits the established paths."

⁴⁸ *Gesammelte Schriften*, i. 280, "The union of reason and faith must be produced by no external coalition; for nothing is more contrary to reason than the introduction of a foreign authority into its sphere, which is the case where faith is assumed as a postulate; namely, when speculation, unable to proceed farther in its one-sided course, despairing in the power of reason throws itself violently in the arms of faith." Molitor, *Ueber die Tradition*, ii. 215.

the Pope. But it had no sooner done the work for which it was created than the absolute power was again restricted by the influence of such men as St. Bernard. It is a proof of the efficiency with which the Popes used their power that men grew tired of it so soon. In proportion as intellectual and moral culture improved under it, the temporary form of the Roman supremacy necessarily became intolerable.⁴⁹

Such as it now canonically exists, this authority is described by Döllinger in several places. "You must allow me," he said in the Frankfort Parliament, "to put aside once for all, as entirely groundless, the assertion that the Pope is an absolute ruler in the Catholic Church. . . . No authority is more hampered than his by divers established limitations, and by a legislation descending to the most minute details, which the Pope cannot set aside, and which binds him as much as every other Catholic. If you imagine that there is any room in the Catholic Church for a purely arbitrary power of Pope or bishop, you are greatly mistaken."⁵⁰ "There is no society in the world whose constitution is more carefully organised, or more exactly regulated, than the Catholic Church. In that Church it is provided that the means of oppression, the tyrannical abuse of entrusted power, shall enjoy the very smallest scope that is possible among men. Like a vast encompassing net, our ecclesiastical law extends over the whole Church; and none can break through it without abandoning her communion. . . . Blind obedience is neither exacted of the Christian nor conceded by him. He must obey with his eyes open; he must attentively examine whatever is required of him; and he must reject it as soon as he discerns, or believes that he discerns, something sinful in it. At the same time, he knows that nothing can be proposed to him that is not founded on the immutable order and the laws of the Church."⁵¹

It is sufficient to appeal to the example of Möhler,⁵² Döllinger,⁵³ and the other principal authors of the school, as a token of their opinion on the propriety of concealing truth for fear of scandal. "Every thing must be told," says Gügler, "openly, clearly, and without reserve, lest the deceit and suspicion that already surround all the relations of life should penetrate into the temple of science. Here no accommodation, no inherited custom, can be tolerated; whatever checks the free and genuine exhibition of character must be

⁴⁹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 27.

⁵⁰ *Debates*, p. 1674.

⁵¹ *Die Freiheit der Kirche*, pp. 18, 19.

⁵² *Symbolik*, p. 353. *Neue Untersuchungen*, p. 382.

⁵³ *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 229, 231, 234

laid aside."⁵⁴ Some friends remonstrated with Görres on the manner in which he had spoken of the Popes in his introduction to Cardinal Diepenbrock's *Suso*. In one of his letters he replies: "They are wrong in wishing truth to be disguised; that is always the worst possible policy, and now most of all. It is dangerous because it is dishonest, and quite unavailing besides. I vote every where fearlessly for the pure freshness of truth."⁵⁵ This was the maxim with which Möhler inaugurated his lectures on ecclesiastical history: "It is obvious that the student of history must not pervert facts; and one may suppose that Christianity expressly prohibits falsehood. From the Christian point of view most of all, therefore, we are forbidden to be partial, to alter facts, to omit one thing, to be silent on another, or to add any thing which we have not found."⁵⁶

The Catholic is subject to the correction of the Church when he is in contradiction with her truth, not when he stands in the way of her interests. For there is nothing arbitrary or extemporaneous in the authority which she wields; the laws of her government are of general application, ancient, public, and distinctly defined. There is a certain number of ideas which the Christian irrefragably believes, with such a faith as no scientific man thinks of reposing in any of the progressive generalisations of inductive science. And he feels that such ideas as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of sin, can neither be destroyed by knowledge nor impede its acquisition. Not that he thinks these great religious ideas ought to remain in sterile isolation. Like other general principles, each of them

⁵⁴ *Nachgelassene Schriften*, i. 88. "La vérité est dans l'Eglise; elle possède donc les lumières; elle ne cessera jamais de dominer par la religion et la science; . . . on répétera ce vieux mot de Fontenelle, que toutes les vérités ne sont pas bonnes à dire. C'est une erreur. Il faut les proclamer toutes, si l'on ne veut que l'imposture se serve de la vérité partielle contre la vérité générale, et de la vérité générale contre elle-même." Eckstein, *Le Catholique*, vii. 326.

⁵⁵ *Gesammelte Briefe*, i. 314. The following are the passages alluded to: "The Popes had become enslaved to their passions; . . . and that very French policy which they had invoked in the house of Anjou, to protect them against the violence of the Germans, was the appointed instrument to heap shame upon their heads, and to forge the fetters, to escape from which they, distrusting God and his divine order, and their own right, had played a senseless game, and had connected themselves with degraded things.—The thirst for treasure was soon accompanied by the thirst for power, and the internal government of the Church sunk more and more into the principles of the absolute dominion of the spiritual head: . . . a scandal on the side of the spiritual authority that raged irreconcilably, without measure, without dignity, without charity." *Einleitung*, pp. xxvii. xxix.

⁵⁶ *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 284.

is capable of being made the basis of a vast superstructure of doctrine, proceeding from it with logical necessity. The work of this development has been performed by the organic action of the Church, which in the course of centuries has worked out a consistent system of doctrine, altogether free from accidental and arbitrary elements, the inevitable result of the principles of faith reacting upon the strict laws of thought and historical growth. Every part of this system is equally certain, and, if not equally necessary to be known, yet equally incapable of being denied. No part of it can be destroyed by the progress of knowledge, the last defined dogma no more than the first, no more than the existence of God, or the immortality of the thinking being.

But there is an outward shell of variable opinions constantly forming round this inward core of irreversible dogma, by its contact with human science or philosophy, as a coating of oxide forms round a mass of metal where it comes in contact with the shifting atmosphere. The Church must always put herself in harmony with existing ideas, and speak to each age and nation in its own language. A kind of amalgam between the eternal faith and temporary opinion is thus in constant process of generation, and by it Christians explain to themselves the bearings of their religion on profane matters, and of profane matters on religion, so far as their knowledge allows. No wonder if, morally, this amalgam should be valued rather by its eternal than by its temporary element, and that its ideas should come to be regarded as almost equally sacred with the dogmas on which they are partly built. For they have the prestige of possession in their favour; they have come to be mixed up with social institutions and with philosophical speculation; and they form the outside line of defence in the controversial stronghold of Christendom.

But as opinion changes, as principles become developed, and as habits alter, one element of the amalgam is constantly losing its vitality, and the true dogma is left in an unnatural union with exploded opinion. From time to time a very extensive revision is required, hateful to conservative habits and feelings; a crisis occurs, and a new alliance has to be formed between religion and knowledge, between the Church and society. Every victory thus gained, though in its personal aspect it is a victory of innovators over those who seem to stand in the old paths, and to defend the interests of the unchangeable, is in reality a victory of truth over error, of science over opinion. It is a change not to be deplored, but to be accepted with joy. It is a process which, though

it has its crises, must be always progressing. There is always some mass or other in the temporary element of the amalgam which is becoming rusty and worn out, and fit only to be thrown aside. And as this purging process is one that involves opinions and feelings nearly conjoined with faith, there will be always an apparent danger, which, however, will at once disappear before the vigour of Catholics who will break the bonds of human tradition, and associate themselves with the progress of their times. The danger is only for those who fail to distinguish the essential from the accidental, and who cling to their religion, not for its substance, but for its appendages. Such men may fall away altogether if their own way of explaining dogmas to themselves, and reconciling them with opinions, is cut from them. And even those who see clearly the difference between substance and accident must feel how important it is that their love and allegiance to the Church should be exhibited in those outer spheres where attachment takes the place of faith.

The fear of giving scandal, and the unwillingness to question too closely the limits of authority, are therefore the two motives which make the best-informed Catholics very circumspect in destroying opinions which have become amalgamated with faith. But these motives are misplaced in an age when Catholics can no longer shut themselves out from contact with the world, nor shelter themselves in ignorance. When all opinions are perpetually canvassed in a literature over which no authority and no consideration for others has any control, Catholics cannot help attempting to solve the problems which all the world is discussing. The point is, that while they solve them religiously, they should likewise solve them scientifically; that they should so comprehend them as to satisfy both conscience and reason,—conscience, by a solution consistent with the infallible criteria of faith, and reason, by one defensible on grounds quite external to religion.

When a man has really performed this double task,—when he has worked out the problem of science or politics, on purely scientific and political principles, and then controlled this process by the doctrine of the Church, and found its results to coincide with that doctrine, then he is an Ultramontane in the real meaning of the term—a Catholic in the highest sense of Catholicism. The Ultramontane is therefore one who makes no parade of his religion; who meets his adversaries on grounds which they understand and acknowledge; who appeals to no extrinsic considerations—benevolence, or force, or interest, or artifice—in order to establish his

point ; who discusses each topic on its intrinsic merits,—answering the critic by a severer criticism, the metaphysician by closer reasoning, the historian by deeper learning, the politician by sounder politics, and indifference itself by a purer impartiality. In all these subjects the Ultramontane discovers a point preëminently Catholic, but also preëminently intellectual and true. He finds that there is a system of politics, of metaphysics, and of ethics, singularly agreeable to Catholicism, but entirely independent of it. Not that his labour is an easy one, or one capable of being brought to a close. Each generation has to carry it forward. None can complete it ; for there will always be some progress to be made, some new discoveries to adopt and assimilate, some discord to harmonise, some half-truth which has become an error to lop away. It is a process never to be terminated, till God has finished the work of educating the human race to know Him and to love Him.

But it is a work which no Catholic can deem either impracticable or unnecessary. It is not an idle enterprise ; if we seek, we shall find. Religion can be made intelligible if we take the pains to make it so ; its proofs may be found, its laws ascertained, and the conscience and reason constrained to acknowledge them. And Catholics are the only persons who can enter on this field of labour with perfect freedom ; for they alone have a religion perfectly defined, clearly marked off from all other spheres of thought ; they alone, therefore, can enter these spheres free from all suspicion of doubt, and from all fear of discord between faith and knowledge. If this clear distinction has ever been forgotten by Catholics, defeat was sure to follow, and that defeat was the victory of the truth. Authority may put itself in opposition to its own code ; but the code is vindicated by the defeat of authority. Thus it was in politics during the drama of the Sicilian Vespers, and in physical science during the opposition to Galileo. Those experiments have taught authority its own bounds, and subjects the limits of obedience ; and they have destroyed the last conceivable obstacles to the freedom with which a Catholic can move in the spheres of inductive truth.

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95. *De l'Exploitation de la Houille dans le Pays de Liège.* Par Renier Malherbe, Ingénieur Civil, &c. (Même éditeur.)
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1. Of all English works that have yet been written on "the various questions connected with the different books of the Old Testament, such as their date, authorship, sources, credibility, language, scope," &c., Dr. Davidson's new Introduction is undoubtedly, in every way, the most important. However intensely his opponents may dislike the conclusion of his book, it is impossible for them to name any other in the language which can bear the most distant comparison with it for the amount of information which it contains. It is, in fact, offered to the public, as the author tells us in his preface, with the view of supplying a want in English theological literature. This want, a disgrace to English Protestant theology, has now for the first

time been supplied by means of a work which in some respects is not unworthy to be named in company with the many learned publications of the same kind which have appeared in Germany. In originality of invention Dr. Davidson cannot, indeed, be compared with the most celebrated German scholars to whom he is indebted for no small part of the materials of his work ; but he has at least mastered every fact and every argument that can in any way throw light upon the subjects discussed ; and the readers of his Introduction will find it to be a nearly exhaustive summary of all that has ever been written on each of the books of the Old Testament. And what is the result ? It is simply unfavourable to what may be called the conservative school of Biblical criticism. Dr. Davidson considers that internal evidence is utterly destructive of the hypothesis of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The external evidence for it is but small, and will not stand the test of criticism. "History makes no earlier mention of the present Pentateuch than the reign of Josiah. It had been completed shortly before, but was put aside and disregarded till the king set about a thorough reform of Judah, when it was brought forth into the light of day, and exalted to its rightful place." Some of the documents, however, which modern criticism has discovered in the Pentateuch are of an earlier date. The primitive "Elohim" document belongs to the reign of Saul. "During the reign of Uzziah, characterised as it was by various reforms, the Jehovah document seems to have been composed." A "junior Elohist probably lived in the time of Elisha (about 880 B.C.)." The narrative of the Pentateuch cannot be looked upon as purely historical ; a considerable amount of myth and legend is mixed up with it. The present form of the book of Joshua may be assigned to the Deuteronomist, and like the Pentateuch, of which it is the continuation, its narrative is in part legendary and unhistorical. The book of Judges, though derived from older written materials, probably belongs to the time of Ahaz. The historical traditions of the nation, written and oral, but chiefly the former, are faithfully given. But popular tradition magnified into the marvellous and superhuman the deeds of heroic men and patriots. The history of Samson is strongly tinged with the mythological and romantic. The history of Gideon is also embellished with mythological exaggeration, which should not be construed as literal history. How long after Solomon's death the two books bearing the name of Samuel were written must be chiefly a subject of conjecture. The expression *unto this day*, coupled with "the kings of Judah" (1 Sam. xxvii. 6), *i. e.* with the mention of the two kingdoms, seems to render the reign of Asa preferable to that of Rehoboam, B.C. 940. The sources of these books were written documents and oral tradition. The account of Goliath, though partaking of the legendary and exaggerated, was taken from a written source. The whole account of David's encounter with Goliath bears an air of the marvellous, and shows its comparatively late *growth* if not *origin*. It is graphic and romantic ; as if imagination had largely contributed to its formation. Oral tradition is the visible source of

the last chapters of the first book, which describe particulars relating to David, but isolated from their proper places in his biography. Though possessing a historical basis, they must have been altered and enlarged by the addition of legendary, miraculous, and improbable circumstances. The section 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, is strongly tinged with the legendary; the description of the giants, their armour, stature, and monstrosity, being incredible. The twenty-fourth chapter is obviously embellished with the mythological and miraculous, the historical basis being probably no more than that David numbered the people. The compiler of the two books of Kings closely followed the materials at his disposal, but he lived at a period of the national history unfavourable to the production of the best Hebrew history writing. Traditional elements had incorporated themselves with the annals of the nation too firmly to be accurately separated; the mythological and marvellous had intruded into the domain of genuine history, in some cases too strongly to be dislodged from it, at least by one of the Israelites themselves. And the writer was too remote from many of the persons and events described, to view them otherwise than through the glass of a degenerate time, at which the darkness of the present tended to throw too bright a halo round the old national monarchs and conquerors. The orthography, style, and language, together with other internal evidence, compel one to place the compilation of the Chronicles at a very late period, nearer to 300 than 400 B.C. The Chronicles are inferior to the books of Samuel and Kings in their historical contents. Hence, when the accounts are contradictory, as is very frequently the case, the older books are preferable. Perhaps some of the compiler's sources were not in all respects trustworthy, and following them he was misled. Tradition had influenced them unfavourably. But the Chronist was himself influenced by Levitical partiality and love of the marvellous. Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah wrote the books which now bear their names. The mention in Neh. xii. 22, of "Darius the Persian" and Jaddua brings down the composition of the book as late as 335-331 B.C., and it is probable, from the phrase "Darius the Persian," that the writer or compiler lived under a non-Persian dominion, and so later than Darius Codomannus. The book of Esther is so full of gross improbabilities that it is impossible to regard it as containing only true history. Neither can it be accounted pure fiction. The basis is true; but a good part of the superstructure and the air thrown over it are fabulous. Of course it is now impossible to separate the fabulous from the real; but we cannot help thinking, says Dr. Davidson (to whose very words we have closely adhered in this notice), that the latter is small in comparison with the former.

It is unnecessary to follow our author through all the books of the Old Testament. We may be quite sure that he will deny that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes and the Canticles; that he will consider "the present book of Isaiah" as "an aggregate of authentic and unauthentic pieces;" that he will impugn the authenticity

of the book of Daniel, and bring the date of it down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, not more than 170 years before Christ. We shall not be surprised to learn that "very few of the prophetic books are now in their original state. They have been arranged and disposed by later hands. Most have suffered greater or less alteration subsequently to the original writers themselves. Jeremiah's have been most freely dealt with, so that the original text can hardly be recovered." We can with the most perfect certainty predict what solutions will be given to a large number of other critical and theological questions.

Dr. Davidson was of course quite prepared for the decided disapprobation which his Introduction was sure to meet with in many quarters. He must not, however, attribute it to the mere ignorance, bigotry, and superstition of "noisy religionists." Other persons may be as free as himself from these defects, and yet see more clearly than he does whither his conclusions lead. Until he openly recognises these conclusions, they may consider his position to be even more logically untenable than he considers theirs. Martin Luther and other reformers held, as Dr. Davidson is aware, rather lax views of Scriptural inspiration. The more rigid notion of plenary verbal inspiration was felt by their successors to be a logical necessity of Protestant Christianity. Experience has surely proved them to be in the right, if Protestantism is supposed to mean any thing more than a vague kind of benevolent Deism. The critical process by which the facts and doctrines of the Old Testament are disposed of is equally applicable to the New, and neither Dr. Davidson nor any one else has yet shown on what grounds consistent with his method we have a right to speak as he does of the "divine nature" of Christ, and to say (vol. i. p. 127) "our Saviour had the Spirit *without measure*, and knew all things. He was properly and truly infallible, whereas the apostles had the Spirit *in measure*, and did not know many things." Is this not a remnant of the theological creed which he believes himself to have outgrown?

One of the arguments in behalf of the authenticity of Daniel is thus disposed of (vol. iii. p. 168): "We cannot tell how far the words of Christ in Matt. xxiv. have been exactly reported in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. Internal evidence indicates more or less confusion in the chapter, whose difficulties cannot be cleared away at present on any fair system of exposition. We suspect that the *original form of these discourses was modified by the ideas and expectations of the apostolic age.*" Be it so; yet where can more authentic information be found as to the teaching of Christ? If we place this suspicion of Dr. Davidson by the side of what he says of the doctrinal character of the books of Esther, Daniel, and Ecclesiastes, and of the unholy and unchristian vindictiveness of some of the Psalms, we have a strange comment on the old theory of "the Bible and the Bible only." And if such views obtain much success in so practical a nation as the English, it is the wildest illusion to suppose that any but theologians will take the trouble to apply the critical process to

the Scriptures in hopes of attaining some scraps of genuine religious truth. Undisguised heathenism on the part of the many, from the most refined Epicureanism downwards, will be the certain practical result of that sublimated Protestantism which aims at something better than the ideas of the apostolic age.

Dr. Davidson will of course reply, that these conclusions, even if true, which he will certainly not allow, are quite insufficient to overthrow his arguments with reference to the books of the Old Testament. In this we perfectly agree with him. An *argumentum ad hominem*, however successfully it may be applied to him by his opponents, will not solve the difficulties which he proposes to them. We quite agree with him that it is idle to declaim against these difficulties as old, and as having already been triumphantly overcome. They are not indeed new, nor are they all of equal force. It will not be impossible to prove that Dr. Davidson has been mistaken on a great number of points, that some of his facts are not authentic, that many of his arguments are inconclusive. It may be questioned whether he is justified in speaking of the "Etrurian" cosmogony, as if he knew from any authentic source that it resembled the Mosaic. One does not see how the creation of the woman from a rib of the man is inconsistent with the fact that Adam's male posterity are not deficient in that part of their bodily organisation. We are at a loss for the proof that "the habit of Daniel to pray three times a day points to a time at which religious ideas had penetrated out of India into the neighbouring countries to the west." And we are quite certain that Dr. Davidson is wrong in suspecting that the expression "Ancient of Days" owed its origin in any way to the "time without bounds" of the Magian religion. But if these, and we know not how many more such, blunders were blotted out of the book, its strength would not by any means be impaired. The difficulties it contains have, on the whole, never been fairly met, nor is there the most distant probability that they ever will be. As long as the same method is retained, the same results will inevitably follow. The same arguments which, to an orthodox Protestant, are conclusive against the divine authority or historical truth of the books of Tobit and the Maccabees, are equally fatal to books which he cannot afford to give up. The loudest outcries of "noisy religionists" will not silence the historical contradictions which Dr. Davidson has collected out of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament. They will not clear up those grave doubts entertained with reference to the books of the Old Testament by critics in Germany, France, and England, which Dean Milman most truly describes as the doubts of men distinguished by indefatigable research, by vast knowledge of the Hebrew language and of the cognate tongues, by seemingly the most sincere and conscientious love of truth, in some cases of the most profound piety. We might add, that some of these critics detest others so cordially that they never lose an opportunity of detecting an inaccurate statement, or a fallacy in an argument, wherever it is possible to do so.

We believe, therefore; that both parties in the controversy come off with fatal loss. We believe it to be impossible for Dr. Davidson's Protestant opponents to overthrow his conclusions on the whole, because these conclusions are either based on solid fact and sound reasoning, or where his basis is unsound, it is also the basis of his opponents, and cannot be abandoned by them. He proves with irresistible force that they ought to accept his views of the Old Testament. But he is not the less incapable of showing why, if these views are accepted, any part of Christianity should be retained.

2. From many of Dr. Davidson's conclusions, both critical and theological, Dean Milman, in the new and extended edition of his *History of the Jews*, entirely dissents. The time was when this work was looked upon as occupying the most extreme position which English Protestants might venture upon in what was called the rationalistic direction. It is therefore no slight sign of the times, that the author now comes forward, under the impulse of an imperative sense of duty, with a view of mediating between the conservative and the destructive tendencies now at issue in the Protestant Church. He foresees an irreparable breach between the thought and the religion of England if the old rigid view of Biblical inspiration be adhered to, which holds the Old-Testament history to be sacred from the ordinary laws of investigation. But, on the other hand, he considers that a fatal fallacy lies in the groundwork of much of the argument of the critical school. "Their minute inferences and conclusions drawn from slight premisses seem to presuppose an integrity and perfect accuracy in the existing text, not in itself probable, and certainly utterly inconsistent with the general principles of their criticism." "Many objections," he says, "that have been raised, and on which great stress has been laid, against the historical value of the Hebrew writings, vanish away, in my point of view, as palpable interpolations, glosses which have crept into the text, errors in numbers: even in linguistic difficulties so much may have grown out of gradual and insensible modernisation, if I may use the word, the accommodation to the prevailing vernacular usage of the people, that the argument from language, however unimpeachable to a great extent, . . . is not a guide quite so sure and infallible as it is sometimes assumed to be." Dr. Milman is therefore disposed to consider the Pentateuch, even in its present form, though considerably modified in language and by interpolation, as being as old as the time of Moses. Ewald's hypothesis, which is adopted by Dr. Davidson, as to the composition of Deuteronomy in the reign of Manasseh, he declares to be utterly wild and arbitrary. Of the speculations both of Ewald and of Bunsen he speaks with respect indeed, but at the same time with a severity which, for our own part, we believe to be fully merited. Both these writers labour under the same fatal passion for making history without historical materials, and assert theories based on the most arbitrary conjectures with a dogmatic confidence and a contemptuous intolerance

which could not be surpassed by the most orthodox partisan of the traditional view. Of their conjectural histories, often differing widely from each other, Dr. Milman says, "I confess I have not much sympathy for this, not making bricks without straw, but making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as solid materials." A large part of the notes of his first volume may be considered as more or less apologetic; and though his suggestions cannot, from the nature of the book, be said to enter into the heart of the question at issue, they are always ingenious and frequently of considerable force. It is difficult, however, to believe that such efforts are likely to meet with more than a temporary success among English Protestants, or that the new *via media* which Dr. Milman advocates, in common with some other distinguished members of his Church, will long be found a tenable one. The real question is not, except in the case of individuals, one as to believing a little more or a little less, but as to the very grounds of belief. We are sure Dr. Milman is simply mistaken when, having traced the gradual growth of disbelief in miracles, he adds, "At the same time, and seemingly with equal steps, the moral and religious majesty of Christianity has expanded on the mind of man. The religious instincts of man have felt themselves more fully and perfectly satisfied by the Gospel of Christ." Scepticism as to miracles may be a very excellent thing; but it is not historically true that it tends to make men religious. The very tendency which now leads men to disbelieve miracles leads them to disbelieve the Gospel history, which cannot possibly be dissociated from miracles. It is surely not among the English deists, or the French 'philosophes,' or the German rationalists, that we are to look for the full expansion on the mind of man of the moral and religious majesty of Christianity. It is not in Bruno, Bauer, and Feuerbach, that we have proof that the religious instincts are fully and perfectly satisfied by the Gospel of Christ. Nor is this what Dr. Milman means. He is willing, or rather he is compelled by what he retains of the Christian religion, to stop short of the absolute disbelief of miracles. But on what scientific ground is this possible? "The Scripture miracles," he says, "stand more and more alone and isolated." Surely in the opinion of none, except of those who have a dogmatic interest in their retention. The allusion to Dr. Newman's essay on ecclesiastical miracles is unfortunate. Dr. Newman's line of argument is to show that no line of demarcation can logically be drawn between the character of the ecclesiastical and the Scripture miracles, and that the arguments commonly applied by Protestants to overthrow the former are equally available against the latter. Dr. Milman must be aware that this view is rapidly spreading in England. For a proof of this he has only to look at Dr. Davidson's *Introduction*. Equally vain is the distinction which is drawn between the miracles of the Old and New Testament. We know from the experience of Germany that if the hypothesis of myth or legend be once admitted for any part of the Old Testament, it is

impossible to keep it out of the New. "The fulmary miracle of all, the Resurrection," may be "the keystone and seal to the great Christian doctrine of a future life;" but it is a mere unsupported assertion to say that "it stands entirely by itself." Those on behalf of whom Dr. Milman's preface is written have quite as strong a tendency to doubt the historical fact of the Resurrection as that of any other miracle in Scripture or ecclesiastical history. The real truth, which divines like Dr. Milman are naturally averse to look at, but which they cannot long conceal from themselves, is that men are beginning to see clearly that the Reformation was but a half measure, and that what was retained of Christianity has at bottom no better claim to our belief than what was rejected.

3. The third part of Dr. Colenso's work has just appeared, and is wholly taken up with the Book of Deuteronomy. The author believes that he has established the following points: "(i.) The book of Deuteronomy must have been written chiefly by one writer. (ii.) This writer must have been a different person from the writer or writers by whom the rest of the Pentateuch, speaking generally, was written. (iii.) The Deuteronomist, whoever he may have been, must have lived in a later age than either the Elohist or Jehovist, since he takes for granted facts recorded in their narrative. (iv.) There are some indications of this book having been written in a *very late* age of the Hebrew history. (v.) There are historical circumstances, which suggest that it may have been composed in the early part of Josiah's reign. (vi.) There is a remarkable correspondence between the peculiar expressions of the Deuteronomist and the language of *Jeremiah*, who did live in that age." He next endeavours to show that the book contains evidence of a later origin in the existence of numerous contradictions to the older narrative, such as would be likely to be introduced by one writing in later days from a very different point of view. The cogency of his arguments varies of course with the data with which he has to deal, and with the different way in which these data affect different minds. It is probable that the arguments in favour of a particular date and a particular author will not strike the imagination as vividly as those in favour of the unity of the authorship, and in favour of the author's being a different person from any of the authors of the earlier books of the Pentateuch. It is not merely in the general tone and spirit of Deuteronomy that the difference is perceptible, but in an immense number of important details of expression which are, apparently at least, irreconcilable with the hypothesis of a single author of the entire Pentateuch. It is not necessary to be a good Hebrew scholar to feel the force of these differences of expression; but, on the other hand, no amount of Hebrew scholarship can weaken their force. Why is it, for instance, that the Deuteronomist *always* uses the word *yêrushah* for "possession," whilst the earlier books have constantly *âkhuzyah* and never *yêrushah*? Why is *matteh* the Hebrew for "tribe" in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and never in Deuteronomy, which

always uses *shevet*? Why do we meet with the word *hedah* for "congregation" every where in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but never in Deuteronomy, which always uses *kahal*? Why does the Deuteronomist avoid the word for "bullock," which is peculiar to the earlier books, and invariably use another? These are but a few specimens of the diversity of expression which has led eminent scholars before Dr. Colenso's time to the conclusion that it is "impossible to believe that Moses, or any other writer, can have had his whole tone of thought and expression so changed within a few days, or weeks at the outside, as would be necessary to account for the above phenomena." The arguments by which Dr. Colenso endeavours to place the date of the Deuteronomist in the reign of Josiah are of a less palpable force, and depend to a considerable extent on interpretations of the text which are, to many readers, of a very questionable character. On the value of these interpretations, taken one by one, it is not easy to speak with fairness without writing a book as large, as clever, and as learned as that of the Bishop of Natal. For his difficulties are not of those which are solved *ambulando*; and critics who think they are, either have not taken the trouble to master them, or are incapable of recognising a scientific difficulty when placed before them. The most convenient plan of course would be simply to ignore these difficulties, and with them the existence of such a science as biblical criticism. But biblical science is one of the historical necessities of Protestantism. It remains to be seen whether this necessity be not a Nemesis.

The great practical difference between biblical science as cultivated by Protestants and as cultivated by Catholics is that, with the former, the very foundations of Christian faith are put in question; and results which Catholics might adopt with impunity lead, in the case of Protestants, legitimately, if not always in fact, to simple unbelief. It has long since been admitted by Catholic theologians that a book in Scripture need not be in fact the work of the author to whom it has for many centuries been ascribed, and by whom it apparently claims to be written. Catholic writers have without giving scandal questioned, as in the cases of Tobias and Judith, the historical credibility of entire books of Scripture. And it has long since been taken for granted that an inspired saint, "full of the Holy Ghost," may be fallible in his historical statements, even when speaking under those solemn circumstances of which it is said, "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." The inspiration of Scripture is a traditional belief of the Catholic Church, which has, however, cautiously abstained from defining the nature and limits of inspiration. A considerable amount of liberty is therefore left to scientific speculation, especially if we remember the fact, to which Protestants in general pertinaciously shut their eyes, that the substance of the Catholic faith, as positively defined by the Church, lies in a region to which real scientific speculation does not even tend to approach. This is what Macaulay saw clearly in his famous essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, and why he declares that the notion

that the constant increase of enlightenment must be favourable to Protestantism, and unfavourable to Catholicism, is founded on an entire mistake. "It matters not at all that the compass, printing, gunpowder, steam, gas, vaccination, and a thousand other discoveries and inventions, which were unknown in the fifth century, are familiar to the nineteenth. None of these discoveries and inventions has the smallest bearing on the question whether man is justified by faith alone, or whether the invocation of saints is an orthodox practice." Against purely dogmatic belief, *as such*, whether true or false, the progress of science is powerless. Not so, however, when, as in the case of Protestantism, belief is dependent on a quasi-scientific view of the Bible, formed at an unscientific period, and which the progress of real science tends utterly to dissipate. If a Catholic theologian arrived (let us not be misunderstood as saying that he ought, or was likely, to arrive) at the critical conclusions of Dr. Colenso, his theological conclusions would be very different. Dr. Colenso has nothing to fall back upon except what others have a right to consider mere prejudices of education. He protests against the statement that he has denied the inspiration of Scripture. But why should he, or why should his Protestant reviewers, hold to this Catholic tradition more than to any other? Catholics hold not only to it, but also to the belief that the Catholic Church is divinely preserved from fatal error. Both beliefs form part of one system; and there is no reason for admitting the inspiration of Scripture without admitting the infallibility of the Church. Dr. Colenso, again, sees very clearly that "immoral, unrighteous, and inhuman" doctrines may fairly, on the popular Protestant theory, be confounded with the eternal law of justice and equity, as being sanctioned by the Divine authority of Scripture. But his only remedy is, that "we must, even in reading the Scriptures, 'try the spirits, whether they are of God.'" Men "must 'try the spirit' of the prophet's words by that law which they have within them, written upon their hearts." That a man must in every particular act follow his conscience, even when it is wrong, is perfectly certain. But what is to enlighten a man's conscience, and prevent it from going wrong? The "law written upon the heart" is effaced or obscured by education, by "the world, the flesh, and the devil." What warrant has any man to suppose that his own practical judgment—for conscience is no more than this on a question of morality—is to be preferred to that of one whom he considers a holy and inspired prophet? What right has one "conscience" to condemn another?

4. Whatever posterity may think of the value of Dr. Colenso's work, there can be little doubt of its verdict on his opponents. They have in general endeavoured to put him down, not by argument, but by clamour. And those who have attempted argument have, in spite of the tone of superiority and contempt which they have for the most part assumed, been miserably unsuccessful. Dr. McCaul's "Examination" has been commended as the most complete of all the replies which have appeared; it has been adopted by the Christian

Knowledge Society, and thus invested with a sort of Church authority. The Bishop of Natal has therefore thought right to make a few "Notes" upon it; and we have no hesitation in saying that he has, to use the words of one of Dr. M'Caul's admirers with a different application, "effectually torn it to pieces." Here is a specimen of Dr. M'Caul's "Examination," and the Bishop's reply:

"If, therefore, we suppose that each of Levi's three sons had *six* sons, and that *six* is the rate of increase, then in the fifth generation from Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, we should have 23,328, which is not very far different from 22,300, the number expressed in the Pentateuch." p. 121.

"Ans. It is amazing that Dr. M'Caul should have penned the above passage, and equally astonishing that S. P. C. K. should have sanctioned its being circulated in its name, as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty in question. Let the reader observe what Dr. M'Caul has here done:

"(i.) While the Bible in E. vi., N. iii. 4, and throughout the whole Pentateuch, gives not a hint of the sons of Levi's sons being more than those eight who are named in E. vi., Dr. M'Caul *assumes* that they were *eighteen*.

"(ii.) He assumes also that *every one* of these and every one of their male descendants had *six* sons=twelve children.

"(iii.) And yet in the *fifth* generation only, from Gershon, Kohath, &c., does he bring up the number of Levite males to the number assigned in the Pentateuch; whereas it is as plain as possible that there were only *three* generations from Kohath to Eleazar, viz. Kohath to Amram, Amram to Aaron, Aaron to Eleazar! I must say that, all things considered, I have not met with such a phenomenon as this in all my rather extensive perusal of modern English criticism. And after penning the above Dr. M'Caul writes on, and S. P. C. K. endorses the sentence with its approval, 'As in the preceding case, Dr. Colenso's reasoning rests on false premisses.'"

5. Mr. Maurice's *Claims of the Bible and of Science* is a book written to answer three difficulties put before him by "a layman:" 1. "Do not our faith in Christ, and our belief in the four Gospels as a real history, rest on grounds independent of the results of any critical enquiry into the authorship of the Pentateuch?" 2. "May we not continue to read the Pentateuch as the Word of God, speaking of man and to man, without putting a forced construction on the plain meaning of the words, and without imposing fetters on the freedom of scientific or critical investigation in any matters which God has given us the power to enquire into?" And 3. Can we make "faith in Christ contingent on the proof or disproof of the existence of certain natural phenomena"? or make the belief in Christ's heavenly promises stand or fall with the probability or improbability of hypotheses suggested to explain difficulties in Scripture?

Mr. Maurice is able to cut the knot, in a brief volume, because in his system of Christianity there is no arena for a conflict between

the claims of the Bible and those of Science. Adopting the main ideas of the Quakers, he holds the Word of God to be not the letter of Scripture, but the Spirit who dwells in the believer, or the internal revelation which enlightens him to know the truth. He depreciates the external evidences of Christianity, together with the critical and intellectual examination of them; or rather he deprecates the use of documents, which he thinks only intended to illuminate the heart and conscience, as an arena of dialectical dispute, and of a conflict between human opinion and divine truth. "I feel it difficult," he says, "to excuse any believer in the Bible who looks out for remarkable confirmations founded on science. . . . He is tacitly asserting that physical demonstrations are more trustworthy than moral demonstrations;" but in congruity with his principles, he admits that there is a good side in this desire. "There is latent in it an acknowledgment that the results of the two methods must ultimately harmonise if each is pursued faithfully. The mischief lies in the feverish anxiety to get this result at once, and in the sacrifice of fidelity, to which such anxiety inevitably leads. The religious world offers a premium to the scientific enquirer to make his conclusions fit the Bible conclusions. So it produces a race of quacks, who can always prove what they are wanted to prove" (p. 36). After this the Quaker idea reappears. "To obtain these physical facts on its side, the Bible suffers greater perversion and contraction than the facts have suffered. We lose the very messages which it delivers to us whilst we are straining our ears for proofs that it is not deceiving us" (p. 37). In other words, the whole system of intellectual evidences pushes aside and occupies the place of moral evidences. "The order which the Bible contemplates is a different order from that which the physical student contemplates. . . . They compose a different cosmos" (p. 39). And whether man really exists in relation to the spiritual cosmos is a question which Mr. Maurice properly declines to dispute with physical philosophers. The moral history of the Creation *could* not take account of facts in their physical relation, if it were true to its own purpose. Hence Divines are warned "not to attempt an adjustment of two statements different in kind, which never can be adjusted except at the sacrifice of the simplicity and integrity of one or both" (p. 41).

Mr. Maurice does not recognise Revelation as a Word once given, but as a Faith once given. He insists upon faith in a Being, not faith in words; on the ground that revelation is the Spirit within man, not the words spoken into his ears. To argue with a man already Christian from the words of the Pentateuch may, he says, be good dialectics; "but to ascend from the Pentateuch to Christ, to prove that because it is, He must be," is a method utterly dishonourable to God (p. 88). The real assailants of faith are those who demand assent to the letter of the Bible, who say—for this is their practical corollary—that *our* construction of the letter must determine what men shall think about any questions which may be raised either by students of human history or by students of nature. The

plain meaning of the Bible is simply to be a record of the belief that God actually speaks to men in all generations, that the greatest misery of any epoch is not to hear His voice in the movements of the universe or the transactions of kingdoms (p. 95). One foundation is laid for us all. "That foundation is *not* the letter of any book. That foundation, being our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, could not be shaken if the whole Bible were taken from us" (p. 140).

This is Mr. Maurice's main argument: to make an entire separation between our view of the cosmos of nature and that of the cosmos of the heart and conscience; to separate the two in language, mode of treatment, rules of evidence, and every conceivable attribute. He might concede that there is no historical truth in the details of the Deluge; yet he would maintain there is the great moral truth that sin is the destruction of the universe, and if the Deluge is not literally true, it is true as a principle: it may be controverted as an isolated fact; it remains for ever as a generalisation of universal history in the moral view of things.

On this view, Mr. Maurice ought to allow that all the facts of Christian history may be only parables; true as spiritual facts, whether true or false as historical events of the external world. Yet he is no Docetist. He accepts the facts of the Creeds as literally and historically true, proved by overwhelming evidence. And in giving up the uncritical notions of the Deluge and the Exodus, he pleads for some minor occurrences, that were, in the language of a rude people, honestly and truthfully recorded in words which to us give a notion of a universality and physical import they never ought to give except to minds nursed in the notion that material size is a necessary attribute of God's greatest works.

His conclusions are, therefore, better than his premisses. His principle has the advantage of perfect simplicity and internal consistency. But it labours under the disadvantage of inapplicability to the conditions of human society. Religion might perhaps have been an incommunicable thing, lodged in each man's heart, and incapable of any external and social expression. But since Mr. Maurice, as a Churchman, owns it to be communicable, and since men can only communicate, and guarantee their communications, by external signs capable of being tested by the laws of evidence, it follows that as soon as religion is made a thing communicable, it also must make use of such signs; and as soon as such a sign is admitted, it becomes both a duty and a necessity to test it; and if it fails to satisfy the test, the pretended mission of the man who guaranteed his teaching by that sign is proved to be a fiction.

Hence, in the Colenso controversy the preliminary question is, What are the signs by which the Christian teacher guarantees the truth of his message? If the signs are all internal and incommunicable, there is no longer place for a Church and ministry. If they are external, what are they? Are they in the organisation of the teaching body, or in the letter of a historical Bible, or in certain moral, but visible, effects produced by the circulation and study of

that book, or in any two or more of these combined? To the Catholic the reply is not difficult. He receives his faith on the evidence and authority of the Church; he receives the inspiration of the Scriptures as part of that faith; but he is not bound to any particular theory of inspiration. In studying the Bible he soon finds himself obliged to separate its contents into three parts:—First, the divine message, containing the expression of God's will on what He would have us believe and do; this part corresponds with the dogmas and moral law taught by the Church: Secondly, the signs by which the mission of the prophets who delivered the divine message was guaranteed: And thirdly, the vehicles and accidental accompaniments of this message—history or poetry, tale or parable. Both the second and third divisions are subjected to human scrutiny. It would be absurd to give a sign, and then to refuse permission to examine it; and a sign found untrue would compromise the mission of the prophet. But then we must satisfy ourselves that the thing proved to be inaccurate was a sign of his mission, and not merely a vehicle and illustration of his teaching in conformity with current opinions. Dr. Colenso thinks that a loose form of poetical expression in any part, whether sign or vehicle, undermines the whole credibility of the message which it conveys; as if one were to demand that every parable should be circumstantially true. Mr. Maurice answers, not by a proper discrimination of the component parts of a prophetic writing, but by cutting off moral truth from all connection with the intellectual evidence of its accidental signs; a reply which implicitly denies not only the reality of a visible church, sacraments, or ministry, but at the same time the communicability of religion.

6. The imperfection of Mai's edition of the famous "Codex Vaticanus" is well known: that sort of labour is less suited to a Roman cardinal than to a German professor. Until all the difficulties are removed which oppose a critically reliable reproduction of this important Ms., the recent edition of Herr Buttmann will best supply the wants of the student. Tischendorf has expressed in the *Centralblatt* his extremely weighty opinion of the value of the work. Whilst he acknowledges the faithful industry of the editor, he justly rejects one of the leading principles of his undertaking; for Herr Buttmann does not give the actual text of the Roman Ms., but a recension *ad fidem Codicis Vaticani*,—that is to say, whenever the Ms. appears to the editor to have a false reading, he endeavours to restore a pure text by departing from it. Of course the wavering judgment of a particular person interferes with the representation of an objective copy. This fault is in some measure redeemed by the insertion at the end of a "Recensus locorum, in quibus aut lectio Vaticana in hoc libro rejecta est, aut auctoritates de lectionibus codicis inter se dissentiunt." Herr Buttmann does not know the Codex from personal inspection; but Tischendorf disputes the soundness of the canons on which he has used his critical materials previous to the edition of Mai. The censure is, however, reducible in part to the diversity of principle which separates the critic from the school of Lachmann.

7. Herr Tischendorf's well-timed and well-conceived publication places in the hands of biblical scholars, in a cheap and portable volume, and with all the minute accuracy of a facsimile, the whole of the New Testament, with the letters (now first published in a complete form) of Barnabas and Hermas, as contained in the venerable "Codex Sinaiticus." The actual facsimile, a very costly work in four large volumes folio, contains also, from the same codex, the greater part of the Septuagint. The present volume is printed in ordinary Greek type, but without accents or stops, and arranged in the narrow quadripartite columns of the original codex. In the minutest matters, therefore, this text represents a manuscript of the Scriptures probably at least fifteen centuries old; a manuscript more ancient than any yet known, even than the "codex Bezae" at Cambridge, or the "codex Vaticanus;" a manuscript that was, in all human probability, written about the time when St. Jerome was born, *i. e.* A.D. 340. Among many arguments tending to establish the immense antiquity of this codex, the author shows (Præf. p. xxxii.) that the Epistles of Barnabas and Hermas were received as possibly canonical by Eusebius, about A.D. 325, while they were excluded by the councils of Laodicea and Carthage, A.D. 364 and 397. The extraordinary interest and critical value of such a text of the New Testament must be apparent to all; and among the first to acknowledge and welcome the fact was Pope Pius IX., whose touching letter to the editor is given in p. xv. of the preface.

The Ms. itself was discovered by Tischendorf in the monastery of St. Catharine, near Mount Sinai. The history of the matter is very curious. In the month of May 1844 the editor was engaged in searching for old Mss. in the monastery above mentioned, when he came upon a basket or hamper into which a number of old sheets of torn and mutilated Mss. had been tossed: they were intended to be burned, as many similar fragments had already been. Among these he found, and succeeded in obtaining as a gift, some fragments of a copy of the Septuagint, written in very ancient uncial characters. Other portions of the same, which he could not get the monks so readily to part with, he persuaded them for the present to keep in safe custody, hoping at some future time to rescue them from oblivion. On his return to the monastery, however, in 1853, he could neither find the same portions of this codex, nor learn whither they had been removed. Shortly afterwards he published the fragment he had obtained, under the title of "Codex Friderico-Augustanus," mentioning at the same time the rescue and supposed existence of the remaining portion. Again, in the beginning of 1859, this indefatigable scholar returned to the convent near Mount Sinai. Here he was kindly received by the monks and their superior, but could learn nothing of his *codex*, till a conversation with the steward, or bursar, elicited the information that "he also had a copy of the Septuagint in his possession." Wrapped in an old rag in the bedchamber of the steward, the missing codex was brought before Tischendorf's delighted eyes. The trea-

sure was given into his hands ; and the whole of the first night he spent in transcribing the epistle of Barnabas. After some negotiation, the codex was sent to him at Cairo, where, with the help of two scribes of the country, he copied out the whole in less than two months. Finally, and after surmounting many difficulties and discouragements, he succeeded in having this, which he now fully recognised as by far the most precious Ms. in existence of the Sacred Scriptures, both old and new, sent as a present to the Emperor of Russia, by whose command and at whose expense a perfect facsimile of the whole was afterwards published. The volume before us contains one page as a facsimile; but the rest, as we have said, is in the ordinary Greek type, though faithfully representing every detail of the original.

Much interest has been excited in the literary world by the deliberate and often-repeated statement of a well-known collector and imitator of ancient Mss., by name Simonides, that he wrote this codex with his own hand, and therefore that it is simply a forgery. The question has been very patiently and minutely gone into by the most competent biblical and palæographical authorities, and has resulted in the triumphant vindication of the genuineness of the codex, and the discovery of motives sufficient to account for the attempt to throw slight upon Tischendorf's great literary reputation.

In some important passages, where the Vulgate differs somewhat from the readings of the most ancient Greek Mss., its authority is now confirmed by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus. These passages are enumerated in Tischendorf's preface, p. xxxv. The learned editor's general summary of the critical value of this codex is thus given : "Mirificam esse textus istius indolem, qua maxima cum fide confirmatur, codicem Sinaiticum propius Vaticano ceterisque omnibus ad similitudinem eorum accedere codicum, quibus summa Christiana antiquitas utebatur."

As it is impossible, in a brief notice, even to touch upon the many critical and theological points discussed by Tischendorf, in connection with the peculiar readings of this codex, in his long preface of 80 quarto pages, we must content ourselves with a very short description of the Ms. It is written on very fine vellum, made of antelope or ass's skin, and apparently by several hands, and in several sorts of ink. Each page has four columns, containing, on an average, three words in a line. The writing is in uncial or capital letters, without any division between the words, and closely resembling, both in style and in form, the writing on the Greek papyri found at Herculaneum. There are no accents, and very few stops ; the contractions are limited to certain of the more familiar words, as $\kappa\bar{\upsilon}$ $\iota\bar{\upsilon}$ $\chi\bar{\upsilon}$ for $\kappaυ\rho\iota\upsilon\omicron\nu$ $\iota\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\pi\bar{\nu}\iota$ for $\piνε\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$, $\theta\bar{\upsilon}$ for $\thetaεο\upsilon$, $\theta\bar{\alpha}$ for $\thetaε\acute{o}\varsigma$; and the final ν is often omitted and represented by a line above. The ι of the dative case singular is nowhere either *ascribed* or *subscribed*, as it is technically called. Many instances of incorrect grammatical forms occur, e.g. $\sigmaυ\delta\iota\varsigma$

for οὐδεις, αγαπησις for αγαπησεις, εχιν for εχειν, and indeed generally ι is used for ει. In terminations, αι is often used for ε, and conversely ε for αι. Thus, in the beginning of the epistle of Barnabas, υπερειφρανομε is written for υπερειφραινομαι, and just below ειληφαται for ειληφατε. It is the opinion of Tischendorf that the codex was written at Alexandria; and he suspects that many of the ungrammatical forms are genuine, while the later transcribers adapted them more nearly to the forms of classical Greek (Preface, p. xxxi.).

A very considerable number of corrections have been made in the codex by different, but all by very ancient hands. Our editor, while he gives the original readings in their integrity, has added a very useful and laboriously compiled table, forming nearly half of his preface, in which he records all the variations introduced by the correctors, and, which is most important, classified according to their respective ages, as distinguished by the handwriting or the colour of the ink. The volume, on the whole, is a most valuable addition to both classical and biblical literature; and it is impossible to praise too highly the conscientious pains which the editor has taken to ensure perfect accuracy in his transcript, and his perseverance in overcoming so many and such formidable difficulties in producing this truly great work.

8. Professor Renouf has republished from the *Atlantis* a valuable paper "on the supposed Latin origin of the Arabic Version of the Gospels," in which he proves, in a manner calculated to convince a person used at all to such studies, that the agreement of that version with the Vulgate is not the slightest proof that it was either taken from, or corrected by, a Latin translation. Clear positive evidence is adduced, on the contrary, that the Arabic is taken directly from the Greek. Among other things, we may notice that the Arabic text appears to be free from the arbitrariness of the Vulgate in rendering by the same Latin word perfectly different Greek ones, or the converse; e.g. for both οὐσίας, 'property,' and for βιον, 'income,' the Vulgate gives *substantiam* (Luc. xv. 12). Not having the Arabic at hand, we merely give this as a sample of Vulgate variableness; it is clear that the Arabic translator who is free from such variableness cannot be accused of that abject adherence to the Vulgate which great names have imputed to him. The essay, however, while it leads us to reflect on the increase of evidence for a quondam Greek text which agreed with the Vulgate, also helps us to see how little has been actually done towards ascertaining what is the real text of the New Testament. If the Pope ordered an exacter version of the Old Testament to be made, people might set about it at once. But with the New, it would be impossible to begin it until the text from which the translation was to be made was first determined upon. We quite agree with Professor Renouf and Dr. Alford that the

Fathers never have been properly used yet, though the indexes to them may have been. There are, for example, several passages in St. Cyril, in which he *alludes* to the reading "Church of God," in Acts xx. 28; and of such allusions very great use might often be legitimately made. It seems to us quite possible that in Arabic, or even in Jewish, authors (who sometimes quote the New Testament for evidence of rites, &c.), the same sort of proofs of an Arabic *version* still exist, as the one we have noticed from St. Cyril for a *reading*. Very wide indeed is the field over which evidence may be picked up, upon this side or that, by the cautious collector; and very great is the penetration required to enable a critic to do what very seldom is done, and that is, to use the manifold views of a text which versions and various readings suggest, as a means of arriving at a solid judgment about the internal probabilities in favour of this or of that reading. To such a judgment a man is not likely to come, who sets to work with an ill-founded prejudice against a reading or a version; and such a prejudice the author has shown to be the notion which regards the Arabic version as a Latinising version. As a solid judgment about a reading can only be formed by combining a just estimate both of the witnesses and of the internal probabilities in its favour, it is plain that any one who enables us to form a just estimate of either does a real service to biblical criticism.

8*. The Church History of the Nineteenth Century by the late Dr. Baur of Tübingen, has been published by his son-in-law, Dr. Zeller, from the manuscript copy of the lectures delivered by the author since the summer of 1850. The promise of the title is only fulfilled to a limited extent; the Greek Church is apparently not even mentioned, and of British Protestantism the author seems to know little beyond what might be picked up in occasional newspaper paragraphs. His account of French Protestantism after the Restoration shows that he was unable to distinguish between myth and history in regard to events of his own time; and the omnipresence and mysterious power he attributes to the Jesuits is, in his case, as that of so many other strong-minded men, a proof that if superstition be expelled from the mind in one form, it may with perfect safety creep back and be ardently cherished in another. Of the Catholic Church in general he speaks with the extremely imperfect knowledge of one who has but a remote and indirect interest in authentic information. He so thoroughly confounds contemporary Catholicism with clerical interests,—“Jesuitism,” or what he calls “Ultramontanism,”—that he is evidently unconscious how much laymen have had to do with influencing and modifying Catholic thought every where. M. de Maistre may be said to have produced a revolution in the ideas of the French clergy; M. de Bonald, the Baron d'Eckstein, M. de Montalembert, and M. Veuillot, very different men, have each in turn exerted an influence in France far greater than

that of any ecclesiastic that can be named except Lamennais. The only celebrated German Catholic layman mentioned by Baur is Görres. Of O'Connell not a word is said in the brief notice of Catholic emancipation, which is prefaced by the observation that the Catholic clergy of Ireland had lost their power and property "through the Protestant conquest of the country"! It is natural that Dr. Baur should enlarge upon the part he took in the controversy occasioned by the publication of Möhler's *Symbolik*. From his own point of view there was, of course, a good deal to be said in reply to Möhler; but it is not to be wondered at if he received but small thanks from the advocates of orthodox Protestantism for his compromising defence of the cause of the reformation. Möhler's intention had been to contrast the rationale of the Catholic and Protestant systems as exhibited in their respective symbolical books, and to show that arbitrary subjectivity was the necessary result of Protestantism. It is scarcely possible to conceive a stronger argument in favour of Möhler's thesis than that which Baur put forward in opposition to it, and which is repeated in the work before us. He agrees with Strauss that controversies about particular dogmas, such as original sin, justification, the sacraments, and so forth, are a mere waste of time when the entire view of the universe which they imply is itself put in question. In a scientific point of view, the orthodox Protestant theologian is incomparably nearer to an orthodox Catholic than he is to Rationalism or to the speculative theologians of his own confession; the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is in itself indifferent except as a question of "autonomy" or "heteronomy" of thought; free thinking is the real principle of Protestantism, whereas Catholicism implies dependence on an external authority; and as long as an external authority is admitted (whether that authority be Scripture or the Church makes no difference), the mind is an inferior stage to that of the emancipated free-thinker. This argument is so conducted that no Protestant can avail himself of it unless he puts himself in a position beyond the pale of what Möhler considers Protestantism. And if this position be that to which Protestantism really tends through the inherent necessity of the principle, no stronger *reductio ad absurdum* could be produced for the benefit of those for whom Möhler wrote. But if the "autonomy," in favour of which Baur argues, may be claimed by any one retaining any portion of the Christian creed, we do not see why it may not be claimed by Möhler or any other educated Catholic as well as by an educated Protestant. We cannot see why a Catholic who, being convinced that the Church is divinely guarded from error, carefully avoids committing himself to a heterodox proposition, is more dependent on "heteronomy" than a man who believes in the Peloponnesian war on historical evidence. An uneducated person constantly indulges in a freedom of speculation which is simply impossible to one who is acquainted with the laws of scientific thought. And if it be said that the laws to which

a man of science submits on pain of going wrong are the self-imposed limitations of free-thought, in the same sense the same thing is true in the case of every educated Catholic. That bondage of the mind of which Baur discovers proofs in the condemnation by ecclesiastical authority of the doctrines of Hermes and Günther, is purely imaginary. The Church is not omniscient; its province is not to teach science and philosophy, nor does it profess to do so; but when things are taught as science or philosophy which are irreconcilable with those truths which it has been divinely commissioned to teach, its right of interference is clear; and before a case can be made out against the Church, it will be necessary to point out some one sure and established result of science or philosophy which a Catholic, by the mere fact of being such, is precluded from making his own.

If we believe that Professor Baur has done himself, both in the present work and elsewhere, real injustice, by persisting to talk of matters which he did not understand, we are bound to say that wherever he speaks with real knowledge his judgment as a critic and historian is of the very highest order. The really valuable part of his book is the history of the Protestant Church in Germany; and his remarks on the German poets, philosophers, and theologians of the nineteenth century will be read with not less profit than interest. After quoting some passages from Göthe and Schiller against the Christian doctrine, which attributes to Christ all the perfections of human nature, he gives an extract from a letter of Göthe to Lavater, which says: "You hold the Gospel, as it stands, for the divinest truth: as for me, a voice from heaven would not persuade me that water burns, that fire extinguishes, that a woman who has not known man can bear a child, that a dead man can rise again; much rather do I hold these for blasphemies against the great God and his revelation in nature. You find nothing more beautiful than the Gospel; I find a thousand written pages of both ancient and modern men, gifted by God, quite as beautiful and profitable and indispensable to humanity." To this Baur adds, "These are expressions to which objections might easily be taken; but, on nearer inspection, what other sense do they convey than the very result at which philosophy and speculative theology arrive from their stand-point?" He has a certain delight in showing that under a Christian phraseology some of the most celebrated theologians meant something quite different from Christianity, and utterly subversive of it. He shows, for instance, how the system of Schleiermacher is inconsistent not only with ecclesiastical Christianity, but even with Theism. Zeller has elaborately proved that Schleiermacher did not admit a personal God. Schleiermacher, according to Baur, took the greatest trouble to conceal and artistically veil his real meaning, and to represent as unessential what was really of the most vital importance for his own system. He carried this to the extent of intentional deception,—a fault which Baur considers as belonging to the age in which he

lived rather than to his person. So, again, in the theory of De Wette it was right and even necessary, while believing that Christ was a mere man, to speak of him as God and as God-man. Rationalists like De Wette, who internally had completely given up doctrine, were shy of openly recognising the fact; and they therefore made themselves the illusion that they were far more orthodox in a Christian point of view than they really were. After a very complete account of the controversy excited by the *Leben Jesu* of Strauss, Dr. Baur describes his own contributions to the critical history of primitive Christianity. He had commenced his critical enquiries before the appearance of Strauss's book, and had started from a different point of view. His studies of the two epistles to the Corinthians convinced him that, instead of the harmony which has generally been supposed to have reigned between St. Paul and the other apostles, so great an antagonism really existed that the authority of the former was called in question by the judaising Christians. The study of the Clementine homilies, which had been neglected in consequence of their spuriousness, until Neander called attention to their importance, furnished the most certain proof of the persistence of this antagonism in the age succeeding that of the Apostles, and, as Baur believed, of its influence not only on the formation of the legendary history of St. Peter, but on the composition of the Acts of the Apostles. The results of these first investigations appeared in the essay on "the Christ Party" at Corinth, in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift* of 1831. Baur's researches on Gnosticism, in 1835, led him to the conclusion that the "pastoral epistles" ascribed to St. Paul could not possibly be by him, but must have been occasioned by the controversies of the second century. A further study of the Pauline epistles convinced him that the difference between the four principal epistles (Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans) and the others was so essential, that several, if not all, of the latter must be considered as of very doubtful authenticity. The first series of these critical enquiries turned therefore on the Pauline epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, and may be considered as summed up in our author's work on "the Apostle Paul." A second series turned upon the Gospel history, and commenced with an essay, in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* of 1844, on the Gospel of St. John. The great difficulty of the Gospel history lies in the discrepancies between the historical narrative of the three first or synoptical Gospels and that of the fourth. Baur's solution of the difficulty is thus described by him: "If the Gospel of John is not an historical gospel like the others, if it does not itself pretend to be so, if it has undeniably a doctrinal purpose (*ideelle Tendenz*), it can no longer be placed by the side of the others and opposed to them. It is, therefore, no longer possible, with Strauss's tactics and method of operation, to overthrow on the one hand the synoptics by John, and on the other, John by the synoptics; the only consequence of which can be to prevent one's knowing what part of the Gospel

history can be held as true." The historical value of the synoptical Gospels rises in the same proportion as that of St. John falls, and their credibility can no longer be called in question in consequence of the contradiction for which the fourth Gospel is alone accountable. It by no means, however, follows that the synoptical narrative is purely historical. A further enquiry, Baur maintains, leads to the conclusion that several of these Gospels were written with a distinct aim, which varies according to the peculiar circumstances of the period in which each of the authors wrote ; and these circumstances are to be explained by the different phases of the controversy between Jewish and Pauline Christianity. This series of Baur's enquiries on the Gospels is therefore intimately connected with and dependent upon the former series, on the Pauline epistles ; and the results of the two series confirm and illustrate each other. This short sketch is very far from giving a full or even a definite notion of the importance of those enquiries of Dr. Baur and his followers into primitive Christianity, which have in some way modified the views of almost every one who has become acquainted with them ; but it is not the less valuable as giving an account of the process by which the "Tübingen" theory was gradually formed, and therefore suggesting the proper method to be adopted by those who feel inclined to criticise and controvert it.

9. It is not for the purpose of controverting or even criticising the Tübingen theory that Mr. Mackay's book is written. The aim of it is "to give a short and intelligible account of the rise and progress of biblical criticism ;" but this progress is conceived as having terminated, for the present at least, in the criticism of the Tübingen school ; and Mr. Mackay declines giving "a notice of its reception, and of the criticisms passed upon the critics," as "this would entail the discussion of minutiae unsuited to a rapid sketch, as well as a wearisome and unprofitable enumeration of those evasive shifts and doublings with which we have already had occasion to become familiar." An impartial view of the questions at issue is accordingly not to be found in Mr. Mackay's book. The Tübingen school has its strong points and its weak points, and Mr. Mackay does not seem to be able to discover any difference between them. He writes like a mere partisan ; and though he sometimes, we fancy, rather weakens the force of Baur's arguments in his account of them, he never seems to be conscious that there is any weakness in them. The great strength of Baur, and to a considerable extent that of his most eminent followers, lay in minute and delicate analysis of systems of thought. In this they have never been surpassed. Most of Baur's essays are masterpieces of analysis. Let any one who wishes to see what can be made out of the most hopeless materials first make an attempt to get through the *Pistis Sophia* by himself, and then turn to Köstlin's wonderful analysis of that wild Gnostic system in the volume of the *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Of Zeller's ad-

mirable works on the history of Greek philosophy, we have often had occasion to speak. Schwegeler, who died young, and had, for some time before his death, given up theology for profane history, possessed the same qualities in a high degree.

The weak side of the Tübingen speculation is the disposition, when the materials necessary for constructing history are really wanting, to supply the want by what are in fact nothing more than hypotheses; or, to use Dean Milman's words, by "making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as solid materials." Bunsen was not altogether wrong when he spoke of the "Tübingen novel." It is, however, a novel founded on facts. Baur and his followers have established beyond a doubt the existence in the New Testament of different and successive types and phases of doctrinal development. They have established the historical right of "Jewish Christianity" as the primitive form of the religion. They have unquestionably thrown a new light on the historical position which is to be ascribed to St. Paul. And they have convincingly proved that the problem of the early history of Christianity is to discover the elements of the Catholicism of the early Fathers in the tendencies of the apostolic and the succeeding age. They have, however, been more successful in laying down the problem than in supplying its solution. Part of the second century is characterised by an absolute dearth of literature and historical data. This is a gap which no ingenuity can fill. If the Tübingen writers be considered ever so successful in overthrowing the authenticity of books ascribed to the apostolic age, it is a mere illusion to fancy that they have actually discovered the peculiar circumstances in some period of the second century (of which nothing whatever can be known) which gave rise to the composition of those books. The soundness of some of the Tübingen conclusions has led to their adoption by nearly all who have recently had to deal with the history of the apostolic age; but if we examine those which are now peculiar to the school, it will be seen how feeble are the arguments on which they rest. We ask, for instance, any unprejudiced person to read Mr. Mackay's section on the "Pastoral Epistles," and say candidly whether the facts appealed to bear out the conclusions drawn. We can easily understand how an acute and imaginative person should invent these arguments and persist in maintaining them; but it is inconceivable to us how any other person laying claim to the position of an independent thinker can simply make them his own. We are first told that the doctrine of the pastoral epistles is different from that of the genuine epistles. "St. Paul's doctrine of 'justification' is indeed noticed, but the allusion stands parenthetically isolated among incessant recurrences of the neutral formula characteristic of the second century, combining faith and works; the keynote of exhortation is not faith alone, but faith and love—*πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη*; *εὐσέβεια* and *θεοσέβεια* occur where St. Paul would assuredly have said *πίστις*; *ἔργα καλά*, or good works, are espe-

cially insisted on ;—in short, the apostle's theory is scarcely seen, and faith, instead of being an inward condition of the soul, is taken in the above-mentioned ecclesiastical sense of creed allegiance." This argument might be of weight on the hypothesis of the old Protestant theory of inspiration ; on any other hypothesis it is almost childish. It starts from the supposition that St. Paul cannot be supposed ever to have modified the views once expressed by him. Plato could never have written the *Laws* after having written the *Republic* ; Schelling's later philosophy cannot be the produce of the master who would never acknowledge Hegel as his interpreter. "Other circumstances," continues Mr. Mackay, "inconsistent with authenticity are enumerated by De Wette and by Baur ; but the points chiefly deserving attention are the formal protest against heresy, the kind of heresy denounced, and the means recommended for its suppression." In other words, because St. Paul at a certain period does not allude to circumstances which had not yet arisen, he cannot be supposed at a later period to do so when they had arisen. "Denunciations of heresy—here occurring for the first time in the New Testament—were unknown in the first century, when instead of a settled 'truth' or doctrine confidently assumed as infallible, the primary notions of Christianity were still unsettled, and its very existence as a religion was yet to be secured." This is of course simply begging the question at issue. "In his Corinthian and Galatian controversies St. Paul had to contend with important errors ; but he never styles these errors 'heresies,' he does not assume the existence of an ecclesiastical rule or settled doctrine ; he speaks indeed of 'divisions' among Christians, but in quite a different sense from that of the 'Pastorals,' where the word heresy implies the guilty repudiation of orthodoxy." This is quite as natural on the hypothesis of the genuineness as on that of the spuriousness of the pastoral epistles. "It is especially important to consider the nature of the heresies denounced, to determine who were the 'false teachers' alluded to. These Baur conceives to be partly the Valentinians and Ophitæ, whose endless 'mythi,' 'genealogies,' and 'æons' tally with some allusions in the letters, but more especially the oppositions or 'antitheses' of Marcion ; so that we are plainly confronted with the controversies of the second century ; the 'false teachers' are not the personal opponents indicated in Galatians and Corinthians, but persons systematically controverting 'sound doctrine,' or the settled faith of a church." Here is the real turning-point of the whole question. If Mr. Mackay could show that Baur, or any one else, had proved, and not merely conjectured, an anachronistic reference to heresies historically known to belong to the second century, the case of spuriousness would be made out. But it is quite impossible to detect an allusion to definite heretical sects. "It should be recollected, in extenuation of the somewhat vague terms in which they are mentioned, that a more exact description would have belied dramatic propriety, as too palpably contradicting the assumed circumstances of date and authorship." This is apologising for the

weakness of an argument which has been put forward as the strongest available. "This controversy with Gnosticism forms the main argument against the authenticity of the letters. For how could Hegesippus have expressed himself as he does as to the first appearance of an heretical *ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις* in the second century, had there existed in his day epistles believed to be St. Paul's condemning it as a phenomenon of the first?" This is, in the first place, to assume that Hegesippus was a greater adept in exegetical science than half the Protestant commentators of last century; and, secondly, to overlook the prepossession which must be taken into consideration before his testimony can be received as historical. Hegesippus, like many others after him, was unwilling to allow that the first age of the Church was other than pure and undefiled. His evidence, however, in any case, is not of greater authority than that of the tradition which St. Irenæus ascribes to Polycarp, that Cerinthus was a contemporary of St. John. And if it be improbable, as the Tübingen writers suppose, that the judaising Hegesippus should copy an ostensibly Pauline epistle (a supposition which, we venture to say, will not stand criticism), it is far more incredible that a forger who is so acute as to avoid compromising anachronisms in reference to heretical doctrines should make St. Paul copy Hegesippus. For Baur has shown that one of the two ancient writers has certainly copied the other. "In thus coming forward as champion of orthodoxy," Mr. Mackay proceeds, "Paulinism enters on a new phase of existence. The lesson inculcated is 'peace,' the avoidance of all those 'questionings' which seemed not only useless but dangerous, to shun vain speculations, and to follow practical righteousness. The great remedy proposed to secure these ends is ecclesiastical government under episcopal government. This symptom of nascent Catholicity makes another fatal objection to the authenticity of the letters." Why an objection, and, above all, a fatal objection? "In his genuine epistles St. Paul nowhere alludes to an organised hierarchy, although the Corinthian disorders were exactly such as to require and to suggest the expedient. In advocating episcopacy, the pastorals stand parallel with the Clementines and the letters of Ignatius. The institution arose concurrently with the first dangerous outbreak of the heresies and divisions it was calculated to suppress; and it would be strange to find St. Paul here anticipating later circumstances by pleading for a discipline of Judaical character, to which in his unquestionably authentic letters he never alludes." Here, again, we have the *petitio principii*, and it is repeated in the next objection. "It seems that there existed in the second century an ecclesiastical order technically called 'widows,' from the circumstance of its having originally consisted of real widows, but that a practice had arisen," &c. The institution of titular widows alluded to in 1 Tim. v. *must* therefore indicate a later origin of the letters. So, again, if we recollect what Tertullian states as to the practices of the *mulieres procaces* of the Marcionites, we see at once the origin of the mandate ascribed to St. Paul as to

the propriety of female silence in ecclesiastical ministrations. It will readily be admitted by any one familiar with the writings of the Tübingen school, that its whole theory must break down if the genuineness of the pastoral epistles be admitted. Yet no argument less futile than those cited by Mr. Mackay has as yet been put forward in that direction. One of the strongest arguments, indeed, that can be given in favour of the genuineness of the pastoral epistles is the utter worthlessness of those produced in an opposite direction, by men of such consummate learning and dialectic ability as the writers of the Tübingen school. If any solid reason adverse to the genuineness of the epistles could have been discovered, they would have been the men to discover it. As the case stands, they have only proved, first, that the same process of doctrinal development which is discoverable in other ages of the Church may be detected in the apostolic age, and even in the personal teaching of the apostle of the Gentiles; and, secondly, that the connection between the teaching and discipline of the apostolic age and that of the early Fathers of the Church, is infinitely more close and intimate than has generally been allowed by Protestant writers.

10. The additions and other alterations which M. Renan has introduced into the new edition of the first volume of his work on the Semitic languages are neither very numerous nor very important. A few slight changes have been made in the paragraphs relative to the Semitic populations of Asia Minor, the invention of the Semitic alphabet, the extinction of Hebrew as a living language, the Nabataean literature, the Aramean inscriptions, the inscriptions of Petra and Hauran, the origin of Arabic writing, and the Syro-Chinese inscription of Sigan-fu. The chapter on Phœnicia has undergone more alterations than any other, although the author reserves for a forthcoming publication the facts he discovered during his recent exploration of that country. The most considerable additions—and these are not numerous—consist of references to works published since the appearance of the second edition. To many persons the most startling addition will be that at page 282, where M. Renan conjectures that Buddhism may perhaps be one of the causes to which Christianity owes its origin. Others may be less shocked, but not less surprised, at the supposition, put forth, however, with reserve, that Terah, the father of Abraham, is a geographical myth for the district of Trachonitis,—the name of which we have been used to consider as comparatively recent, and, in fact, of Greek origin.

It is not surprising that a work distinguished by so much really solid learning, a clear and methodical arrangement, and the most fascinating graces of style, should have met with so much success. This success would, however, be dearly gained if men's minds were blinded by the perfections of so charming a book to its very serious defects. If many of its pages record the sure results of science, not a few are devoted to the defence of brilliant paradoxes and hypotheses which have no other basis than the imagination of the author,

or that of the guides he has chosen to follow. Is it possible to fly more audaciously in the teeth of historical fact than to assert the essentially and originally monotheistic character of the Semitic race, including not only Israelites and Arabs, but Canaanites and Phœnicians, and to explain by this monotheism all the other characteristics of the Semitic mind? We all know what Mohammed thought of the Arabs before his time, and what the Arabs themselves think on the subject. We know what the prophets and other sacred writers of the Old Testament thought of the idolatrous tendencies of their countrymen, and how little they suspected their Canaanitish neighbours and enemies to be as monotheistically inclined as themselves. No one knows these things better than M. Renan; but it is precisely in dealing with adverse facts of this nature that his greatest triumph lies. We admire his ingenuity, but we are not convinced. We cannot read the translations of Chinese poetry lately published by M. d'Hervey Saint-Denis, and believe that M. Renan's views of the psychological diversities between the different races of mankind are any thing more than an arbitrary hypothesis, founded on a partial and superficial glance at history. It is of course undeniable that peculiar social, moral, and intellectual habits are formed under the influence of that vast complication of causes which is called into existence whenever a great number of men are brought together into one society; that these habits, when once formed, are perpetuated, not wholly, indeed, but principally, in consequence of the persistence of the causes, both moral and physical, in which they directly originated; and that they may acquire such force as to present an apparently impenetrable obstacle to all external human influences. M. Renan, however, goes beyond this, and accounts for the diversities of race by original natural conformation. "If," he concludes, "the Indo-European race had not appeared in the world, it is clear that the highest degree of human development would have been something analogous to the Arab or to the Jewish society; philosophy, high art, profound reflection, political life, would hardly have been represented. If, besides the Indo-European race, the Semitic race had not appeared, Egypt and China would have remained at the head of humanity; moral feeling, refined religious ideas, poetry, the instinct of the infinite, would almost entirely have failed. If, besides the Indo-European and Semitic races, the Chamite and Chinese nations had not appeared, humanity would not, in the really sound sense of the word, have existed, since it would have been reduced to the inferior races, who are all but destitute of the transcendent faculties which constitute the nobleness of man." Let us grant that the facts are true upon which M. Renan builds his conclusion; they may be insufficient to support it. We have no means of guessing what would have been the fate of humanity if one of the great races which have borne an important part in its history had never appeared. The history of humanity is a result depending on a complication of innumerable causes which have been in operation ever since man has existed, and of which the greater part are un-

known. It is a mere illusion to suppose that by eliminating in thought a certain portion of these causes, themselves only known to a very limited extent, we can calculate the effect of this elimination. Such reasoning is common enough in popular literature, but it ought to be excluded from every book which lays claim to scientific accuracy.

The most welcome piece of information furnished by the present volume is the announcement that the second volume, containing the comparative system of Semitic languages, is in a very advanced stage of composition. It is only when it shall have appeared, that justice can fully be done to several theories which are put forward in the first volume. M. Renan holds, for instance, a theory on the relative positions of Hebrew and Arabic in the Semitic family, which is at variance with the analogy suggested by the position of Sanskrit in the Indo-European family. If we look merely at facts, the extraordinary wealth of the Arabic, both in its vocabulary and in its grammatical forms, would seem to confer upon it the right of claiming the same position in the Semitic family that the Sanskrit enjoys among Indo-European languages. "Il est certain, en effet," says M. Renan, "que l'arabe est à beaucoup d'égards le résumé des langues sémitiques. On dirait que toutes les ressources lexicographiques et grammaticales de la famille se sont donné rendezvous pour composer ce vaste ensemble. L'hébreu, le syriaque, l'éthiopien n'ont guère de procédés que l'arabe ne renferme pareillement, tandis que l'arabe possède en propre une série de mécanismes précieux. Il est vrai que plusieurs des propriétés caractéristiques de l'arabe se trouvent d'une façon rudimentaire dans les autres langues sémitiques; ainsi les formes modales du futur sont en germe dans le futur apocopé des Hébreux; les flexions finales, dans les terminaisons paragogiques ou emphatiques de l'hébreu et de l'araméen; presque toutes les formes du verbe régulièrement employées en arabe existent en hébreu ou en syriaque à l'état de formes rares et anormales; mais ce ne sont là que des germes à peine indiqués, tandis qu'en arabe ces mécanismes sont arrivés à l'état de procédés réguliers, et constituent un des ensembles grammaticaux les plus imposants que jamais langue soit arrivée à revêtir." Now this is precisely, *mutatis mutandis*, what is true of the Sanskrit in relation to its kindred languages; and a disciple of Bopp would think that M. Renan would be sure to draw the very conclusions against which he protests. Arabic, he says, is not the Sanskrit of Semitic languages; "ce titre de langue primitive et parfaite appartient à l'hébreu." In Indo-European languages the more ancient type is more highly developed than the later, but he believes that the converse is true for the Semitic languages. Instead of phonetic and grammatic decay, the law of change has been one of phonetic and grammatic development. "À l'inverse des langues indo-européennes, les langues sémitiques se sont enrichies et perfectionnées en vieillissant." This is difficult to reconcile with the obvious fact that the modern or vulgar Arabic has lost that exuberance of grammatical forms which we find in the ancient classical

language. "L'arabe vulgaire n'est au fond que l'arabe littéral depouillé de sa grammaire savante et de son riche entourage de voyelles. Toutes les inflexions finales exprimant, soit les cas des substantifs, soit les modes des verbes sont supprimées. Aux mécanismes délicats de la syntaxe littérale, l'arabe vulgaire en substitue d'autres, beaucoup plus simples et plus analytiques. Des préfixes et des mots isolés marquent les nuances que l'arabe littéral exprime par le jeu des voyelles finales; les temps du verbe sont déterminés par des mots que l'on joint aux aoristes pour en préciser la signification." The history of the Arabic language is therefore, at first sight at least, adverse to M. Renan's theory. Hebrew, he says, would undoubtedly have attained a richness comparable with that of Arabic, had it lasted as long and met with as favourable circumstances. He appeals to Rabbinical Hebrew as the proof of this. But, independently of the fact that Rabbinical Hebrew is an artificial language, it is precisely of it that M. Renan says, "on sent partout l'action des principes qui ont fait sortir du latin les langues néo-latines."

We can but glance in the present notice at this interesting problem, of which M. Renan's first volume gives an ingenious but not a satisfactory solution, but on which much light, whether favourable to his solution or otherwise, will certainly be thrown by his second. We recommend to his serious study the most recent philological dissertations of those able scholars who are daily adding to our knowledge of the Assyrian language as found in the cuneiform writings. There can be no question as to the presence, to say the least, in that language of a Semitic element. But is that element a foreign one, as in the Huzvâresh, or is it the very basis of the language? There can surely be no doubt as to the answer, if it be true, as Dr. Hincks assures us, that "the Assyrian language has seven conjugations, of which the first six correspond to the first six of the Hebrew, the seventh being a causative of the third; and each of these seven is capable of receiving the augment of a dental letter, which increases the number of conjugations to fourteen." The same distinguished scholar does not hesitate to say that "it may be described as the Sanskrit of the Semitic languages; and its discovery may be expected to throw as much light on the comparative grammar of this family as the introduction of the Sanskrit to European grammarians has thrown on the comparative grammar of the Indo-European." If this discovery be verified, as we believe it may be, it cannot fail to affect the argument of M. Renan's second volume.

On the origin of the Semitic writing, we are also referred to the second volume. We trust that M. de Rouge's promised dissertation on this subject will shortly clear up a great many doubts. We are quite sure that no person familiar with the Egyptian hieratic writing, particularly with that of the Prisse papyrus, will hesitate to affirm that the Phœnician alphabet as found in the inscription of Eshmunazar is derived from that source. It is certainly not the result of accident that the Phœnician characters which resemble the hieratic have exactly the same phonetic value, and that letters, like the Daleth and

Resh, which closely resemble each other in Phœnician, are already undistinguishable from each other in carelessly written hieratic texts. The antiquity of the *Prisse papyrus*, which is the type to which that of the oldest known Phœnician most closely approaches, is a strong argument in favour of Ewald's conjecture that the Semitic populations derived their writing from Egypt through the Hyksos.

11. M. Alfred Maury is, perhaps, not a very profound or original thinker, but he is a man of immense and varied reading, and unrivalled as an indefatigable and pleasant compiler of the results of every kind of scientific inquiry. His essay on the religion of the Aryas is founded chiefly on Langlois' translation of the *Rig-Veda*, in which the best Sanskrit scholars caution us against placing too much confidence. He has, however, had recourse to so many other valuable authorities, that the general impression left by the entire essay will not be an incorrect one. The essay on Mithra is an excellent summary of an important contribution to the history of Persian mythology by the late lamented Frederick Windischmann, who, from his profound study of the original Zend texts, was first enabled to give authentic information as to the doctrines of Mithraism, and show how completely those doctrines had become modified in the course of their transmission into foreign countries. We are rather surprised that M. Maury, who is so excellent an archæologist, has not spoken at greater length of the numerous known objects of Mithraic art, and particularly of the Mithreum discovered only three years ago at Ostia, with a mosaic pavement and a marble altar yet standing. The character of Eusebius of Cæsarea as an ecclesiastical historian is discussed with tolerable fairness from the author's point of view, in a critical enquiry as to the sources of the history. A still more exact picture of Eusebius might, however, have been drawn by contrasting his views of persons and things with those entertained by his own contemporaries, and even predecessors. We think, for instance, M. Maury rather exaggerates his horror of pagans and paganism. And when speaking of his unhesitating acceptance of the marvellous, he ignores the very characteristic fact that, whereas the Acts of St. Polycarp very positively assert that a dove came forth from the martyr's wounded side, Eusebius suppresses this marvel, and follows, if he does not originate, a reading of the text which, although advocated by modern scholars who are unwilling to believe so extraordinary a miracle, is, according to the principles of sound criticism, quite untenable. Neither Rufinus nor Nicephorus, it is said, knows any thing of the dove; but then they merely copy Eusebius; had they come before instead of after him, we may be quite sure that they would have been delighted to report a circumstance very doubtful to modern scholars, but strictly in accordance with ancient Christian ideas. Of M. Maury's other essays, now published together (all of them full of learning and ingenuity), the most important is the last—on the route followed in the ninth century by the Arabs and Persians in their voyages to the sea of China.

12. The readers of Professor Max Müller's essay on Comparative Mythology will not easily forget that part of it in which language is shown, in the case of the Indo-European family, to furnish historical evidence of the most indisputable kind with reference to periods which have left no other documents behind them. A few years ago, M. Adolphe Pictet, who was already well known to philologists through his important essay on the affinity of the Celtic languages with the Sanskrit, published the first volume of a large work, in which the problem so brilliantly sketched by Professor Müller was intended to be solved in minute and elaborate detail. A comparison of the different Indo-European languages irresistibly leads to the conclusion that they are all derived from one common parent, from which they have all more or less degenerated. It is of course impossible to restore this primitive Indo-European tongue; but all the most important features which constitute its type are not the less certainly known to us. We know, for instance, how, by means of certain suffixes, a large variety of derivatives was formed from its monosyllabic roots. We know how its nouns were declined, how its verbs were conjugated. And a considerable portion of the rudiments of its vocabulary may still be recovered. It is from a carefully critical analysis of the words of this vocabulary that most important evidence may be derived as to the nature of the primitive civilisation of the Indo-European race, and even as to the geographical limits of its abode.

M. Pictet has described at length the method by which a primitive Indo-European or Aryan word may, sometimes with complete, sometimes with approximate certainty, be determined and referred to its root; and all philologists must agree that this method is in itself scientifically irreproachable. It is, in fact, the one universally recognised as true. The application of it, however, requires the most consummate skill and circumspection; and the ablest and severest of etymologists may easily be dazzled and led astray by a plausible conjecture. In enquiries of this kind conjectures and hypotheses are unavoidable, and M. Pictet candidly tells us that he has frequently indulged in both. The severest critic must confess that he has rarely done so without exhibiting his own full consciousness of the doubtfulness of his conclusions, and giving his reader fair warning as to the limits of their probability.

His work is divided into two principal parts. The first is intended to illustrate the ethnographical and geographical questions concerning the ancient Aryas, and the second treats of their general state of culture.

The whole of the first volume may be considered as an accumulation of evidence as to the locality in which the cradle of the Aryan race must be placed. After a few chapters in which M. Pictet discusses the data furnished by the geography and migrations of the different sections of the race, the mutual relations of their languages, and the different names by which they were distinguished, he examines the terms which have reference to climate, the seasons, and

topography. In his second book he examines the terms which have reference to natural history, the names of minerals, plants, and animals. All these enquiries are extremely minute. He discusses the etymologies of all the Indo-European words for the different seasons, for the sea, for gold, silver, iron, and other metals, for the tree and all its parts, even to the leaf, and for each kind of tree and plant, cultivated and wild, for each kind of animal, domestic, parasitical, and wild,—beast, bird, reptile, fish, mollusc, and insect. These investigations prove beyond a doubt that the flora and fauna of the primitive land of the Aryas belonged to a temperate climate, equally removed from the exuberance of the tropics and the poverty of the north. That land must have been a mountainous and forest region, intersected by numerous valleys, rich in torrents and rivers; the sea, and most probably the desert, lay to the west of it. When all these data are put together, the evidence seems to point most clearly to the country north of the Hindu Kuh, and east of the Caspian. This hypothesis has the advantage of better harmonising than any other with the most ancient traditions of the different races, and with the most authentic facts which can be learned from the history of their migrations.

M. Pictet's second and larger volume is taken up with an elaborate investigation of all the material, social, intellectual, moral, and religious elements of the primitive civilisation of the Aryas. These are shown to have been a people of herdsmen, not indeed leading a nomadic life, but living in fixed dwellings. They possessed the horse, the sheep, the goat, the hog, and other domestic animals; but their principal wealth consisted in herds of oxen. A vast number of words in the vocabulary show how every portion of their life was associated with ideas of keeping cows. Not only the names of different measures, but even those of plants and birds, are derived from those of the cow. The Latin *mane*, 'morning,' probably signifies the time for churning; the Greek *ἔσπερος*, like the Latin *vesper*, not improbably denotes the return from the pasture. The word *daughter* properly signifies 'she who milks;' and finally, the cow was connected by every kind of mythical symbolism with the phenomena of nature and with religious beliefs. The Vedas are evidently in this regard a most faithful record of ideas once common to the whole Indo-European family.

The pastoral life of the Aryas was not exclusive of agriculture; the plough was known, oxen were yoked to the car, and corn was ground in the mill. The division of labour was already recognised; the carpenter made ploughs, cars, boats, houses, and their furniture; but his tools were furnished by the smith, who manufactured knives, hatchets, ploughshares, and arms for the chase or war. Spinning and weaving had reached a certain degree of perfection; ropes and thread were in use, so was the art of sewing with the needle. The houses had chambers, doors and windows, courtyards, granges and stables; there were considerable centres of population, both as villages and towns, and these were connected by means of artificial

roads. M. Pictet has collected a great deal of curious information about the costume of the primitive Aryas, and about their food and drink. The richness of their vocabulary in terms relative to war leads him to conclude that that pernicious art had already acquired a certain development. Navigation appears to have been confined to rowing boats upon the rivers.

The foregoing sketch of the material life of the Aryas would be quite insufficient to entitle them to a higher place in the scale of civilisation than many races which have never emerged from barbarism. It is only when we come to examine their social state, as exhibited in their manners and customs, as well as their intellectual, moral, and religious development, that we are enabled to form a clearer judgment as to the distinctive capabilities and qualities of this great race.

The Aryan family was organised from the earliest times on a powerful basis. Its unity and persistence were secured by marriage solemnised with numerous and impressive symbolic ceremonies. We have here not only the philological evidence of the Aryan vocabulary, but the evidence derived from the traditional customs preserved down to later periods by different Indo-European nations. M. Pictet refers to the remarkable essay of Dr. Haas on the Grihyasûtras. Dr. Haas has enumerated more than forty different nuptial ceremonies which were common to the Hindus with the Greeks, the Romans, or the Germanic nations. Such are the sending of two relations of the bridegroom to ask the hand of the bride; the bathing of the bride; the division of her hair by means of a porcupine's quill among the Hindus, but by means of a lance among the Romans; the red colour of certain articles of the bride's costume; the leading of the bride round the domestic hearth, and to the dung-heap in the courtyard; her reception *aquâ et igni*, and many other not less striking customs. The Aryan family included not only the blood-relations, but those connected by marriage, such as brothers and sisters-in-law. To these we must add the hired servants and slaves.

M. Pictet has investigated the successive development of the whole social system, passing from the family to the clan, from the clan to the tribe, and from the tribe to the nation. The representative principle prevailed in all the degrees of this social hierarchy; and there is reason to believe that the royal dignity, such as it was, was elective.

The rights of property are implied in a large number of terms expressive of the general notion of property, or of the transactions which concern it. The distinction was drawn between movable and immovable property: territorial property was determined by fixed limits; the right of possession was transferred by inheritance, exchange, sale, and purchase, by donation or salary; imposts and taxes were received; debts were incurred. Contracts were subjected to certain formalities. Money was apparently not known; cattle were probably the means of exchange.

Only very general notions can be formed as to the legislation of

the Aryas. Much, indeed, still remains to be discovered of the legislations of their descendants in purely historical times. There is evidence, however, of the existence of judicial proceedings, of judges, witnesses, and oaths, of fine, imprisonment, and the pain of death. The ordeal, or judgment of God, was resorted to by the Aryas in extraordinary cases.

The chapter on the manners and customs is extremely interesting; but we can only afford to refer to the section on the funeral rites, in which M. Pictet has proved the existence of many remarkable coincidences between the usages of the eastern and western branches of the Indo-European family.

The last book, treating of the intellectual and moral life, and of the religion of the Aryas, commences with a chapter in which M. Pictet analyses all the Indo-European terms of psychology—soul, spirit, think, understand, know, will, and remember. The results of this enquiry tend to show that the primitive Aryan psychology was far removed from materialism. The soul was by no means identified with the vital breath, nor can any material signification be found in certain terms expressive of memory, will, or knowledge. There is sufficient ground for supposing that the Aryas believed in the immortality of the soul and a future state of blessedness. The analysis of ethical and æsthetic terms leads to less conclusive results. We merely find that evil was considered as a pollution.

The next two chapters treat of the Aryan numeration and of astronomy and the divisions of time. The fourth and fifth treat of the Aryan traditions and superstitions. M. Pictet shows in the last chapter of his work that, prior to their dispersion, the religion of the Aryas consisted in a polytheistic personification of the principal phenomena of nature. Heaven, earth, the sun, the dawn, fire, the waters, and the wind, were embodied in numerous poetical myths, and formed the objects of popular adoration. There is no evidence of the existence as yet of a constituted priesthood; but it is probable that the father of the family, or the head of the clan, exercised the priestly functions. Libations of milk and fermented drinks, the smoke of incense, and the blood of domestic animals, were the sacrificial offerings, accompanied by invocation and prayer. The names of the gods are, however, simply identical with those of the natural phenomena. Temples and idols were equally unknown. Had the worship of nature existed from the very first, M. Pictet believes that evidence of this would have been found in the language. He argues, therefore, that the language was already complete before polytheism arose. That this was preceded by monotheism seems to him evident from an analysis of the names of God, all of them belonging to the most ancient formations of the language, yet none of them being appellatives of natural objects. It is evident, however, that this primitive monotheism must have become very vague and indeterminate, or the growth of polytheism would be inconceivable.

13. The first part of the collected writings of the late Horace

Hayman Wilson is now completed by the publication of the second volume, which contains all the smaller essays (including the two lectures) on the religion, or rather the different religions of the Hindus. We have the paper on the supposed Vaidik authority for the burning of Hindu widows, in which Professor Wilson shows that the text quoted for that purpose had a totally different tendency, and that, so far from authorising the rite, its real purport was the reverse, the widow being expected to repress her affliction and return to her worldly duties. A letter from a learned native, Rájá Rádhákánta Deva, on the same subject, but supporting the antiquity of the practice by the authority of one of the Upanishads, is accompanied by observations from Wilson in defence of his own view, chiefly to the effect that the verses cited are of doubtful authenticity, and even if authentic furnish no proof of the contemporaneousness of the rite with the ritual of the Vedic period. Another essay on the oldest period of the Hindu religion is that on Human Sacrifices, his chief text being the legend of S'unahséphas as found in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. On Buddhism we have two papers, one being a notice of tracts from Nepal, which was written as early as 1828, before the subject of Buddhism had been properly studied, and therefore chiefly of value on account of the translations given from texts not altogether free from influences foreign to Buddhism; the other, read as a lecture in 1854, is a very complete and accurate account of all the latest learned investigations on the subject.

A much more modern form of religion is described in a summary account of the civil and religious institutions of the Sikhs, which are derived from Bábá Nának or, Nának Sháh, a native of Dehra, at some distance from Lahore, who lived in the later half of the fifteenth century, and is the nominal founder of a sect differing from the other Hindus chiefly in the abolition of the distinctions of caste and of most rites of worship, but important through the political events which enabled it to grow up into a nation. The two lectures delivered in 1840 before the University of Oxford, though full of accurate information on all the periods of Hinduism, are chiefly written for the practical purpose of enlightening English scholars as to the actual state of the Hindu mind, and the best method of making an impression upon it from a Christian point of view. The only remaining paper in this volume is one of the earliest compositions of Wilson, and is not the least curious. It contains an account of the religious innovations attempted by Akbar. This celebrated sovereign lost his faith in Mohammedanism through the discredit, as it is said, brought upon religion through the polemical disputes between the Shé'áh and the Sunní, the Hanafiah and the Sháf'ah. The general toleration which was the consequence of his scepticism favoured "the assemblage of the professors of various religions from all countries, who were not only admitted to the royal presence, but there allowed openly to assert and advocate their peculiar tenets. From the confliction of notions, with which the em-

peror thus became familiar, all his ideas were confounded, and he proceeded to select and compose a religion for himself, out of such dogmas as struck his fancy, amidst the multitude of those new opinions amongst which he fluctuated."

The result was a monstrous and arbitrary syncretism, in which Brahmanism, Parsism, Sufism, and Christianity, were the discordant elements; Akbar being recognised as the vicegerent of God. "The new code," Wilson concludes, "enjoyed a very short existence, and quickly expired under the indifference of Jehángír to any mode of faith."

14. Having in the previous volumes of his *Sanskrit Texts* given a general account of the ancient Indian writings which are comprehended under the term Veda or S'ruti, and constitute the earliest literature of India, and having compared the opinions entertained by later Hindu writers as to the origin, inspiration, and authority of that early literature with the opinions of the Vedic authors, as discoverable from numerous passages in their own compositions, Dr. Muir proceeds in the fourth part of his work to compare the Vedic with the later representations of the origin of things and the Indian divinities. The gods of whom he treats are Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Rudra, together with the goddess Ambikâ. The main results at which he has arrived are, as he himself tells us, not altogether new. Other eminent scholars have anticipated some of the conclusions here put forward. The merit of Dr. Muir, or, as he modestly calls it, "the whole that he can claim to have effected, is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of his power, all the most important texts which he could discover to have any bearing on the subject which he has handled." He has thus furnished the Indian students for whom his work is primarily designed, their European instructors, and all who aim at a critical knowledge of the religion of the Hindus, with a book of reference of first-rate importance, and indeed of indispensable necessity, for acquiring a clear and methodical view of the successive mutations which have taken place in this wonderful mythology.

15. We gave an account lately of the publication by Dr. Brugsch of the facsimile of an Egyptian medical papyrus considerably more than three thousand years old, and we cited some very singular anatomical notions contained in that ancient document. We have now before us quite as curious a compendium of Chinese medical science, portions of which are probably not less ancient than the Egyptian manuscript we described. Striking coincidences may be found between them, to account for which would be idle at present, in the absence of a great deal of necessary evidence. The time may come when it may not be impossible to discover proofs of the transmission in very ancient times of the ideas of medical science as then understood. But documents which would undoubtedly throw light upon the subject are as yet unpublished, or, if published, have

scarcely been looked at by any one who could derive information from them. How many Sanskrit scholars in Europe have read a line of the *Susruta*? Who can tell us whether it is a result of mere accident that in many of the Eastern languages (we will only mention Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Malay), one word may, as in Coptic, signify *nerve* and *vein*? Is it a result of mere accident, or of independent speculation, that Egyptians, Brahmans, and Chinese, to mention no others, believed in the transmission of air as vital spirit to all parts of the animal body?

M. Dabry has no intention of solving, or even of raising, such questions. His intentions in publishing the work on Chinese medicine were of so purely practical a nature, that he was on the point of leaving out what appears to us the most interesting chapter of the whole book—viz., that on the general principles of the medical theory. A great part of the information contained in it was already known through the labours of Cleyer, Du Halde, then Rhyne, and other learned writers; but M. Dabry has verified the results of these labours, and found occasion both to omit a certain number of incorrect details and to add many important facts which had been omitted. We are only sorry that, instead of merely compiling this chapter, and indeed the whole book, from the best authorities, he has not every where stated the name and date of the earliest authority upon which he relies. A theory of medicine may be very worthless in itself, whilst an accurate history of it may be highly interesting. M. Dabry, however, has only practical interests in view. He thinks cheaply of Chinese theory, but very highly of some of the Chinese prescriptions, the efficacy of which he believes to be attested by the evidence of very many centuries. "I can affirm," he says, "that I have with my own eyes seen cures wrought by them which have seemed to me miraculous. In presence, therefore, of the numerous case of cure which I have been able to verify, I have acquired the profound conviction that, in this respect, modern science might have something to borrow from the ancient Chinese civilisation." If we consider that a very large number of the substances which have for many centuries been employed in the Chinese pharmacopœia are as yet unknown to us, whilst most of the substances of our own pharmacopœia have for ages been known to the Chinese, it is in the highest degree probable that therapeutic agents of great value may be contained in the prescriptions published by M. Dabry, who is extremely anxious to call the attention of his learned countrymen to the natural wealth and resources of the territory which France has recently acquired in the far East. In this point of view, M. Dabry's book undoubtedly deserves the serious attention of all scientific men in Europe. A slight inspection of it, however, will show that a good deal, and, therefore, perhaps an enormous amount, of rubbish is mixed up with the more valuable material. The Chinese appear, like the Egyptians and others of the ancients, to have attached a mysterious efficacy to certain animal substances which are certainly in themselves powerless for good or evil. It is possible again that acu-

puncture may have proved serviceable in certain cases; but these were at once interpreted by the general theory about circulation, and, in accordance with this, an entire theory of acupuncture was deduced for every malady and every part of the human body. Meanwhile the original facts which gave rise to the whole theory have utterly disappeared. We leave, however, all the practical part of M. Dabry's book to the study of professional readers, and content ourselves with a short account of the general principles of Chinese medical science.

Life, according to this system, contains two essential principles—vital heat and radical moisture. The former, being expansive and ever in motion, tends towards the upper regions: the latter, being naturally heavy and hostile to motion, tends always to descend towards the lower parts. All the troubles of our organisation arise from the disunion of these two principles; health depends on their perfect harmony and equilibrium. The natural seat of the vital heat is in the intestines, the liver, the ureters, the *san-tsiao*, and the stomach; that of the radical moisture in the heart, the liver, the reins, the lungs, and the spleen. These are considered as the twelve sources of life.

Vital heat and radical moisture pass into the other parts of the body by means of the vital spirits (air) and the blood, the circulation of which depends upon fixed rules. At each respiration the air and the blood advance six inches; in twenty-four hours, or 13,500 respirations, they have passed over 81,000 inches, and, as the longest passage in the human body is only 1620 inches long, they have circulated fifty times round the body. The body with its nerves, muscles, arteries, and veins, is like a lute or harmonic instrument, each of whose parts utters a different sound; and it is by the different pulses, which are the keys as it were of this instrument, that one can judge of the state of the body. Nature has, moreover, placed in the head certain most useful indications. The tongue is an index to the state of the heart, the nostrils to that of the lungs, the mouth to that of the spleen, the ears to that of the reins, the eyes to that of the liver.

The mechanism of the human body is entirely hydraulic, and health can only last as long as the circulation is free. Two great obstacles, weight and friction, combined with external causes, constantly tend to interrupt this circulation. Hence the importance of acupuncture, which increases the activity and momentum of the air necessary for the fluidity of the liquids.

The human body has five essential organs: the heart, the lungs, the reins, the liver, the spleen or stomach. Each of these five organs corresponds to an element, a planet, a season, a part of the astronomical day, and a region. It has, moreover, a cause and effect, a contrary and a "non-contrary" or friend. Thus the heart is said to have the liver for a mother, and the stomach for a son. Its enemies are the reins, its friend the liver. It corresponds to that part of the sky which is called *Ly* and to the planet Mars. It rules in summer,

and is subject to the element of fire. Its region is the south, and its astronomic time noonday.

The twelve principal sources of life are connected together by as many channels of communication, through which the blood and vital spirits circulate. Twenty-three smaller canals depend upon their assistance in transmitting life and vigour throughout the body. Of the twelve large canals, six convey the vital heat, and six the radical moisture. Three of the canals convey the vital heat from the hand to the head, and three from the head to the feet. Three canals of the radical moisture have their origin in the feet, and finish in one of the sources of life ; the three others start from some part of the body, and finish in the hand. Besides all these canals, there is a large one called *to-me*, or the reunion of vital heat, and another called *sin-me*, or reunion of the radical moisture.

The health of the human body may be affected by five external causes, viz. water, wood, fire, earth, and the metals. Between these five elements and the five principal members there is a sympathy which can never be troubled with impunity. The elements being subject to atmospheric influences, according to the seasons, the human members are necessarily affected by the same influences. The different effects produced by the seasons and the elements over the human body are principally determined by the pulses. The theory of pulsation is much too complicated to be described here ; and we have said enough to enable our readers to judge of the general character of a highly elaborate anatomical and physiological system, which M. Dabry believes to have been in existence from the earliest times of the Chinese monarchy.

16. To know a little well is the only rule for a traveller who wishes to give his readers either amusement or profit: if his generalisation is to be worth any thing, it must be based on the observation of details. It is the superiority of the older books of travel in this respect that makes them so much more amusing than most modern ones. Their writers, partly because they were less ambitious, and partly because the world was newer, were content to attend to trifles. They thought little of sketching the general effect, or of giving a broad view, of the country they travelled through; and yet the reader usually found, when he finished the volume, that he had succeeded in getting both. The author had taken care of the pence of description, and the pounds had looked after themselves. He had given nothing perhaps but a succession of foregrounds ; but a picture could be constructed out of them. Now the traveller insists upon doing this for us. If he succeeds, we have a more artistic result ; but if he fails, we have no materials with which to make up the deficiency. Dr. Gordon belongs to the older school of observers. His *China from a Medical Point of View* deals chiefly with a single district, but still it gives a better notion of the country than most other recent books on the subject. In his chapter on Hong Kong, he notices the disadvantages in point of health under which the English residents

labour, when compared with their fellow-countrymen in India. The poisonous character of the morning mists prevents them from rising early or riding before the sun has become too hot. The cool breezes which occasionally temper the oppressive heat bring fever and neuralgia on those who are exposed to them. They cannot have their houses built bungalow fashion, because living on the ground-floor is so unhealthy that the percentage of admissions to the Military Hospital at Victoria, in the case of men occupying the lower story of the barracks, was double what it was in the case of those occupying the upper floor. When the ground has been newly turned up, the evil is greatly increased from the soil being of a kind which decomposes rapidly if exposed to the air, and in that state gives forth poisonous gases. Much of the excessive mortality in the island during the early years of British occupation was due to the disturbance of the surface necessary in digging the foundations of the new buildings. In other parts of China, a soil the tillage of which is attended with like sanitary results is artificially obtained by a peculiar system of extramural interment. The country for miles round the great cities is one large burial-ground, with fields and gardens interspersed, in which the coffins are placed on the surface, and for the most part only covered with a little earth, which is soon washed away by the rain.

Ten months out of the sixteen which Dr. Gordon spent in China were passed at Tien Tsin; and he has carefully noted down the natural features—the changes in the seasons, the progress of vegetation, the peculiarities of soil and climate—which struck him during his stay. He reached Tien Tsin on the 18th of December, when nothing could well be more dreary than the winter aspect of the surrounding country. The great alluvial plain stretched away on all sides to the horizon, its brown desolate surface dotted here and there with a wretched group of mud hovels and a few leafless trees, and its monotony unbroken by any living object, except immense flocks of sand grouse and sand buntings. The winter was very severe and the spring rather late. By the middle of March great numbers of people were at work in the fields, and the warmth of the afternoon sun was already perceptible; but it was not until April that the plain began to lose its brownness, or to show any signs of vegetation. By the end of the month, however, the trees were in full leaf, the orchards were loaded with blossoms, and in many places the growing crops had already appeared above the ground. In two months more, wheat and barley were reaped, and the ground they had occupied cleared; beans were being cut; apples, grapes, melons, and apricots were nearly ripe; and all the ordinary English vegetables were to be found in abundance in the markets. The Chinese seem to confine their attention to the quantity of the crop; and Dr. Gordon says that the quality of the produce is, in every instance, inferior to that of the corresponding kind at home. Later in the season, Indian corn took the place of wheat; and in the autumn the fields were covered with millet higher than a man on horseback. By October this had been gathered in, and the chief remaining crop was the Pekin cabbage. A month

later the leaves had fallen, the soil had been reploughed and sown for the spring, fruit and vegetables were stowed away underground, and the country had resumed its winter appearance. The remarkable industry which the Chinese display in comparison with most other Orientals is attributed by Dr. Gordon to their being large eaters of animal food, coarse pork and unusually fat geese being their favourite dainties. This is one of the facts which Dr. Gordon's medical training especially disposed him to notice. Another is the great amount of blindness caused by the native method of treating ophthalmia, which consists in turning the eyelid outside in, and thus bringing the eyelashes in direct contact with the eyeball. Besides these incidental bits of medical information, three elaborate chapters are devoted to the hygiene, the mortality, and the pathology of disease at Tien Tsin during the stay of the British troops there; and altogether nearly half the volume is taken up with subjects of professional interest.

17. The valuable dissertation to which M. Chabas has given the modest title of "Researches on the Egyptian name of Thebes" contains, like all the other essays of this eminent scholar, many highly important contributions to the science of Egyptology. The great Egyptian city of Thebes is designated in the hieroglyphic texts by several names, one of which, No-Ammon, is familiar to every one through its occurrence in the Hebrew prophets; but we are not aware that any one before M. Chabas had pointed out the corresponding hieroglyphic group (which literally signifies "the city of Ammon"), although it occurs in a very well-known passage, and only needs to be pointed out in order to be recognised. What, however, is the origin of the Greek name Thebes? M. Chabas gives very excellent reasons for rejecting the received hypothesis of its derivation from the name AP or AP-T by prefixing the feminine article TA. He shows that the name in question is invariably plural; the article prefixed to it would therefore not be TA, even if the word could be proved to be feminine, but NA; and secondly, that the name, which is not more ancient than the 18th dynasty, is not applied to the whole city of Thebes, but only to a portion of it. The oldest and most usual name for the city and province of Thebes is expressed ideographically by the so-called Cucufa sceptre, the phonetic reading of which has always been considered doubtful. M. Chabas, in a learned investigation on the real nature and symbolism of this ideographic character, has shown that it was susceptible of various phonetic values, and that it occurs in two very ancient inscriptions as the ideograph of a city whose name may, we think, most intelligibly for those who are not Egyptologists, be transcribed by the Hebrew letters תֶּבֶס. This city may very probably have been Thebes; but whether it was or not, M. Chabas very justly claims the right of appropriating the phonetic elements thus proved to represent the ideograph of Thebes. He then shows that this name of Thebes was feminine, and is thus

enabled, by the help of the feminine prefix TA, to furnish a far more probable hypothesis than that hitherto received of the origin of the Greek name Thebes. In the course of this dissertation a considerable number of important texts are discussed, and a very large amount of fresh philological and archæological information is the result.

18. We might fairly object both to the shorter and to the longer title given by Dr. Tattam to the new and improved edition of his Grammar. *A compendious Grammar of the Egyptian Language*, published in the year 1863, gives one a right to look for an analysis of the language spoken at the time when Egypt was a mighty and independent kingdom, and in possession of an extensive and varied native literature. And as in the course of several thousand years the language underwent very considerable changes, the grammar of one period is in many respects different from that of another. Several learned men have abundantly contributed to our knowledge of the grammar of the more ancient language. What is called the Demotic grammar has chiefly been illustrated by Dr. Brugsch. It is only to a third and last stage of the language, deeply corrupted by the admixture of foreign elements, that Dr. Tattam's grammar is applicable. The title, therefore, of "Egyptian grammar" seems to imply too literal an identity between the language spoken by the subjects of the ancient Pharaohs and that of their Christian descendants when Egypt was but a province of the Roman empire. The identity exists, but it is the same kind of identity as that which exists between Anglo-Saxon and English, or between the Latin of the Twelve Tables and the modern Romance languages. Dr. Tattam's longer title speaks of "the Egyptian language as contained in the Coptic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric dialects." Is this accurate? Of the three dialects mentioned, have not the second and third as much right to the name of Coptic as the first? We know of no authority for confining the term Coptic to what is, in fact, the Memphitic, or, as it is sometimes called, the Bahiric. The classical text on the subject of the three dialects is that of Athanasius of Kous, quoted by Dr. Tattam from Quatremère; and this text in the original Arabic speaks positively of "the Coptic of Misr, that is the Sahidic," "the Bahiric Coptic," and "the Bashmuric Coptic," as the three dialects into which "the Coptic language" is divided. The proper title, therefore, of Dr. Tattam's book would have been "A compendious Grammar of the Coptic language, as contained in the Memphitic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric dialects." Most Coptic scholars have considered the Memphitic dialect as presenting the best type of the language. Quatremère, whom Dr. Tattam follows, says the Sahidic has adopted a much larger number of Greek words than the Memphitic. The Abbate Peyron, however, very positively maintains that the converse is the case. "Memphitici codices scatent permultis vocabulis Græcis; contra Thebani sæpe habent Ægyptias voces, sic ubi aves, arbores, domestica supellex, instru-

menta artium, ac similia in Græco textu commemorantur, sæpius in textu Thebano, quam in Memphitico, reperies vernaculas voces. Ad hæc dialectus Sahidica utpote magis regularis atque ad analogiam exacta habenda est tamquam exemplar Coptici sermonis." We believe that, upon the whole, the latter view will be found the more correct, though both dialects are extremely corrupt, and the Memphitic has retained ancient articulations which have been lost in the Sahidic. The letter *khei* has utterly disappeared from the latter, and been replaced by the *hori*. On comparing Memphitic and Sahidic with the old Egyptian words from which they are derived, it is easy to see which of the modern dialects has most faithfully preserved the ancient forms. A truly critical analysis of the Coptic language would trace all its forms, as far as this is possible, back through the different stages they have passed, to the primitive Egyptian type, and would be a most valuable contribution to philological science. Dr. Tattam has not attempted this task, which of course requires a considerable knowledge of the ancient Egyptian language; but he has produced a compendious grammar, which gives all the information sufficient to guide one in reading Coptic texts, and has thereby rendered a service to Biblical students, who will find very important instruments of Biblical criticism in the Memphitic and Sahidic versions of the Scripture, and also, though in a less degree, to those who wish to study the ancient language of Egypt in its inscriptions and papyri, and for whom a certain amount of Coptic is indispensable.

19. Not less interesting in itself to the student of the science of language than the Arabic, to which it is nearly related, though utterly destitute of the literary treasures in which the latter is so rich, is the ancient Ethiopic or Ghez language, the grammatical structure of which was first exhibited in its fulness by Dr. Dillmann in one of the most valuable contributions to modern philological science. This indefatigable scholar, to whom we are also indebted for critical editions of part of the Ethiopic version of the Bible,—the Book of Enoch,—and other important documents, has now published the first part of a Lexicon of the language. It is based on that of Ludolf, but it is hardly necessary to say that the materials derived from that source have been subjected to a critical treatment of which neither the seventeenth nor the eighteenth century had any notion. The other materials are chiefly derived from those copious manuscript sources to which Dr. Dillmann has had access, and which hardly any one but himself has yet attempted to explore.

20. The English reader of the *Thousand-and-one Nights* is not a little astonished in the tale of "Enis el Jelis, or the fair Persian," to find not only grammar, but lexicography included among the apparently necessary elements of an accomplished female education. Ideas, however, of Arabic lexicography, even in its perfection, must not be formed from the analogies suggested by lexicons of

other languages, composed in Europe according to the principles of modern sciences. Even the best Arabic lexicons composed by Europeans are absolutely deficient in those qualities which are the great recommendation of the dictionaries of Gesenius or Liddell and Scott. The student of Arabic is annoyed at finding that the word sought by him is left out by Golius and Freytag; or he is bewildered by finding it given with perhaps twenty different meanings, some of them utterly inconsistent with the others. No explanations are given from which a clue can be discovered for finding a way through this labyrinth; and it not unfrequently happens that a first-rate scholar has no means of determining whether the meaning which he sees in a passage is that which was intended by the author. It is but rarely that quotations are given which might throw light on the subject. The references which occur from time to time, such as *Kam.* or *Gu.*, are not to authors, but to Arabic dictionaries; and they apparently indicate nothing more than that the sense given by the European lexicographer has been taken on the authority of his Arabic guide. Under what circumstances the sense in question may be depended upon is not intimated, although experience soon discovers that a vast number of the meanings set down in the lexicons have but an extremely limited application. If such be the difficulties presented by the use of the lexicons in translating Arabic, it may be inferred that those encountered in writing the language are simply insurmountable. A nearer acquaintance with the Eastern lexicographers themselves is at first sight hardly more satisfactory.

"To convey a due idea of the difficulties of my task," says Mr. Lane, in introducing his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, "would be impossible. While mainly composing from the *Táj el-'Aroos*, I have often had before me, or by my side, eight or ten other lexicons (presenting three different arrangements of the roots, and all of them differing in the order, or rather disorder, of the words explained), requiring to be consulted at the same time; and frequently more than a day's study has been necessary to enable me thoroughly to understand a single passage: for the strict rules of Arabic lexicology demand that every explanation be given as nearly as possible in the words in which some person of authority has transmitted it; and many explanations perfectly intelligible when they were first given became less and less so in succeeding ages, and at length quite unintelligible to the most learned of living Arabs. Even Ibn-Seedeḥ often confesses in the *Mohkam* his inability to understand an explanation or some other statement that he has transmitted. Many explanations, moreover, present instances of what is termed [*tasāmuḥ*];¹ and instances of a worse kind of license, termed [*tasāḥul*], are not of unfrequent occurrence: by the former term is meant a deficiency in what an author writes, relying upon the understanding of the reader; and by the latter

¹ In Mr. Lane's text the words here given between [] are in Arabic characters.

term, a deficiency in what he writes *without* relying upon the reader's knowledge. Often two synonyms are used to explain each other. Numerous cases of this kind occur in the Kámoos ; . . . and in these cases I have not always found the information that I required by referring to other lexicons. More frequently, in lieu of an explanation, we find merely the word [*ma'rûfun*], meaning "well known ;" and in a very large proportion of such cases, what was once "well known" has long ceased to be so. Still more frequently, significations are only indicated by the context : in many instances as clearly as they could be expressed by any words of explanation ; but in many other instances very obscurely. Many words are rendered by others which are not elsewhere explained in the same lexicon ; many by words meant to be understood in senses not elsewhere explained in that lexicon ; many by words meant to be understood in tropical senses ; and many by words meant to be understood in post-classical senses. In these last cases, I have often found in my knowledge of modern Arabic a solution of a difficulty : but without great caution, such knowledge would frequently have misled me, in consequence of the changes which have taken place in the application of many words since the classical age. Great caution is likewise requisite in the attempt to elicit the significations of words by means of analogy, as I could easily show by giving all the principal words of one article, with their significations, and then requiring any student to divine the significations of the other words of the same article by such means, and comparing his explanations with those that have been authoritatively transmitted. Perfect reliance is not to be placed upon vowel-signs and the like when they are merely written, without their being either described in words, or shown by the statement that the word of which the pronunciation is to be fixed is similar to some other word well known. Even when they are described, one has to consider what rule the author follows ; and in some lexicons the rules followed by the authors are not explained."

Other difficulties are mentioned by Mr. Lane ; and if we were only to look at this side of the matter, the Arabic lexicons would appear to be both theoretically and practically worthless. To assert this, however, would be as senseless as to pass a similar judgment on the ancient Greek lexicons, which, as all scholars know, contain treasures of information not to be found elsewhere. If not written in accordance with the principles of modern philological science, they at least furnish scientific philology the most invaluable materials. Lexicology became a traditional science, with fixed and determinate rules, from the earliest times of Islam. Lexicons began to be written in accordance with these traditions at the end of the second century of the Flight, or in the former half of the third. The number of such works compiled in the course of succeeding ages is enormous. A very interesting account of the most remarkable ones is given by Mr. Lane, who has spent a considerable part of a laborious life in drawing the materials of his own lexicon from a

vast collection of sources hitherto unknown to European scholars. These have at best translated and composed from a few Arabic lexicons of the class of epitomes, or abstracts, or manuals. The authority most commonly depended upon is that of the *Kámoos*, which is described by Mr. Lane as little more than what may be termed an enormous vocabulary, an abridged compilation from other works, with very few critical observations, many of which are false, and scarcely any examples from the poets. The principal authority followed by Mr. Lane—whose copy of it is in twenty-four thick quarto volumes, the *Táj el-'Aroos*—is a compilation from the best and most copious of the preceding Arabic lexicons and other lexicological works (more than a hundred of which are enumerated in the author's preface) in the form of an interwoven commentary on the *Kámoos*; "exhibiting fully and clearly from the original sources innumerable explanations, which are so abridged in the latter work as to be unintelligible to the most learned men of the East; with copious illustrations of the meanings, &c., corrections of mistakes in the *Kámoos* and other lexicons, and examples in prose and verse, and a very large collection of additional words and significations, mentioned under the roots to which they belong." In consequence of a doubt which had been raised as to its authenticity, Mr. Lane was obliged to make a most laborious collation of passages quoted in it with the same passages in the works quoted, and in every instance found that they had been faithfully transcribed; and he moreover made the unexpected discovery that a very considerable portion of it was derived from a much more ancient and hardly less valuable lexicon, the "*Lisán el-'Arab*" of Ibn-Mukarram, a copy of which exists in twenty-eight quarto volumes in a mosque at Cairo, and was lent to him in successive portions. From these and other works, which he describes, Mr. Lane has obtained the means of producing a lexicon far more accurate and perspicuous, and incomparably more copious, than any hitherto published in Europe.

In the prosecution of this gigantic task, he has not been aided by the coöperation of a single person. "Nearly twelve years have now elapsed since I commenced this work. Had I foreseen that the whole labour of the composition must fall upon me or the project be abandoned; and had I also foreseen the length of time that it would require of me unaided, I should certainly not have had the courage to undertake it. I had hoped that I should have at least one coadjutor, and I continued to hope for some years that such might be the case; but by no one have I been aided in the least degree, except, occasionally, in discussions of difficult points, by the Sheykh Ibráheem Ed-Dasokee, who has written the results of some of these discussions on the margin of pages of my copy of the *Táj el-'Aroos*, generally in his own words, but often in words dictated by me. For seven years, in Cairo, I prosecuted my task on each of the work-days of the week, after an early breakfast, until within an hour of midnight, with few and short intervals of rest (often with no interruption but that of a few minutes at a time for a meal, and half-

an-hour for exercise), except on rare occasions when I was stopped by illness, and once when I devoted three days to a last visit to the Pyramids. I seldom allowed myself to receive a visitor except on a Friday, the Sabbath and leisure-day of the Muslims; and more than once I passed a quarter of a year without going out of my house."

In expressing our sense of the unwearied industry and profound scholarship to which we are indebted for this invaluable work, which none but Mr. Lane could have produced, we must not forget to notice the munificence of the Duke of Northumberland, by whom not only the main expenses incurred in its composition, but also that of the printing and that of the Arabic type have been defrayed.

21. An extremely beautiful edition of the Persian text of Sadi's *Gulistân* has just been published by Professor Johnson, who has chiefly adopted the readings of Dr. Sprenger's edition, published at Calcutta in 1851. Besides a very complete vocabulary, in which every Persian word is accompanied by its transcription in European characters, two very important Appendixes are given, one consisting of a literal translation of the many Arabic passages which are found scattered through the *Gulistân*, the other being an analysis by Dr. Duncan Forbes of all the Persian metres occurring in the first book.

The Arabic passage at page 118, line 20, which the editor rightly conjectures to be taken from the Koran, but which he is unable to discover there, will be found verbatim at the beginning of the last verse of the fortieth Sûra.

22. The first volume of Dr. Land's *Anecdota* contains the Syriac text and the translation of four documents. The first of these, "the Book of the Chaliphs," a sort of chronicle, beginning with Constantine and coming down to A.D. 636, is compiled, according to the editor, "a stultissimo homine," but is published on account of some historical fragments of importance, which appear to be chiefly derived from the Presbyter Thomas, a Jacobite writer of the seventh century. The second text is a history of the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast, and derives its chief interest from being the only native account as yet known. The next document, a treatise on Roman law, is considered by Dr. Land as a genuine relic from the celebrated law school of Berytus, and at all events as giving a clear view of the condition of the civil law in the eastern provinces before the time of Justinian, and of its technical phraseology in the Syriac language. The last piece, a translation of sentences from Menander, is only of value as contributing to some extent to both the lexicon and the grammar of the language.

In the prolegomena to this volume, Dr. Land has given a deeply-interesting account of the Syriac manuscripts examined by him in London in 1857 and 1858, and some very valuable obser-

ventions on the different ages of Syrian palæography. These are illustrated by a series of magnificent facsimiles.

23. The *Erdkunde von Asien* is a sufficient monument for any man; but when a good, genial, and true lover of science gathers about him young enthusiastic students, each word of the master is cherished. It is a spirit of this kind which has no doubt led to the publication of Carl Ritter's *Geschichte der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen* and the *Allgemeine Erdkunde*, which had appeared in part already. This little work, however, possesses intrinsic merit sufficient to induce a student of geography to desire its publication, apart from that pious duty which impels the scholar to collect the literary remains of his master. There is no kind of secular knowledge which exerts a more expansive effect on the mind of students than physical geography, especially when it is treated with Ritter's philosophical generality. The present lectures consist of a general introduction, in which the author considers the earth as the residence of man, geography (having no word which expresses *Erdkunde*, we must use it in that sense) as a science, and its operation, sources, and auxiliary sciences—a favourite theme of the Professor. We have thus the subject of the earth as an independent planetary body in its most general surface relations, such as its rotundity, the distribution of air, water, and land, contrast of the land and water hemispheres, the geographical position of the continents and their influence upon the manner of evolution of historical events, the historical element in geographical science. Then comes the more special study of the surface of the earth—its plains and mountains and their origin, great depressions, river-basins, and lastly the morphology or configuration of the continents. All these points are of course treated of in every large work on geography; but such a work as the present is not to be judged merely by the matter of which it is made up, but by the form in which it is presented. For this form we recommend it. It would, however, have been better if all the author's lectures on general geographical science had been published in one volume, instead of being printed piecemeal. We recollect several important ones of which copies must exist, and which, together with those already published, would form a volume that might be worth translating into English. In that case, it should be brought up to the present condition of science. This has not been done in the German edition, the object of which was merely to give us what the great geographer himself had done.

24. The publication of Annuals on scientific subjects has latterly come into fashion in France: thus we have *L'Année Scientifique*, *L'Année Rustique*, and many others. The distinguished geographer M. Vivien de St.-Martin, moved apparently by a saying of Göthe to Napoleon, when the latter was at Erfurt in 1807, *à propos* of the scientific genius of France,—“Ce qui caractérise votre nation, Sire, ce n'est pas seulement l'urbanité, l'esprit, les dispositions sympa-

thiques, c'est de la ne pas savoir géographie,"—has commenced the *Année Géographique*, or a brief *résumé* of the discoveries in geography and ethnology made during each year. Although in this country we are not open to the reproach conveyed by the anecdote of Göthe, this excellent little work may be found very useful to those who cannot avail themselves of Perthes's *Mittheilungen*, or the journals of the various geographical societies.

25. The country which has the highest chain of mountains in Europe, a well-developed system of glaciers, and great masses of perpetual snow, which abounds in lakes, and is the cradle of at least two great rivers, must be always an interesting region to the naturalist. Scheuchzer, a Swiss himself, thus speaks of the merits of Switzerland in this respect in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Historiæ Naturalis*: "Dignissima est præ multis aliis terris Europæis Helvetia nostra, quæ curiosorum naturæ lustretur oculis [*sic*] physicorum et historicorum exerceat pennas." The numerous books and memoirs which have been published on its flora, fauna, physical geography, geology, glaciers, and other phenomena, fully justify this opinion. Nor should we forget another illustration of its truth—the establishment of an Alpine club, which, in imitation of learned Academies, publishes its transactions. The natural phenomena of the country have not been lost upon its own sons; for Switzerland has been the birthplace, or home, of many great investigators of nature, of whom it is only necessary to mention Tutilo, Notger Labeo, Paracelsus, Ægidius Tschudi, Conrad Gesner, Johann and Caspar Bauhin, Michel Varo, Scheuchzer, Albrecht von Haller, J. de Luc, the Bernoullis, Lambert, Benedict and Theodore de Saussure, Sennebier, and the Decandolles.

The object of Professor Studer's *Geschichte der physischen Geographie der Schweiz bis 1815* is to give an account of every thing that has been done concerning the scientific history of Switzerland, not only by Swiss but by others also, with occasional notices of the men by whom the work was performed. Such books are not merely useful, they are a necessity, which will become more urgent as the facts of science increase. From the want of attention to the history of science, we run the risk of rediscovering many things, losing our own time, and doing an injustice to our predecessors. The desire to avoid the last of these evils has much to do with Professor Studer's work, as his quotation of the following passage of the celebrated geologist Dolomieu shows; it contains a lesson which cannot be too often impressed upon scientific men: "Without allowing myself to be touched by that sentiment of jealousy which too often carries bitterness to the souls of scientific men, which makes them see with pain the progress that age prevents their following, and which even leads them to believe that science no longer advances, because they no longer move with it, and rather to deny its new success than to place themselves among those who applaud without taking part, I confine myself to asking of those who prepare to succeed us, to give us credit for the efforts we have

made to prepare the way for them, and in this respect to make mention of us in the history of human progress. This reward, which I believe to be due to us, will compensate us for the laborious and painful life we have sacrificed to researches for which we have not had the same advantages as they." It is no doubt this sympathy and respect for the memory of men who have laboured in the same field, which has prevented Professor Studer from occasionally exercising a little judicious criticism, so as to enable the reader to distinguish between those who have really contributed to the progress of science, and those who, however eminent at the time, have left but the echo of their words behind.

The work is divided into five books: the first embraces the ancient and medieval times; the second the period of the Reformation; the third the 17th century, from 1600 to 1725; the fourth the 18th century, from 1725 to 1775; and the fifth the transition to modern times. The arrangement of the matter is threefold, biographical, geographical, and classificatory; that is, we have brief notices regarding the men of each period and their chief works, the special investigations concerning each canton, and lastly the progress effected in each branch of science correlated with physical geography, maps, reliefs, hypsometry, pictorial illustrations, travels, general and special topography, glaciers, meteorology, geology, palæontology, botany, &c.

In his account of the Greek and Roman geography of Helvetia Professor Studer appears to follow Ukert, and not to have investigated the subject himself to any extent. This chapter is accordingly imperfect: for instance, he makes the Teutones and Cimbri Germans, without even indicating that an opposite opinion is now generally held. About the medieval period he has little to say; and yet among the monks of St. Gall and other convents were men who held views on astronomy and other subjects centuries in advance of their times. In a strophe which is quoted from the *Benedictiones ad mensas Ekkehardi*, a curious poem written by Ekkehard, a scholar of Notger Labeo, and recently published by Dr. F. Keller of Zürich, there is a list of the articles of food consumed in the convent, among which the Aurochs and Urus are mentioned:

"Signet vesontem benedictio cornipotentem,
Dextra Dei veri comes assit carnibus uri."

In our last Number² some lines were quoted from the *Niebelungen Lay*, to prove that both these animals must have lived down to the period at which that poem was first written; the above lines prove that they must have existed down even to the period at which it received its Middle High German form.

We have a striking illustration of the necessity of historical sketches either of a branch of science generally, or of local ones like that of our author, in the fact that the first idea of the plastic theory of glaciers put forward by Professor J. D. Forbes, which formed the subject of so much controversy within the last few years, is to be

² *The Home and Foreign Review*, ii. 468.

found plainly stated in the 14th chapter of the *Voyage pittoresque aux Glacières de Savoye*, par Louis César Bordier, 1773. The great authority of his fellow-citizen Saussure was no doubt the cause why the more correct views of Bordier did not attract the attention they deserved.

26. Mr. Hughes's *Geography of British History* is one of the very best school-books that have appeared for a long time. It is simply and clearly written, and, so far as we have ascertained, is a model of conscientious accuracy. It brings together a great body of facts which every one ought to know, yet which, before its appearance, could only be found scattered over many volumes, some of them costly. The title, however, is somewhat misleading, since more than half the work has no reference to British history, but is occupied in describing the territorial, industrial, and commercial statistics of Great Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth century. In the earlier portion of the work also certain defects and redundancies of plan are apparent, which, if we point out, it is only with the friendly intention of enabling the author still further to improve a work from which we have derived no little pleasure and information. In a work of this kind, a sketch of British geology, which is of necessity too meagre to be of use to the mere geological student, must be considered as redundant, unless it be shown (which the author has not attempted,—or, if at all, most sparingly) how the geological characters of different districts, by modifying the fertility and physical features of the surface, have affected the distribution of population, influenced the selection of sites for towns, and hindered or facilitated the march of armies. It is such questions as these that are treated of in Cotta's *Deutschlands Boden*, where the geological reasons for the distribution of towns are explained. Again, a sketch of the ethnology of Britain in early times must be considered as superfluous in a geographical treatise, unless it confine itself to the one point of contact between the two sciences,—the manner, namely, in which the social organisation (itself a function of the original character and actual culture) of a particular race modifies the political geography of the country in which it settles. Thus the large, nearly equal, divisions presented by all the newer American States, with their conventional or purely arbitrary boundaries, no less than the small, nearly equal, divisions into which departmental France was mapped out by the Revolution, illustrate the democratic levelling principle, which was the strongest force in the French and American society of the time. On the other hand; the unequal divisions which the English counties and the old French provinces exhibit, the boundaries of which are in a great many cases natural, in others conventional, but never arbitrary, indicate the aristocratic and feudal organisation of society at the eras in which they arose. For the county—*comitatus*—was the environment, the outward and visible embodiment of the power and dignity of the *comes*, or earl; and the extent of each county is the natural measure of the vigour of

will, strength of arm, and plenitude of resource, appertaining to the earl and his vassals during the long and obscure period in which shire-boundaries were in a fluctuating and unsettled condition. As these, in the nature of things, were variable elements, so we find great actual disparity in the relative dimensions of our counties. But as, in the present work, this point of contact between ethnology and geography is missed, the introduction of ethnological topics at all is superfluous. What is told is indeed interesting; but there is no particular reason why it should be told *here*, or why, if the subject be introduced at all, a great deal more of the same sort should not be added.

But there is more than enough in these pages to remind us that the full and systematic knowledge of the "local habitation" of a nation's history is essential to the right understanding of that history. To the acquisition of such knowledge perhaps the following would be found an easy and rational method. First, the geology of the country should be so far studied as to explain its leading physical features, and the peculiar adaptations of the subsoil in different districts. Next the physical geography should be studied, in order to ascertain the general character of the country, with respect to hilliness or flatness, with respect to the extent and distribution of alluvial and other fertile soils, and with respect to the nature and number of its rivers, and the position of its harbours. For all these things are found to have a bearing on the history of the country. The fertile soils attract and detain the population in the first instance; when they are all filled up, the middling soils are brought into cultivation, and at last the marshy, gravelly, and sandy soils. Districts rich in minerals are always barren, and therefore are always scantily peopled until the time arrives when the increase of capital and the invention of machinery render it profitable and possible to work the minerals on a large scale for manufacturing purposes. Thus it is explained why Lancashire, with its poor soils, scarcely appears in English history till after the Norman conquest; why Ireland, with its large proportion of level or undulating surface, was sooner conquered by England, in spite of its greater remoteness, than mountainous Wales; why the Teutonic population extended itself on the level eastern side of Scotland as far north as Caithness, but on the western side stopped at the Firth of Clyde. The theory of boundaries would then have to be considered, and applied to the illustration, first of the borders between the country in question and adjoining states, afterwards of those between internal territorial subdivisions. A just conception of this theory, aided by research in the annals of the different counties, would impart a wonderful light and a new interest to those obscure struggles in Anglo-Saxon times, which Milton could compare to nothing but the battling of kites and crows. Last in order would come the geographical explanation of particular sites,—why some great towns have increased, and others decayed; how decisive battles came to be fought at such or such places, and so on. The examination of particular battle-fields

has been on the whole admirably done by Mr. Hughes. He justly observes in the preface that "these and kindred topics are at least of equal importance to the youth of Britain, in the nineteenth century, with the topography of the Thrasymene Lake or the Caudine Forks."

An excellent chapter on the "Continental Dominions of the Norman Kings of England" brings together within the compass of a few pages all the most important facts of the subject. Simple and intelligible as these facts are, especially with the aid of the little maps which Mr. Hughes has appended, we much doubt whether the ordinary student of English history has any but the most confused notions of the extent and fluctuations of English rule in France between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Let the student of Hume or Lingard read the history of this period for the future with Mr. Hughes's seventh chapter open by his side; he will not regret having followed this recommendation.

The chapter on the commencement of English Colonisation is also very good; but it seems a pity, since the author has come down so low as the settlement of Georgia in 1732, that he did not include the Australian colonies, Canada, Natal, &c., in his summary of our colonising achievements.

27. A German scholar, Conrad Bursian, has brought out the first volume of an important work on the geography of Greece. The chief aim of the author is to elucidate the ancient topography, in connection with the ancient history, while giving a minute description of the physical aspect of the whole region. The identification of ancient sites, thanks to the researches of modern travellers, has made great progress of late years. No individual, indeed, has accomplished so much as Colonel Leake, in whose time the field was nearly unexplored; but French and German investigators have since filled in many details in the great geographical and archæological edifice reared by our countryman. Thus the position of the town of Dodona, at the southern extremity of the lake of Joannina, is now a settled point, though no trace of the sanctuary has been discovered (pp. 21, 23). Again, the ruins of Stratus, a considerable town in Acarnania, have been identified; and with several other sites—some hitherto little known—are delineated in the plans at the end of the volume.

In the arrangement of his subject only, the author might perhaps have done better. Why pass at once from Thessaly to Acarnania, a region which, at the period indicated by the Homeric catalogue (*Il.* ii. 625, 635), seems to have been nameless, and to have owed its scattered Greek population to migration from Elis and the islands? The proper order of treatment would follow the gradual southward movement of the Hellenic tribes, from Thessaly, the abode where certain history first finds them settled, into Bœotia, the Peloponnesus, Phocis, &c. By observing this order the author might have shown, in a very interesting way, how the physical configuration of the country affected the mutual relations of tribes and the demarcations of territory. He gives us the physical geography, and also the poli-

tical geography, of each Hellenic state or confederation ; but there is a mode of viewing these two subjects in connection, which may be called *physico-political* geography, by the adoption of which each branch of the science is illustrated by the other. Ethnologists in Europe, who have not witnessed the actual process by which new countries are colonised, have often a defective perception of the intimate relation subsisting between the distribution of fertile soils and the direction of colonising efforts. When the rich plains of Thessaly were fully occupied by the Hellenic settlers, where would they go next ? The first move would certainly be round Mount Othrys into the valley of the Sperchius. But when the good land was taken up there, where next ? Most certainly not among the rugged fastnesses and barren slopes of Mount Ceta, but along the natural highway offered by the pass of Thermopylæ between Mount Ceta and the sea. For it is indubitable that men who have to live by what the soil will yield them never choose the worse land when they can get the better, even though the worse be in far closer proximity. The Locrian *riviera*, therefore, which is separated from the Phocian valley of the Cephissus by the ranges of Callidromus and Cnemus, would first receive the surplus population of Thessaly. But this would soon be filled up ; and the main movement would then be southward and eastward into Bœotia, not only because the way along the coast is easier than across the ranges just mentioned, but also because the land in Bœotia is better than in Phocis. Thucydides (i. 2) expressly says that the best land in Greece was found in Thessaly, Bœotia, and the greater part of the Peloponnesus, except Arcadia. The wave of population would overspread the great Bœotian basin, the centre of which is occupied by the Copaic lake, until it found itself stopped by mountain barriers,—Mount Cithæron on the south, and on the north-east the ranges through which the Cephissus forces its way down out of Phocis. Following the same train of reasoning, one may say with certainty that the human overflow from Bœotia would take its course neither across Cithæron, nor over the ranges or up the Cephissus defile into Phocis, but would press on southwards, along the northern shore of the isthmus, past Corinth into the Peloponnesus. For the soil of Attica was poor, and therefore uninviting, and the Peloponnesus held out the prospect of far richer land than Phocis, to be reached, moreover, by the easy way along the seashore. Phocis, therefore, would be likely to be colonised by the Hellenic race—at least on a large scale—at a later date than the Peloponnesus, and from the south rather than from the north. And this inference is supported by the traditionary and historical notices. For in the Homeric catalogue the Phocians clearly appear as cut off by the Locrians from the Eubœan sea, while they occupied the whole valley of the Cephissus, and the region of Mount Parnassus, including Delphi, southwards to the Corinthian gulf. Again, the Homeric hymn to Apollo speaks of an immigration of Cretans by way of the Crissæan gulf in the south of Phocis ; and Pausanias attributes the name of the country to the leader of a colony from Corinth, which also of course must have

entered Phocis from the south. It must, then, have been after the Homeric period that the Phocians forced their way through the Locrians of the *riviera*, and seized or founded the port of Daphnus, by means of which they obtained access to the Eubœan sea.

The infertility of its soil, as Thucydides expressly states, preserved Attica to a great extent from the changes and displacements to which the population of more fertile lands was subjected. The Athenians prided themselves upon being Autochthones (Herod. vii. 161); and there is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the boast, that is, the fact that the bulk of the population was descended from the Pelasgi, the race which inhabited Greece previously to the Hellenic immigration. Another reason why the population of Attica should present this character of permanence lay in the peculiar position of the country. Like Cornwall, or like Albania, it led to nowhere; besides being poor land itself, it was not the highway to countries where there was richer land; and the Athenians were of Pelasgian, for the same reason that the Cornishmen are of British, extraction. And as the settlement of Cornwall was due much more to the pressure of the Saxons driving the Britons westward than to any original preference of its stony soil, so it seems probable that Attica originally owed the bulk of its population to a similar pressure exercised by the Hellenic invaders on the Pelasgian inhabitants of Bœotia.

The Locrians, as Herr Bursian remarks, were in rather ill odour among the other Hellenic peoples, and appear as an inferior race. A glance at the map will show that Phocis interposes between the Locrians on the Eubœan sea and the Ozolian Locrians. The explanation of this seems to be, that a thin Locrian population extended over the whole region, from sea to sea, at the time of the Phocian immigration, which was pushed aside by the new comers, part northward, across Callidromus and Cnemus, part westward, to the rugged mountain region above Amphissa. With this may be compared the separate homes of the Cymry in Wales and Cumberland, owing to the insertive pressure of the stronger Anglo-Saxon race.

Ætolia, like Phocis, seems to have been approached by the Hellenic race from the sea. The strip of very rich land bordering the coast (*πίστρατον πεδίον*, *Il.* ix. 577), equally fit for the vine and for grain crops, must have induced colonisation at a very remote period. To this fertile strip Ætolia seems to have been confined in the Homeric times; for all the towns named in the catalogue of the ships lay within five miles of the sea.

The Hellenic settlements in Acarnania in the Homeric period seem to have been confined to the town of Dulichium, of which nothing is known, the Echinades—*islands off the mouth of the Achelous*—(both of these were colonised from Elis,) and some places on the western coast, colonised from Cephallenia and Zacynthus.

The second volume of Herr Bursian's work, which will treat of the Peloponnesus, will be looked for with interest, in spite of the great merits of the volumes published by Curtius on that peninsula.

28. The great Halle Encyclopedia, which has been in course of publication for near fifty years, is increasing so much in the fulness and diffuseness of its articles, that the men of this age can scarcely hope to witness its completion. Many special encyclopedias—on theology, natural science, philology—are appearing simultaneously, but do not prevent its competing with all of them in the treatment of their several subjects. Of late, however, the historical element has decidedly preponderated in it, and many of its recent articles in that department form valuable monographs. For instance, in the last volume but one which has appeared, twenty-six quarto pages, in double columns, were occupied by the Parthian king, Gotarzes. But the eightieth volume is a portent. It contains only the beginning of a subject, which is likely to fill at least two more volumes,—the article *Griechenland*. Only the ancient geography and history of Greece have yet appeared. The former is by Krause, a writer of little authority. Hertzberg's elaborate article on the history of Greece has much merit. The author is a good scholar, known chiefly by works on the period of Alcibiades and Xenophon. But instead of displaying original research, he has simply given the accepted conclusions of philological enquiry, stating impartially the open problems and the different views, and citing all the best and latest authorities on the subject. The result is a dry and pale abstract of modern literature on ancient Greece, which may serve as a guide through the works and controversies of recent writers, and reflects faithfully the present state of knowledge and the phases of opinion. The author has examined too exclusively the works of philologists, and would have found the best assistance for his sections on the constitutions of Sparta and Athens in Leo's *Universal Geschichte*, and in the *Politik* of Dahlmann.

Herr Hertzberg shrinks from a decided judgment on the famous Ionic theory of Curtius, which is the fundamental problem of Grecian history. In the year 1855 that learned and brilliant writer put forward a hypothesis which promised to bring an intelligible harmony into the records of the heroic age, and mediates between the view, common at the beginning of this century, of the exclusiveness of the national civilisation, and the idea, predominant of late, which denies all originality to the Greeks, and explains every thing by Eastern influences. He maintains that, long before the appearance of the Pelasgi in Europe, the stem from which they sprang had parted, and that one portion of the race, included under the generic name of Ionians, had occupied the south-western coasts of Asia Minor. In that rich country, at the mouths of the rivers, and the natural seats of trade, these eastern Greeks grew into a thriving people, and developed more rapidly and more richly than their western kinsmen among the mountains of Hellas. Exposed to all the influences of the seafaring Phœnicians, they quickly learnt their arts, and competed with them successfully for the commerce of the Levant. As time went on, centuries before the Trojan war, they made themselves supreme in the Ægean, and established themselves on many parts of the Medi-

terranean, and especially on the open part of the eastern coast of Greece. Here they encountered the people of their own blood, to whom they brought the arts and civilisation of Asia, and became the agents of that Oriental influence which is recognised in so many early legends. Their union with the Pelasgi produced the gifted nationality of the Athenians, and their action on the European Greeks is the argument of the heroic period. This ingenious theory, which fails in the ethnological definition of the Ionians, but by which the real and unquestioned transmission of Eastern civilisation to the Greeks is rescued from the unhistoric fables in which it is described, had been vaguely anticipated by Niebuhr, as the explanation of the early progress of the Asiatic Ionians. It was adopted by his son Marcus, by Classen, one of his most eminent disciples, and by Baron Bunsen; also by the Orientalists, Lepsius and Chwolsohn, by Stark and Bursian, and in part by Schömann. Hertzberg rejects it, rather because he is averse to admitting new views into his article than because he is convinced by the arguments of those who have answered Curtius.

29. Mr. Conington commences the preface to his translation of the *Odes* and *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace with an apology for attempting what he believes to be in any high sense simply impossible, to "translate the untranslatable." Nevertheless, he rightly concludes that an experiment (though, in the case of Horace, very far from a new one) may have some advantage of its own; and we should be sorry to think it has not, when it is executed with all the thought, care, and pains that one of the best Latin scholars in this country could bestow upon it. We have no doubt that it really is, on the whole, considerably the best metrical version of Horace's lyrics that has yet appeared. The translations are always very close, generally most successful in that point and terseness of expression which peculiarly characterise Horace's style, and never deficient in elegance and correctness of English idiom. The only doubt we feel is, that the author has mistaken the idea of metrical conformity to the original. This principle of poetic translation (Preface, p. vi.) he holds to be of primary importance: but how is it to be managed when such a Latin metre as *Asclepiad*, *Alcaic*, or *Sapphic*, is to be Anglicised? Who would recognise the classic metre if converted into corresponding English syllables? It is true that a comic parody of the *Sapphic*, in "The Needy Knife-grinder," had a kind of jingle very like the Latin; but could this be effected equally well in other metres? Let us try the experiment on *Od. i. 5*:

" Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?"

Of these pretty lines Milton's version is:

" What slender youth bedewed with liquid odours
Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave,
Pyrrha?"

which is simply an iambic beat. Mr. Conington's lines are, in the very same rhythm :

“ What slender youth, besprinkled with perfume,
Courts you on roses in some grotto's shade,
Fair Pyrrha ?”

Now the actual Horatian metre would in English run thus, if closely rendered :

“ What boy, slender in waist, thee on a rosy bed
Presses, odorous oils poured on his hair, in a
Charming grotto, my Pyrrha ?”

We are not prepared to assert that such an experiment would either succeed, or of necessity fail ; but we do not see that any real metrical conformity can be said to exist between the Latin verse and Mr. Conington's English equivalents. The latter have a beat and a cadence totally distinct ; and the mere fact that every third or fourth line is somewhat shorter than the others, as in the Latin, constitutes no real similarity. Take, for instance, the Sapphic ode, i. 20 :

“ Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
Cum tibi plausus.”

Which Mr. Conington thus translates :

“ Not large my cups nor rich my cheer,
This Sabine wine, which erst I sealed
That day the applauding theatre
Your welcome pealed.”

More successful, as a rhythmical imitation, we think, is the ode “Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ,” &c. (i. 28.), which throughout is very happily rendered :

“ The sea, the earth, the innumerable sand,
Archytas, thou couldst measure : now, alas,
A little dust on Matine shore has spanned
That soaring spirit : vain it was to pass
The gates of heaven, and send thy soul in quest
O'er air's wide realms ; for thou hadst yet to die.”

Mr. Conington shows that he is fully conscious of the truth of the above remarks ; but he defends his selection by the authority of Milton, and says, “the resemblance depends rather on the length of the respective lines than on any similarity in the cadences ; but it is evident he (Milton) chose the iambic movement as the ordinary movement of the English poetry ; and it is evident, I think, that in translating Horace we shall be right in doing the same as a general rule” (Preface, p. ix.). He suggests that Tennyson's *In Memoriam* would furnish a metre not badly adapted for representing the Latin Alcaic ; but he observes, “what is wanted is a metre which shall have other associations than those of the nineteenth century, which shall be the growth of various periods of English poetry, and so be independent of any. Such a metre is

that which I have been led to choose, the eight-syllable iambic with alternate rhymes" (Preface, pp. xv. xvi.).

All metre, in its origin, is undoubtedly simply the beat of the foot to a dancing, or a running, or a processional step. All lyric verse originally implied the dance. Dithyrambs, and choral odes in Greek plays, and the odes of Pindar, were alike recited to the music of the flute or the lyre. The irresistible tendency to *beat time*, which all persons feel who are passionately fond of music, is notorious. It may be questioned, if the gratification of this feeling in a free and unrestrained way be not one principal cause of the love for dancing which all nations in all times and places have possessed and still possess. The more stately metres, like the heroic and the iambic, were metres of impassioned recitation; and this implies gesture, while gesture is closely allied to dancing. There seems no reason then, *à priori*, why a dancing-step in one country should not be a dancing-step in another; which is tantamount to saying that Horatian metres might possibly be attempted with success in English verse. Mr. Conington gives us (Preface, p. xxv.) an ingenious version of an Alcaic stanza by the late Mr. Clough; and we do not feel that it contains any thing to offend the ear:

"He who with pure dew laveth of Castaly
His flowing locks, who holdeth of Lycia
Th' oak-forest and the wood that bore him,
Delos' and Patara's own Apollo."

We doubt, however, if under any circumstances an English version of Horace's odes could become extensively popular. Those who know Latin at all will know enough of it to read him, by the help of any ordinary commentary, in the original; and those who do not will have few motives for studying a Latin poet in a foreign disguise. Mr. Conington is quite right in saying that, after all, there is nothing very deep or sententious in the Horatian odes. They are, for the most part, pretty commonplaces; and the following seems a fair estimate of their merit, intellectually considered: "The odes of Horace will strike a reader who comes back to them after reading other books, as distinguished by a simplicity, monotony, and almost poverty of sentiment, and as depending for the charm of their external form not so much on novel and ingenious images, as on musical words aptly chosen and aptly combined. We are always hearing of wine-jars and Thracian convivialities, of parsley-wreaths and Syrian nard; the graver topics, which it is the poet's wisdom to forget, are constantly typified by the terrors of quivered Medes and painted Gelonians; there is the perpetual antithesis between youth and age; there is the ever-recurring image of green and withered trees; and it is only the attractiveness of the Latin, half real, half perhaps arising from association and the romance of a language not one's own, that makes us feel this 'lyrical commonplace' more supportable than commonplace is usually found to be" (Preface, p. xxvii.).

30. The second volume of Professor Conington's *Virgil* contains the first six books of the *Æneid*, of the edition in the *Bibliotheca Classica*. No one will accuse him of too much haste ; for the first volume, comprising the Eclogues and the Georgics, was published in 1858 ; and during the interval he has been pretty constantly, we believe, engaged on his work, which is still far from completion. Many will perhaps be surprised that an author whom every schoolboy is supposed to be able to read and to understand should require so much pains in explaining and illustrating, especially as the text is not seriously corrupt, and the variations in the readings are seldom of very great importance. But Virgil really is a difficult writer ; and an immense amount of study and scholarship is required for the full and correct understanding of his poems. "To grapple with his subject thoroughly," says the Professor, a commentator "is required to be an æsthetical judge of language, a Latin scholar, if not a philosopher, a competent textual critic ; and though no longer expected to display a knowledge of agriculture and rural life, he has to exhibit instead an acquaintance with mythology and legend, with Roman antiquities and Roman history. Virgil is confessedly one of the most learned of poets ; and a commentator who would do him justice ought to be still more learned." No more competent hand, we venture to say, could have undertaken such a work than Professor Conington. And this part of it he has executed admirably, with great good taste and judgment throughout, and with a commentary so ample that not a word or a line has been passed over without a remark wherever a remark was needed. A closely-printed octavo of nearly 600 pages is not unnecessarily long, if the difference be rightly appreciated between a minute examination of the author's meaning, and a mere vague and general idea of it, such as the majority of readers are apt to be contented with.

That Virgil was essentially an imitative poet, and that he aspired not only to render but to excel the Greek verses of Hesiod, Homer, and Theocritus, cannot be denied. Professor Conington regards the *Æneid* as an attempt to rival the Homeric poems by a national epic avowedly founded on, but not servilely copied from, them. "It was part of that general outburst," he says (Preface, p. 5), "of literary enthusiasm which distinguished the Augustan period. Roman literature had always been imitative ; Pacuvius and Attius had set themselves to make the best they could out of Sophocles and Æschylus ; and it was doubtless in his own judgment, as well as in that of eulogistic critics, that Ennius appeared to be wise and brave, and a second Homer." But Professor Conington gives sound reasons why Virgil was not likely to have exhibited his characters exactly as they are exhibited in Homer. One great object before Virgil's eyes was to compile a kind of mythico-historical account of the origin of the Latin race : "Homer, in his eyes, is not the father alike of history and of poetry, the sole authority for all our knowledge about the Greeks and the Trojans, their ethnology, their polity, their moral relations to each other ; he is the rival poet of a

rival nation, the party chronicler of a quarrel which the Trojans had bequeathed to their successors, and those successors, after many centuries, had pushed to a victorious issue" (p. 7). In truth, a very large part of the *Æneid* is probably taken rather from the lost Cyclic poems than from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The ancients generally seem to have made no distinction, but to have regarded all the Greek epics collectively on the Trojan war as the work of Homer. "Was it likely," asks the editor, "that a Trojan would have accepted the Homeric estimate of his nation and his nation's cruel enemies? and was it to be expected that the heir of the Trojans should dwarf his representation of Trojan worth and Trojan valour to a Homeric standard?" Again (p. 9): "Let us once fix in our minds that Homer is the poet of the Greeks, and that his action is laid during the siege; that Virgil is the poet of the Trojans, and that his action is laid after the burning of the city; and we shall not, I think, be disposed to charge Virgil with mere wanton deprecation of the Homeric characters."

This is very well put, and is the best way of explaining that combined diversity and similarity which so strikingly characterise the *Æneid* in relation to the Homeric poems. We must, however, maintain that it is impossible, from the total loss of the Cyclic poems (though the general subjects and treatment of them are recorded), to pursue this subject fully. Of one point we feel sure, that the English student of Virgil cannot be left to a better guide than Professor Conington, of whose judgment and learning an examination of his work has given us the highest opinion.

31. That poetical translations into a dead language require real genius, and that of a peculiar kind, is proved by the simple fact that so few out of so many modern imitators, whatever amount of pains they may have bestowed upon the art, attain to any high degree of success. Conversely, to translate tolerably well out of a dead language into a modern one, while it requires sound scholarship to catch, and skill to render, the nice points of the original, may be rather a happy knack, and an elegant taste for or facility in versifying, than an effort of genius. We have before us specimens of both kinds; Lord Lyttelton's versions being all done into Greek or Latin; Mr. Gladstone's into English from Greek, Latin, Italian, and German, with the addition of a few short pieces into Greek and Latin at the end of the volume.

As these compositions date variously from 1831 to 1862, they are of varied merit. The first in the volume (dated 1832), by Lord Lyttelton, is Milton's well-known song from *Comus*, "The star that bids the shepherd fold," rendered into anapaestic Greek verse. It is a very difficult ode to translate. The author has handled it with much skill and remarkable versatility of language; but here and there the rhythm is a little faulty; as where he ends a verse with two dactyls, thus:

τὸ τε Νουθεσίας ὄμμα περίσσοφρον'

and when three dactyls commence the verse, as

σπεύδετε δ' ἡμῖν ἐς ὄργια καιρός·

or where a dactyl not composed of one word ends the first dipodia,
as

ζηλοῦμεν χορόν, οἱ παννυχίοις.

We are not for a moment asserting that similar verses are nowhere to be found in the ancient writers; but they contain a scansion displeasing to a correct ear. Much better, and indeed, generally admirable, are the anapaestics from the "Lotus-eaters" of Tennyson, in p. 27. Yet here we have a few lines of unpleasing rhythm, as

κοῖλα κατ' ἄντρα καὶ οἰόπολ' ἄγκη.
νῦν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, νῦν ἐπ' ἀριστερά.
χρύσεια δῶματα πρὸς θεοτερπη.
ἦε βαθύπλοον ἦε δυσάνεμον.

The very difficult speech in Milton's *Comus* beginning "I had not thought to have unlocked my lips," is given in Greek iambic verse. A few slight inaccuracies may here be pointed out: the use of *τλήσῃς* for *τλήῃς* in v. 8, *οὐχ ἡμαρτ' ἂν* for *οὐκ ἂν ἡμαρτεν* in v. 19, and *καὶ πέρ* (*sic*) *ὅς ἔτλη* in v. 24, which should rather have been *καί τοι ὅστις ἂν τολμᾷ*. We doubt, too, the use of *τὸ παρθένον* to signify 'chastity.' We say nothing of a few misprints and wrong accents, which are unimportant oversights.

Very beautiful throughout is the translation into Latin hexameters of Tennyson's *Ænone*. The following lines are from p. 49:

"Ida meam, genetrix, mors advenit, accipe vocem.
Arduus in medio flagrabat Phœbus Olympo:
Unaque, protenti latera inter pinea saltus,
Errabat nubes. Herbosum adeuntibus antrum
Fulgida, sub pedibus nudarum, copia florum,
Lilia cum violis et amaracus asphodelusque
Ludere cum loto, vitesque hederæque vagantes
Desuper innumeras vento intextere vittas,
Mistaque baccarum in vario cum flore racemo
Infula nodosis frondes involvere ramis."

Better still, perhaps, are the verses in p. 59, from the beautiful passage,

"They came, they cut away my tallest pines."

Mr. Gladstone's longest and perhaps best contribution is the whole of the first book of the *Iliad* (p. 94 to 143, with the Greek), translated into ballad-metre; which is so well done that we regret that it should be only one book out of twenty-four. Nothing can be more felicitous; and we think even the advocates for blank verse will admit that to ordinary English readers, if not to Greek scholars, the metre chosen is the best possible. The verse is most nearly like Professor Newman's translation of the *Iliad*; but the language is

less quaint, and the flow easier and more natural, while it is hardly, if at all, less literal. The following is a specimen (p. 133):

“ When the blazing sun had sunken
 And the earth around was dark,
 Then they slept beside the stern-ropes
 Of the swiftly-faring bark.
 But when morning rosy-fingered
 Early dawned upon the coast,
 Then they set to sea, returning
 To the great Achaian host.
 Worker from afar, Apollo
 Sped them with a toward gale.
 Then they rigged the mast, and featly
 Set aloft the gleaming sail,
 Saw it belly to the wind, and
 Heard the waves’ exulting boom
 Round the bulwarks of the vessel
 As she ran careering home.
 So when they had made their voyage
 To the great Achaian host,
 Then they hauled the sable galley
 High and dry upon the coast,
 Propped her strongly, and dispersèd
 Each to his appointed host.”

Of Mr. Gladstone’s classical translations, it strikes us that Top-lady’s hymn, “Rock of Ages, cleft for me,” in p. 196, is the best. It is rendered in the rhyming Latinity of the old Church hymns. The Latin Sapphics and hexameters, however, are also of great elegance and merit. There are parts of Schiller’s ballad, the *Count of Habsburg*, in which Mr. Gladstone has done more than justice to the original, but he fails in the two last lines. And in Manzoni’s ode on Napoleon the translator is sometimes equal to the author; but no one who compares the following verses can think the English approaches the force and grandeur of the Italian:

“ How often did his pen
 Essay to tell the wondrous tale
 For after times and men!
 And o’er the lines that could not die
 His hand lay dead.”

“ Oh quante volte ai posteri
 Narrar sè stesso imprese,
 E sull’ eterne pagine
 Cadde la stanca man.” (p. 172.)

32. Anglican writers, who avow a strong sympathy with Catholic antiquity, and do not attempt to disguise their aspirations for the Latin devotions of the Latin Church—to use a not uncommon phrase—are naturally tempted to set up a kind of ideal standard of Catholicity against the existing and authorised Roman offices and devotional works. “There is a singular melody,” says Mr. Pearson, in his *Latin Translations of English Hymns*, “in the Vulgate version

of the Holy Bible, which is assuredly not due to its classic purity of diction, but which nevertheless is peculiarly grateful to the ear, and readily imprinted on the memory." The same charm, he continues, pervades the rhythmic Latin hymns; and he expresses a hope that, if his work should meet the eye of foreign readers (we believe he means foreign Catholics), it may lead them to desire a better acquaintance with the stores of English hymnology, which will be found, "when taken broadly as a whole, to be quite as nearly in harmony with the mind of the Primitive Church, both in dogmatic phraseology and devotional spirit, as the hymns of the Roman Breviary." This appears to involve the assertion that Anglicanism can be quite as Catholic, in its negative and isolated character, as the existing Church in communion with the Holy See. The author's meaning probably is, that the later Latin hymns incorporated in the Breviary have a tone somewhat different from those of the earliest known composition, and, to his mind, a less acceptable one. We have no wish whatever to quarrel with his opinion; rather we would thank him, not only for a very elegant little volume of extremely well-written hymns, but for the evidence he gives us of kindly feeling towards the ancient forms of devotion, and for one more effort to break through the inveterate and unreasoning prejudice against the use of an unchanging and universal language by an unchanging and universal Church.

He seems to have fully caught, and to have embodied with all the skill and happy selection of language of an accomplished Latin scholar, the spirit of the old Church-hymns. Most of his compositions are simply translations of popular and established English hymns, which are printed on the page opposite to the Latin version. Generally, he prefers the old leonine or rhyming verse to the Horatian metres of the more recent Roman hymnology. Yet he attempts even this latter kind; as in p. 40, "The Passion:"

"When I survey the wondrous Cross
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride."

which he thus renders:

"Miram conspiciens obstupeo Crucem
In qua cœlicolum Rex animam dedit,
Mundi divitias rejicio libens
Conculcoque superbiam."

There is a similar translation, in p. 59, of Madan's hymn on the Ascension, and in p. 149, of Doddridge's "Lord's Supper," which latter is done into iambic verse in the style of Horace's Epodes. But Mr. Pearson's favourite metre is the trochaic dimeter. A good specimen of this is his translation of the following stanzas:

"Lo! He comes, with clouds descending,
Once for favoured sinners slain:
Thousand thousand saints attending
Swell the triumph of His train:
Hallelujah!
God appears, on earth to reign!

Every eye shall now behold Him,
 Robed in dreadful majesty ;
 Those who set at naught and sold Him,
 Pierced, and nailed Him to the tree,
 Deeply wailing,
 Shall the true Messiah see."

These are rendered :

" Nube vectus en descendit
 Olim cruce Qui pependit,
 Sancti mille coruscantes
 Stipant circum triumphantes :
 Alleluia !
 Rex in terras advenit.

 Omnes oculi videbunt
 Majestatem et pavebunt ;
 Quem spernebant et vendebant
 Crucifixum transfigebant
 Ululantes
 Agnoscent attoniti."

There is a remarkably pretty Sapphic ode in p. 159, a version of Watts' "There is a land of pure delight." The whole volume is characterised by a highly devotional feeling. Doctrinally, it does not contain a word at variance with the most rigid interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles.

33. The intention of Dr. Littledale in publishing the *Offices of the Eastern Church* is twofold. He desires to facilitate the studies of those who wish to acquire some knowledge of the rites of the Eastern Church, by putting into their hands a ritual Chrestomathy ; and in the choice of his extracts he has been "guided, to some extent, by the liturgical controversies of the day within his own communion, and has accordingly given the Eastern version of those rites of the Book of Common Prayer whose withdrawal or revision is sought by a section within the English Church, in order that it may be seen to what extent their demands accord with the teaching of the least changeful of communions." The offices in question are those connected with the sacraments of Baptism, Orders, and Penance. In the second portion of his Chrestomathy, Dr. Littledale has given the offices of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, "as showing most completely the manner in which the dogmatic teaching of the East finds its exponent in its ritual." The hymns, which form a large portion of these extracts, contain many passages of great beauty, as do, indeed, very many parts of the less-directly poetical texts. The glossary at the end of the book is not confined to the difficult words contained in it, but is a collection from Ducange and other sources of all the ecclesiastical terms which the student is not likely to find in lexicons generally accessible. This is certainly the most curious and, Dr. Littledale believes it will be found, the most useful part of his work.

34. A French antiquary, M. Debombourg, author of historical atlases of several departments of France, has attempted to exhibit on twenty sheets the modifications undergone by the territory of the Popes during 1100 years. As he has not perceived that a mode of representation adapted to mere local changes is wholly inapplicable to changes which affect not merely the distribution of territory, but the nature of the authority exercised over it, the work is entirely useless. For the sovereignty of the Popes varied at different times in kind as well as in extent. Under Charlemagne they possessed a limited jurisdiction, swearing fealty to the Empire. In the tenth century they lost even this subordinate power; and the possessions of the Church were, in the words of Sylvester and Otho III., squandered away. During the later centuries of the Middle Ages the Popes were paramount in their dominions, but enjoyed no real direct authority over them; whilst from the time of Julius II. they were monarchs like those of other countries. At one time the Emperor possessed the same supreme authority over the States of the Church as the Popes obtained over the Sicilian kingdom; at another, the petty potentates of the Roman States were as independent as the Norman or Swabian or Frenchman who ruled at Naples. All these various degrees of sovereignty known to medieval law have thrown great confusion into the accounts of the phases of the temporal power; and it will be increased by the study of M. Debombourg's Atlas. The author has done his work in a most careless way. His authorities are sometimes the original medieval writers, sometimes the Dictionary of Bouillet, the French Mangnall; so that the greatest uncertainty prevails as to the value of each statement. He knows nothing of the most important events—such as the donation of Otho III.; he represents the conquest of Romagna by Cæsar Borgia as an alienation, instead of a virtual recovery of territory; and he speaks of the anarchy to which Innocent III. reduced Germany in a tone that inclines us to attribute his errors to something worse than ignorance.

35. Mr. Maclear's History of the Medieval Missions, though not a very profound or powerful work, is a most creditable performance both in tone and learning, and deserves a wide circle of readers. The author has a respectable knowledge of the chief foreign works on ecclesiastical history, and has been guided by them to make some use of original authorities. But though he resembles the late Archdeacon Hardwick in his method, he writes in a more catholic spirit. He does not shrink from relating medieval miracles, "the echoes of the Apostolic age" (p. 7), and does not regard the Middle Ages as a period of the slumber of Christ. "We shall learn not to expect too much from men who partook of the common infirmities of our nature, and the vices characteristic of their age. We shall rather rejoice to trace from time to time the fulfilment of the Divine word, *Behold, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world*; and to see how, in conformity therewith, the heaven destined to pervade and quicken

the whole mass of European society was never *altogether* inert, impassive, or ineffectual" (p. 8). "Again and again we have seen that promise fulfilled. . . . Around individuals penetrated with zeal and self-denial centres the life, nay, the very existence, of the churches of Europe. In the most troubled epochs of these troublous times they always appeared to do the work of their day and their generation" (p. 403). "However defective may have been the development attained during this period, it may be pleaded, on the one hand, that it was almost inevitable from the nature of the case, and on the other, that it was adapted, as a transitionary stage, for the childhood of these races, which needed parental discipline before they could learn or value independence—needed to be governed before they could govern themselves" (p. 398). Instead of attributing to the Church, or the clergy, or the monks, or the Holy See, the evils of those days, Mr. Maclear deals equal justice to all. Speaking of the persecution of the Jews, he says: "In vain pious monks protested against such accusations; in vain Bernard of Clairvaux warned the champions of the cross against staining their hands with the massacre of the people 'who were scattered among all nations as living memorials of Christ's passion;' in vain the better Popes lifted up their voices against the spirit of the times, and demanded for the outcast race a due measure of toleration" (p. 382). He shows a warm sympathy for the holy men who are the heroes of his narrative; for Gregory the Great, "a man who lived up to the stern rule of the Benedictine order, who had learnt to crush all human weakness, and to recognise no call but that of duty" (p. 99); for St. Ansgar and St. Francis; and for Raymundus Lullus, of whom he gives a sketch, which is one of the gems of the book. Of St. Boniface he writes justly (pp. 354-368): "The roll of missionary heroes, since the days of the Apostles, can point to few more glorious names; to none, perhaps, that has added to the dominion of the Gospel regions of greater extent or value, or that has exerted a more powerful influence on the history of the human race" (p. 206).

A sincere Protestant who studies the history of Catholic times is attracted towards them by the beauty of the Christian life, whilst he is repelled by other things which the rationalist more easily appreciates. The Papacy is the last stumbling-block in the path of the divine, whilst those who see rather the social and political phenomena discern its merits and services more thoroughly often than the Catholics themselves. Mr. Maclear, who cannot help speaking with reprobation of "the devotion of every Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Roman See" (p. 406), might go to school with advantage to many writers who are destitute of his religious feeling for the faith and virtues of the medieval Church. It is true that missionary enterprise is not the exclusive privilege of Rome, and that it exists out of her communion. If the conversion of Russia is hardly an example, that of the Nestorian mission in Asia may be quoted to prove the point. But it was not the faith only that Christianity brought to the heathen nations by its missionaries in the Middle Ages. It

carried with it the humanising influences of civilisation, which belong less to the doctrine than to the institution; and by its unity it held its converts in close intercourse with more cultivated nations. It gave them a framework for their organisation, and the arts and laws of a new social and political existence. And it was the Roman unity that rescued the pagan nations from the invasion of proselytising Christian powers, who, if the Gospel could have been preached independently of Rome, would have used conversion as a means and pretext of subjugation. This political sense our author lacks. He uses indifferently the modern ecclesiastical historians, Neander, Gieseler, Döllinger, and Kurtz, with a preference for the Catholic writer, which is justified by the superiority of the medieval portion of his work; but he is unacquainted with the Church history of Gfrörer, in which the civil and social action of the Church is more fully exhibited than in any other. All these books are, however, inadequate for the purpose for which Mr. Maclear consults them. A history of missions is a special chapter in ecclesiastical history. The general works include so much besides, that they can afford only a guide, but not materials for the monographic treatment of a particular subject. They always lag, moreover, somewhat behind the progress of the knowledge of detail, and cannot include all the latest results. For they take long in writing, and appear at intervals, whilst the advance of minute enquiry is incessant. If Mr. Maclear had made use of the special literature which exists in abundance on every section of the subject he has treated, he would have acquired a wealth of particulars which would have enabled him to give colouring and physiognomy to his narrative, which his mode of copying the broad touches of writers on general history leaves often indefinite and incomplete. It naturally follows that he uses no criticism in consulting the sources. He quotes a life of St. Valentine (p. 44), which is spurious; and talks of the conversion of Clovis at Tolbiac as confidently as if Gregory of Tours, whom he quotes on the same page (54), did not make it clear that Clovis was never there.

When he says, "the principal German writers appear to be divided as to the existence or non-existence of a German mythology distinct from the Scandinavian" (p. 17), he mistakes the drift of the controversy. The records of Scandinavian mythology are far more complete, and also later by many centuries, than those of the German religion before its contact with Christianity. Nothing justifies us in transferring the myths of Snorre to the people whom Cæsar and Tacitus describe; and to quote indiscriminately the *Germania* and the Edda, as Mr. Maclear does, for "the earliest Teutonic doctrine," is a monstrous breach of critical propriety, by the assumption that an interval of near a thousand years made no change. But the difference is one of time, and not of place or people. The myths of Scandinavia appear in early German poems, and similar traditions survive to this day in the *Mährchen* which learned men have sedulously collected from the mouths of old women in every part of Germany. Mr. Maclear omits to point out in the developed mytho-

logy of the Edda, that it bears testimony against itself, and recognises a better religion that is to come. The second chapter, in which these things occur, is one of the least reliable parts of the book. The author says that Ulfilas was born probably in the year 318; that "Constantine caused him to be consecrated bishop by his own chaplain;" that he "continued till the year 388" (pp. 39, 42) to watch over his people; and that he was induced by Valens to adopt Arianism in the last years of his life (p. 41). Ulfilas was born in the year 311, and died in 380. Mr. Maclear has been misled in his dates by Waitz, whose book appeared in 1840. But he must have read in Waitz (p. 21) the beginning of Ulfilas's Arian confession of faith,—*Ego Ulfila semper sic credidi*,—which sufficiently confutes the story of his late adoption of Arianism; and there is no proof that he ever saw Valens. To quote on this subject Gibbon and Döllinger, who wrote before the life of Ulfilas by Auxentius had been discovered, is inexcusable. Finally, Ulfilas was not raised to the episcopate until after the death of Constantine, in the year 340.

Mr. Maclear points out the contrast between the primitive ages of the Church, when she worked upwards from below, and the middle ages, when the conversion of the people constantly followed that of the king or chief; and he remarks how often the conversion of the prince himself was due to alliance with a Christian queen (pp. 400, 402). These things are no great puzzle. Christianity arose within the Roman empire, but had to make its way into the dominions of the barbarian kings. It might exist in Rome without the sanction of authority; but it could not force an entrance into new states without it. The sovereign was necessarily the first person to whom it addressed itself. Further, in one case the pagans were cultivated, and the preachers of the new faith generally simple men. In the other, the Church came with the *prestige* of a superior civilisation to nations where the court was the only home of enlightenment. The king alone had the authority to admit, and the intelligence to understand, the new doctrine. And the influence of the Christian queen was largely due to that closeness of the marriage-bond among the Teutonic tribes which has been so often cited as the predisposing cause of their conversion.

36. The religious community of Lérins, founded soon after the year 400, acquired during the first half-century of its existence a celebrity throughout the Church, which, as a Benedictine monastery, it did not maintain. Hilary of Arles and Cassianus, Faustus, Vincent, and Salvianus, are among the names connected with it in the first generation. Admirably situated on the sea, between Gaul and Italy, Africa and Spain, it was for a time one of the intellectual centres of Western Christendom. In later times it was exposed to the incursions of the Saracens and to those of the northern pirates, who devastated all the coasts between Denmark and Italy. The monks remained faithful to Rome during the schism, and suffered from the anger of their neighbour at Avignon. In the sixteenth

century discipline was relaxed, and Protestantism made considerable progress in the neighbourhood. Three bishops of Provence apostatised within a space of fifteen years. The fortunes of the monastery gradually declined; it was suppressed in the last year before the French Revolution; and not one of the monks appears to have regretted his expulsion. But the last prior compiled a history of the house, which is preserved in his family; and the monastic archives, containing deeds of donations made to it in more than fifty dioceses, are extant at the prefecture of the department. From these authentic sources the Abbé Alliez, a canon of Fréjus, has composed two rather diffuse volumes, in which may be traced, almost more distinctly than in any similar work, the civil and ecclesiastical causes which led to the decay of the monasteries in Fance.

To many readers the most interesting portion of the work will be the vindication of the monks of Lérins, and especially of the author of the *Commonitorium*, from the charge of Semi-pelagianism. The author clearly overstates his case when he denies altogether that Lérins was one those places in which the theory of St. Augustine met with the greatest opposition. He reduces this statement considerably when he comes to details; for he admits that Cassianus was a Semi-pelagian, and scarcely attempts to defend the prior, St. Faustus. At the same time he does not confound those doctrines of St. Augustine on grace which the Church approved, with those which the clergy of Provence attacked, though he does not sufficiently distinguish times. But he is resolute in defending the *Commonitorium* from the imputation of a Semi-pelagian intent, and in denying that St. Vincent was the author of the heretical *Objectiones Vincentinæ*. We may admit that Noris has failed in his argument from internal evidence against the orthodoxy of the famous book of St. Vincent; but M. Alliez forgets that the controversy was far too ardent, and that those who were about him were too determined adversaries of St. Augustine, for us to believe that St. Vincent could write at that moment without any bias, or that he could be opposed to the opinion which prevailed in the place. Our author would have done well to apply to St. Vincent the reflection which is suggested to him by St. Cassianus, that if he erred it was in good faith and that if his opinions had been condemned by the Church in his lifetime he would certainly have retracted them (i. 177). For the undisputed error of Cassianus did not exclude him from the Calendar, and for many centuries his head was carried in procession with the other relics of the patrons of Marseilles. At any rate, it is no too much to borrow, in reference to the question of his real opinion, the words of Pope Celestine on the Augustinian theory: "Profundiores vero difficilioresque partes incurrentium quæstionum, quas latius pertractarunt qui hæreticis restiterunt, sicut non audemus contemnere, ita non necesse habemus adstruere."

37. M. Huguenin, a professor at Nancy, formerly at Metz, author of several works on early French history, has written a large

volume on the Merovingian kingdom of Austrasia, with much erudition in the chronicles and lives of the saints of the period. It is a subject on which a Frenchman writes at a great disadvantage; for he dreams that he is dealing with his own country and people, whereas Austrasia was in fact Germany, and requires in its historian an accurate knowledge of German historical literature. Down to the time of Thierry, and, with the exception of Michelet and Pétigny, in most French histories even to the present day, the Franks are subjected to the same transformation as the Greeks and Jews undergo in the dramas of Racine. The national colour and spirit are completely altered, and the names are disguised in a jingle as ridiculous as the wig of Addison's Cato. Into this primitive state of ignorance the French writers who have not undergone the excellent training of the *Ecole des Chartes* easily relapse. M. Huguenin is one of the good old sort, and his history would have done him honour in the reign of Lewis XV. He is very little in advance of Velly or Hénault either in his materials or his methods. We will illustrate the latter with a specimen. Carloman was compelled by the king of Lombardy to quit his retreat at Monte Cassino, in order to exhort his brother Pepin to reject the demands of Pope Stephen. The chronicle says, "Carlomannus invitus hoc fecisse putatur." Our author embroiders on these words as follows: "Carloman was obliged to do himself the most dreadful violence; it would be difficult to give an idea of such torture. It was enough to destroy an existence. Carloman acquitted himself reluctantly of his painful mission" (p. 595).

38. In writing the life of the Pope who preached the first crusade, M. de Brimont has attended too much to the events of the present day to examine with proper care the authorities on his subject. The two ideas which chiefly occupy his mind are, that the Papacy, oppressed by the Germans, was saved by France, and that the Church was delivered by the democracy from the grasp of the feudal aristocracy. The empire, he thinks, is "the evil genius of the Peninsula and of the Church" (p. 26); the dispute on investiture is nothing but the reaction of the Papacy against the German despotism; and Italy and religion released by a French pope from Teutonic influence is an example left by the eleventh century to the nineteenth. The execution of M. de Brimont's work is, however, less extravagant than the spirit in which it is conceived. He steers judiciously between the error that denies the revolutionary nature of the change which Gregory VII. desired to accomplish, and that which asserts its absolute justice. "Wherefore deny that the policy of Hildebrand implied in its extreme development the idea of a universal theocracy? There is nothing surprising in this forced reaction of oppressed spirituality against materialism: in this undoubtedly exaggerated design we must recognise, above all, the morality of Christianity correcting in favour of the people the excesses of power" (p. 30). The crusade does not fill as large a space in our author's idea as in

the life of Urban II.; but he justly restores to the Pope that initiative in the movement which had been usurped by the legends of Peter the Hermit (p. 272). Beginning with the very partial definition, that "the spirit of association may be considered as a rampart erected by the middle and lower class against the encroachment of the nobles and the government," he gives an interesting account of the society which, under the name of the *Religio Quadrata*, supplied a model for the third orders of the thirteenth century (p. 170).

M. de Brimont fails chiefly in his knowledge of the sources of his history. He says that Albericus Trium Fontium, "qui écrivait environ vingt-cinq ans après la mort d'Urbain," composed a chronicle which came down to the year 1126, and has never been published (p. 86). Alberic lived in the middle of the thirteenth century; his chronicle ends with the year 1241, and the part which our author refers to has been printed three times. Vossius, who is M. de Brimont's authority, wrote before its first publication by Leibniz. Again: he says that Bonizo wrote a history of the Popes down to Urban II., which has hitherto escaped discovery (p. 144). This history, of which Pagi and Lambecius give extracts, was seen by Fabricius in the imperial library at Vienna, and has been printed, after a fashion, from the Mss. of three different works, by Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, vi. 273. A much fuller and better text exists at the British Museum, in an early Ms. which deserves to be printed. But Bonizo had written more fully on the early years of Urban II. in another work which is apparently lost.

39. Those historians who, like Rohrbacher, make it their business to vindicate the personal character of the Popes, and the wisdom of their ecclesiastical policy, have assumed an exceptional license in the case of the Popes of Avignon. The most intensely Roman feelings do not require that those should be praised who abandoned Rome. The Abbé Magnan, of Marseilles, has written a life of Urban V., which contains an uncompromising defence of the policy which kept the Holy See at Avignon for seventy years. His sympathies, nicely balanced between his country and his religion, fit him admirably to be the advocate of those ideas which may yet bring the Holy See for a moment under the supremacy of France; and his book is more curious as a sign of the times in which it is written than as a record of those which it describes. He has consulted one or two Roman Mss.; but his mode of quoting printed authorities defies all control, and there is something almost illiterate in such blunders as that of calling Bulæus (Duboulay) *Bulée* (p. 321).

An Introduction of eighty pages states the following theory, which is worked out in the book itself. The Popes obeyed necessity rather than their own inclination, in removing the centre of the Church (p. 2). Clement V. followed the traditional policy of the Popes in seeking elsewhere a refuge from the troubles of Rome (p. 10). When Petrarca came in the name of the Romans to implore Benedict XII. to return, the description he gave of the miserable condition of things which the

Pope's absence allowed to prevail in the Church and in civil society fully justified the refusal of his prayer. "Bénoît XII fut *donc* réduit à la triste nécessité de rester en France" (p. 17). Clement VI. would undoubtedly have succeeded if he had undertaken to bring back the Holy See, but "he seems never to have dreamed of it. . . . He was too skilful a politician to attempt impossibilities" (p. 18). The Black Prince was beginning his victorious career: "To leave France at such a moment, to abandon her to her fate, would not have been to love one's country." The Black Death was another obstacle: "The Italian people, left to themselves while the plague decimated the towns, had contracted a fatal habit of independence and of freedom" (p. 20). The *captivity* had nothing to do with the schism of the West (p. 31); on the contrary, the Popes could not leave Avignon, "if they did not wish to expose the Church to the danger of schism" (p. 23). The settlement at Avignon was an act of profound wisdom, in order to assure the liberty of the Church. The kings of France never placed a man of their choice on the papal throne; probably they never attempted it (p. 29). It was necessary to prolong the sojourn of the Popes in France; therefore Clement V. and John XXII. provided for the election of French successors by giving to the French Cardinals a majority in the College. "It was necessary that one nation should predominate in the conclave, in order to avoid intrigues and interminable discussions" (p. 30). The monuments of ancient Rome never suffered so little as during the absence of the Popes (p. 40). The exile was a design of Almighty God, with which He inspired the Popes: "The Roman pontiff is appointed to govern the Church; hence we must conclude that God is with him; and the acts of his government can only tend to the glory of God, the salvation of souls, the exaltation of the Church, and the conversion of unbelievers. It would be strange if, during seventy years, this divine assistance had been wanting to the Roman pontiffs" (p. 44). At Avignon they could perform the most daring acts in security. But imagine Clement V. at Rome condemning the Templars (p. 56). The very financial difficulties of the exiled court led to a salutary despotism; "as ecclesiastics found that they could obtain nothing except through the Apostolic See, they united themselves more closely with the Roman pontiff" (p. 49). The misfortune is that the exile ceased so soon. Had the Popes remained in France one year more, the Church would have escaped the schism (p. 57). When Urban V. refused to hearken to the exhortations and the visions of St. Brigid and of Peter of Aragon, he was only doing his duty, "inasmuch as the revelations of the saints may sometimes be pious hallucinations, and do not command entire faith. . . . The saints may be wanting in accuracy in relating what has been communicated to them" (p. 466). The strangeness of this tirade culminates in the following passage: "*Chose merveilleuse!* les sentences prononcées par Jean XXII, par Clément VI, par Urbain V, tinrent, et ce que ces trois pontifes délièrent sur la terre fut délié dans le ciel" (p. 48).

The very transparent secret which is the basis of this theory is

the idea that France is naturally the protector of the Holy See. The Abbé Magnan does not willingly abandon even Philip the Fair. Boniface VIII. "had, I admit, a determined enemy in Philip the Fair; but the first authors of the troubles were the Colonna" (p. 7). He insists that the Pope was not struck at Anagni: "Aucune main téméraire ne se leva sur le Pape, et Dante a menti." Dante is not the only authority for that story; and it is doubtful whether the testimony of Amalricus of Béziers (p. 8) is as weighty against it as that of St. Antoninus; but it is probable, from the enquiry in the profound work of M. Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe-le-Bel* (p. 117), that our author is right. He goes on, however, with impudent ingenuity, to shift the blame of the treatment the Pope received from the Frenchman who arrested to the Italians who betrayed him: "Nogaret arrives alone, and lays his plot with the Italians. His gold corrupts the servants of the Pope." From the days of Clovis, the kings of France "have flown to the succour of the Church whenever she has been in danger. . . La France est nécessaire à l'Eglise" (p. 53). The presence of the Popes at Avignon preserved France afterwards from the perils of heresy (p. 54). It is of course no part of this new Gallicanism to abate the authority of the Holy See. There resides in the person of the Pope "a sovereign jurisdiction which extends every where, over both kings and nations, and embraces all the universe" (p. 75). He must be as powerful as possible, provided he can be brought under the power of France by a repetition of the enchanted exile of the fourteenth century. "If the Pope leaves Rome, and the exile of seventy years begins again, we shall have the same results as in the Middle Ages" (p. 80). We have seen what those results were in the estimation of the Abbé Magnan. He will have a fair grievance if he fails to obtain from a discriminating government some acknowledgment of services which mere historical science will find it difficult to appreciate.

40. The publications of the last five years have done much to lighten the task of writing on the fifteenth century. Several hundred letters of the two greatest churchmen of that age, Æneas Sylvius and Cusanus, have been brought to light; Höfler and Palacky have published a mass of documents on the history of the Hussite revolution; the Academy of Vienna is issuing enormous folios filled with new materials on the Council of Basil; and much new matter has been printed concerning the negotiations with the Greeks, and the Council of Florence. Historical literature has more than kept pace with the progress of material discovery. Gerson has found a biographer of extraordinary learning; the obscure life of Nicholas of Cusa in his Tyrolese diocese has been revealed for the first time by the researches of Jäger; the younger Voigt has completed, in three volumes, an invaluable life of Pius II.; his enemy Heimbürg has also met with an industrious biographer; Hus and Wessel have occupied both Catholic and Protestant pens; an Englishman has written a laborious life of Julian Cesarini;

more than one book of great authority has appeared on Savonarola; the history of the Hussites has been, for the first time, dug out of the archives of Bohemia and the adjacent countries by Palacky; the history of Bessarion, and the great events in which he was engaged, has been investigated by a very accurate writer; and two works of vast learning have been published on the Renaissance in Italy. No wonder, then, that the Abbé Christophe, who published, about ten years since, a work on the Papacy in the fourteenth century, has been tempted to continue it. The marvel is, that he has presumed to do so without looking at one of the recent books which have extended so greatly our knowledge of that period. He has read the older books diligently, but inaccurately. Thus he rejects the stories of the intrigues of Estouteville and other cardinals in the Conclave of 1458, because they are not mentioned in the commentaries of Pius II. (ii. 27). Yet all these details are actually given by Pius himself, though suppressed by the editors. The missing text was printed from a manuscript at the Hague in Menschen's *Ceremonialia Electionis Pont. R.* 1732. The Abbé Christophe also forgets (i. 102) that, in summoning a general council at Basil, Eugene IV. was only fulfilling the capitulation which he and all the cardinals had sworn to observe previous to the election, and which is given by Raynaldus. The very respectable display of erudition in the notes will not always bear inspection. Writers of the seventeenth and even eighteenth century are quoted indiscriminately with the contemporary authorities for events of the fifteenth (see, for instance, i. 32). A very eminent historian has said: "I have sometimes thought of compiling, for fun, the history of one of the emperors, say Otho I., from the later chronicles, in quite a learned way, with many quotations from medieval writers, and yet so that not a single fact should correspond with real history. Perhaps even such an example as this would do no good. There would be a risk of somebody becoming really enamoured of this account, and rejecting the original sources. For the hatred of criticism often goes so far that, merely to spite it, the incredible must be made credible, the most false things must be defended as true" (Waitz, in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, i. 22). We have an instance of this sort of illusion in the judgment of the Abbé Christophe on Alexander VI. Despising the ugly stories about the manner of his election, our author only says that he "se presenta dans la lice avec des moyens d'influence auxquels ses rivaux durent céder" (ii. 370). If in his youth he did not publicly marry Vanozza, "there is nothing to prove that he did not do so in private" (ii. 373). When he was made a cardinal, "tout en lui devint exemplaire." Pius II. gave him a rebuke in 1459; but after this "his conduct never gave occasion for criticism" (ii. 374). Later on, "his morals will be accused on vague grounds,—*sur des données quelconques*;" but before his election "Christendom knew Rodrigo Borgia only by his great qualities" (ii. 376). Afterwards we are told that he was not deficient in zeal for religion, and that nepotism was his only fault as a pontiff (ii. 576).

Yet the Abbé Christophe is a man of sense and learning, and his book is not a bad one of its kind. He has worked in Italian libraries, and has read famous works that are still in manuscript, such as the Chronicle of Ægidius of Viterbo at Rome, that of Sanuto in the library of St. Mark, and the Bullarium of Felix V. at Turin. If they have availed him little, it is very possibly not his fault. For the latter part of the fifteenth century, a period on which manuscript chronicles and diaries abound in Italy, and which he has treated with great detail, he cites a large quantity of unpublished matter. This and the pontificate of Eugene IV. are the most useful portions of his work. His character of Ranke may serve as a specimen of his writing: "The calmness, impartiality, and justice towards the Catholic Church, which all men can appreciate in the *History of the Popes*, do not perhaps constitute its highest merit. . . . M. Ranke has carried the art of generalising, of making facts speak, to a pitch unknown before. . . . If he ever gives way to the pleasure of narrating, he knows how to stop suddenly, and confines himself to a few isolated and prominent traits. In general he is careful to bring together a certain number of parallel particulars collected from every quarter, in order to draw from them a conclusion which he has pointed out beforehand. He requires great ideas, and when he has extracted some from the study of the documents, he groups around them a whole series of events which seem to have happened on purpose to verify them" (Pref. p. xxi.).

41. Frankfort-on-Main possesses the richest municipal archives of all the German towns, and they have been frequently explored with great profit by those who have written on the later medieval times. One of the most meritorious of the younger German historians, Dr. Janssen, has examined the papers relating to the last century and a half before the Reformation; and out of about 12,000 documents he has extracted 2000 for publication. The first volume begins with the Bohemian Wenceslaus, and ends at the death of the Emperor Albert II., who in a reign of two years had gained a high place among the successors of Charlemagne. Many papers relating to Rupert add to the information contained in Höfler's recent life of him. Among those of the reign of Sigismund many have been used by his biographer Aschbach, and few throw light on the history of the great councils. We find in this volume the originals of a series of state-papers of the reign of Rupert, which had been translated into Latin for Martène and Durand, and appear in the fourth volume of the *Amplissima Collectio*. Dr. Janssen exposes the prodigious blunders which make the translation completely worthless; and throws as much suspicion on the character of the Benedictine compilations for the Middle Ages as recent collations of the Mss. of Chrysostom have cast on the editorial merits of Montfaucon. In 1412 Sigismund sends to the imperial towns a curious account of the condition in which he has found the empire. The revenue had fallen to 13,000 florins (p. 242). The will of his predecessor Rupert is a still more

significant illustration of a passage at the close of the *Decline and Fall*. He says that he is in debt to some poor tradesmen at Heidelberg,—among others, to the smith, the apothecary, and the shoemaker; and he directs that his crown, his silver goblet, and his plate be sold in order to pay them (p. 803).

42. We gave a short notice a few months back of the *Anecdota Adriana Sexti* published by M. Reusens, librarian of the University of Louvain; but we were not aware at the time that this work had originally appeared in the form of an appendix to a larger publication; and that the biography of Pope Adrian, on which we made certain remarks, was followed in that publication by what, through a very natural misinterpretation of M. Reusen's own words, we supposed to be another work, namely, the *Syntagma Doctrinæ Theologicæ*. Of this excellent summary of the theological doctrine of one of the best popes we cannot speak too highly; and we are the more anxious to do justice to its author inasmuch as some of our former remarks may have done him an unintentional wrong. We reproached M. Reusens with not having said a word in the biography of the pope about the curious question as to Adrian's doctrine of the fallibility of the Roman pontiff in matters of faith. But in the larger publication now before us the biography is followed by the *Syntagma*, in which that question is treated with admirable learning and moderation. We are not quite sure that we were wrong in characterising as a mistake the omission of any allusion to the pope's reforming efforts, and to his noble confession of the corruption which he describes as having spread from the head to the members of the Church; for although the memoir is principally intended to enumerate the most important facts of the life and writings of Adrian as a *theologian*, it speaks of other matters too, and hardly, in fact, omits any thing of consequence, except the very things we desiderate. A feeling of delicacy, which we cannot help thinking exaggerated in this particular case, in which two or three lines would have been sufficient to give a correct view of the subject, has led M. Reusens to avoid what he considers trespassing upon ground already occupied by his distinguished rector, Mgr. de Ram, who has long been collecting materials for the life of Pope Adrian. From this, and from the third volume of the *History of the German Popes*, in which Professor Höfler of Prague intends to give a comprehensive history of the last of the number, we may confidently expect that new light will fall on one of the most interesting periods of modern history.

43. It is not easy to recognise in Dr. Stähelin's life of Calvin the same hand to which we owe a really learned work on the conversion of Henry IV. The two books have an extreme prolixity in common, and both belong to the school of pure Calvinism; but whereas one of them is instructive and laborious, in spite of much undisguised prejudice, the other is nothing but a mere panegyric written for the

edification of those who share the theological views of the author. Chronological order is set aside that Calvin's merits may be effectively grouped under distinct heads; and the author declares that he began with resolutions of impartiality and critical justice, but that he was compelled to abandon them by the overwhelming greatness of his subject. He is not worthy, he says, to apply the pitiful standard of vulgar ethics to a giant like Calvin, whose seeming faults are in reality instances of an exalted sanctity. Nor has he sought out new materials; for his object has been to make Calvin popular, not to advance historical knowledge. Students of Henry, and even of Dyer, would learn but little if they could have patience to read these dreary volumes, as weak but not so simple as those of Merle d'Aubigné. The following passage on the untimeliness of the plea for toleration, which the treatment of Servetus provoked, will show the confusion that reigns in Dr. Stähelin's enthusiastic mind: "It is indisputable that these opinions were not only abnormal and premature under the circumstances of those times, but a serious danger to religious life. For, where remained a weapon against Rome, a firm basis for the reconstruction and formation of the congregation, if the absolute authority of Scripture was undermined? How could a church be established and maintained for the nations that were in want of ecclesiastical instruction and discipline, if no fixed doctrine was to prevail, and every thing was left to the thought and feeling of the individual?" (ii. 303).

44. Chateillon, the first defender of freedom of conscience in the period of the Reformation, the man whom Calvin hated the most of all his contemporaries, has met with a highly eulogistic biographer in Dr. Maehly, an inhabitant of the town where he spent the most active years of his literary life. Castellio knew Calvin in early life, but quarrelled with him, left Geneva, and settled at Basil, where, in conjunction with Socinus, he became the chief of the opposition to the established theology of the German and the Swiss Reformers. By profession a philologist, he never became familiar with all the details of controversy, so that he has been regarded as the representative of the ideas of modern Rationalism. But the indefiniteness of his dogmatic system, and his dislike of authority, had their root in a mystic rather than a freethinking tendency. He edited the *Imitation* and the *Theologia Germanica*; he scrupled to apply his great knowledge to the explanation of profane writers (p. 66); and charity held a larger place than faith in his teaching. The tone and manner of his polemical writings contrast in a remarkable way with those of his enemies at Geneva. Their most famous controversy concerned the right of punishing heresy with death. Chateillon and his friends published a little book on the subject, containing many testimonies in favour of toleration; and they were answered by Beza in a violent defence of persecution. The Calvinists always maintained that the tolerance of Castellio and Socinus was due to religious indifference, and that they were therefore wholly incompetent to appreciate, or

consequently to refute, the principle on which persecution is justified. Dr. Maehly denies the truth of this accusation. Castellio deserves to be immortalised, he says, because he was the earliest upholder of the great principle (p. 49). This is quite as absurd as to reckon Locke among the advocates of toleration (p. 134). In that very tract which Castellio helped to write, the Fathers are quoted on the side of freedom; and he can only claim to have been the first Protestant who revived the early teaching of the Catholic Church on the evil of enforced conformity. Altogether Dr. Maehly's book is a protest against the hero-worshipping Calvinists, and against Stähelin in particular. One is tempted to doubt the scholarship of a writer who determines the sense in which Calvin called Castellio *nebulo* by the manner in which he uses the word *nebula* (p. 135); and it is reasonable to attribute to a mistranslation the words "ein Fräulein Du Verger mit ihrem Sohn" (p. 9).

45. The life of Knox, by Herr Brandes, a Calvinist minister at Göttingen, is a compilation made chiefly from modern authors,—M'Crie, Tytler, and Mignet,—and exhibits a bigotry rare among continental writers. The author affirms that in Scotland, before the Reformation, the Scriptures were unknown, and Christianity scarcely subsisted in name. "Alas! instead of praying to Almighty God, the poor ignorant people were taught to have recourse to a number of so-called saints. . . . There was Mariolatry and saint-worship, but no Christianity" (p. 7). Knox, he says, has been shamefully maligned by the High Church (Hochkirche), which the Germans suppose is a term for the Establishment (p. 466). "But if those who consider themselves exalted above the contentions of the sixteenth century imagine that Knox tried to make his own opinions prevail, with a ruthless partiality,—for this is the only ground for the imputation of fanaticism,—they forget that what they call the particular opinions of Knox are nothing but the gospel truth itself; and that those whom he opposed so resolutely were nobody but the declared enemies of Jesus Christ and His word" (p. 470). With these sentiments Herr Brandes cannot condemn the approbation given by Knox to the murder of Rizzio; but he cites the qualified statement of M'Crie in his text, and only refers vaguely, in a note, to the stronger language of the reformer (p. 375).

46. It is unfortunate for M. Benoist, the new biographer of Guicciardini, that the collection of his unpublished writings by Canestrini is still unfinished. For it is chiefly the political character of the great Italian that his biographer succeeds in treating, and some volumes of his minor political writings have yet to appear. M. Benoist is able to show, from materials already published, that Guicciardini desired a federal union of independent states, rather than that united Italy which was the aspiration of Machiavelli; and he insists with perfect justice on the extraordinary sagacity of his political reflections. But his chapter on Guicciardini's history of Italy is

totally worthless. Fame, we are told, has justified Guicciardini or most of the reproaches which were directed against him; nearly all the critics judge him favourably, and his narrative is generally accepted, almost without reserve, by the most learned and esteemed writers on Italian history (p. 244). M. Benoist devotes great part of his volume to the justification of this statement, and exhibits in the process a deplorable want of criticism.

Guicciardini is absolutely no authority for the events he records; and his conception of the duties of a historian make his book unworthy to be quoted for facts. M. Benoist does not even distinguish between the period in which he played an active part, and was in a position to obtain accurate knowledge, and those earlier years of his life when he was too young to observe the events which he afterwards described. Yet even this obvious distinction marks no difference in the character of his work. In the most important events, concerning which he was able to consult the original documents, Guicciardini merely translates a contemporary Latin historian, Galeazzo Capella, from whom he borrows even his narrative of the greatest military event of the age, the battle of Pavia, which is full of errors. If he was so careless for the period in which he was a leading figure, he was not more accurate in his account of earlier times. He describes the wars of Charles VIII. partly after Rucellai, partly from Comines; but the celebrated words of Capponi, "suoneremo le nostre campane," are an addition, and it appears a mere invention of his own. He reports a speech which he did not hear, of which we have a contradictory report by one who was present; and he describes the address of an ambassador to the Emperor, of whom we know that he never obtained an audience. He has been detected in falsehoods even when relating things which he was engaged in himself. If M. Benoist had taken the trouble to trace Guicciardini's authorities, and to resolve his history into its component parts, he would have done something for historical literature. But he appears to be ignorant of what has been done already for the critical examination of his author, and especially of Ranke's admirable dissertation. When he vindicates his author from Montaigne's accusation, that he always attributes bad motives to the personages of his history, he might have profited by the arguments of Pompeo Litta, if he had not been repelled by the sarcasm: "*Forse in Francia la virtù sarà più generalmente il cardine delle azioni umane.*"

47. Herr Reumont's descriptive catalogue of German works on the history of Italy includes above a thousand books, many of which relate, however, to general or ecclesiastical history, and are admitted only by virtue of a very indefinite principle of selection. The critical remarks, which are almost always judicious and instructive, occasionally extend over several pages. One contains literary notices on the domination of the Italians in the Levant; and another indicates very clearly, in the form of a quotation from Böhmer, the

strong Guelphic sympathies of the writer. Sometimes the total absence of comment suggests a doubt whether Herr Reumont has read the book he catalogues. Of the *Life of St. Ignatius*, by Father Genelli, a valuable historical work, and almost a model of ecclesiastical biography, we find nothing but a bare title; whereas it is a book little known, and eminently deserving to be widely circulated. In very few cases, such as Ammon's dissertation on the theology of Savonarola, the date is omitted; and in the case of reviews the name of the author is sometimes wanting. It is strange to find this omission in the notice of a well-known essay on Galileo in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, against which Herr Reumont himself has written. He must have known that the author was Jarcke. A paper on Venice in the time of Sarpi, "d' autore anonimo" (p. 18), in the same periodical, is by Baron Aretin. If our author had read it, he would not have shown himself ignorant (p. 173) that the correspondence between Fra Paolo and the French Protestants is extant in the memoirs of Duplessis Mornay, and in several collections of Sarpi's letters.

The chronicle of Reinhardsbrunn, spoken of as being still in Ms. (p. 3), was published by Wegele as early as 1854. At p. 7 the author affirms that the Emperor Maximilian I. really intended to be made Pope. He cannot, therefore, have read Jäger's dissertation, which he registers (p. 137), and in which the real meaning of the words that gave rise to this strange belief was explained for the first time. Görres is erroneously called professor of philosophy at Munich, and also the author of a history of mysticism (p. 71). He conceived, but never executed that history; and divines regret the loss of the work as much as the disappearance of the *Prometheus Unbound*, or of so many books of Polybius, is regretted by historians. In speaking of the French translation of Hock's *Sylvester II.*, it would have been but fair to point out its superiority to the original. The work of Richerius had been published in the interval, and was used by the translator. The anonymous editor of the four documents cited at p. 280 was Dr. Dressel, a blind German, who might be seen for many years led by a boy through the streets of Rome, intent on the preparation of an edition of the Apostolic Fathers, which is the best we possess.

There are too many works omitted which occur to a superficial reader to allow the catalogue to be deemed complete. Nine Germans are recorded as having written on Machiavelli. Some of the best are forgotten, such as Leo, in his translation of the Letters; Mohl, in his history of political literature; Ebeling; and Plato, the author of an excellent dissertation on the *Principe*. Blume's *Iter Italicum* is mentioned; but Dudik's similar work on the Roman manuscripts is left out. We find a little tract of Jellinek on St. Thomas, but not the three stupendous volumes of Werner. The interesting compilation on the Italy of a century ago by Volkmann and Bernouilli is overlooked; and, whilst the notice of the administration of Consalvi in Ranke's *Zeitschrift* is noticed, the biography of

Consalvi by the Prussian minister Bartholdy is forgotten. In spite of the deficiencies we have pointed out, the work of Herr Reumont is one which nobody was so competent as he is to execute, and which might be imitated with advantage for other countries besides Italy.

48. Dr. Madden has consulted the seventy-seven volumes of the Acts of the Roman Inquisition, which capricious fortune has deposited at Dublin; and readers will therefore be curious to know what he has to say about the trial of Galileo, which the authorities of the Vatican persist in concealing. It turns out, unfortunately, that the Dublin papers contain nothing upon the subject; and Dr. Madden's book is made up of extracts from published and not inaccessible works, relating to a great many topics very distantly connected with the subject of the title-page. Innumerable misprints puzzle even those readers who overcome the strange difficulties of the author's language. Who would understand, for instance, that to say that the ideas of Philolaus "had been in later times eliminated by Cardinal Cusa," means that they were not rejected, but adopted, by him? or that *procès* is an English synonym for 'trial'? Dr. Madden breaks a lance with the Rev. R. Gibbings, a clergyman who has used, for the purpose of assailing the Holy See, those very papers which have supplied his antagonist with no materials for its defence, and who labours under the impression, that to be immured (*murato*) at Rome means to be walled up. This gentleman published some papers relating to Carnesecchi, and maintains that he was burnt alive. Our author can find no evidence of this, and questions the truth of the story, with a view of vindicating the Roman Inquisition from the charge of cruelty. The truth is, that the body of Carnesecchi was burnt after his head was cut off. Dr. Madden might have admitted all the cases brought forward by his adversary without giving up the argument that Rome was one of those places in which the fewest executions for religion took place, and in which they were soonest abolished.

49. Mr. Raine's *Fasti Eboracenses* is the first volume of a serious and important work, the result of years of patient study, founded in great part upon unpublished materials. It attempts to tell us nearly all that is known of forty-four Archbishops—from St. Paulinus in 627, to Archbishop Thoresby in 1352-1373. Founded as it is, in great part, on registers and similar documents, its new information, at least in the later periods, is rather genealogical and antiquarian than of any striking ecclesiastical or political interest; and the editor sometimes confuses the precise information which he might give under rhetorical commonplaces, often capped with a quotation from a poet. But the book has this value,—enough to compensate for many such defects,—that each narrative of a fact is accompanied by a note containing a nearly exhaustive list of references to the authors who have mentioned the particular circumstance. This is all the more

necessary on Mr. Raine's part, because his edition of the *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* prove that he is not always successful in deciphering the records from which much of his new information is drawn. His mind is one to which historical questions do not propose themselves with any very definite outline; and the answers which he gives are of course tinged with his own deficiencies, in spite of the excellence of his materials, and his apparent conscientiousness in trying to master them.

50. Mr. Gardiner chooses the period between 1603 and 1616 for his history of England, because it was the time during which, he says, the Constitution put on that Stuartine development of the supremacy of the prerogative, with power to suspend the sittings of Parliament, and to remove judges at will, which was combated by the Rebellion and the Revolution of 1688. He begins his history with a brief review of the political and religious developments of England up to the death of Elizabeth; and from that period to 1616 he gives a careful narrative of events, drawn up with continual reference to the original documents in the State-Paper Office, recently catalogued by Mrs. Green. His conclusions he regards as still liable to be modified by papers possibly existing in the archives of Simancas, now being gradually examined, and in the Hatfield Library, which the jealousy of its proprietor still makes useless to every one. This part of Mr. Gardiner's book is worked out with great candour and consecutiveness. His faults do not arise from party-spirit, or want of conscience, or want of knowledge, or study of inferior materials, but from his general conception of the province of the historian.

In its general scope his history is not a narrative written to show the triumph of right, or what he conceives to be so, and viewing all events from the moral elevation of a strong antecedent bias; but neither is it a passionless exposition of the series of events in their mechanical and metaphysical relation of cause and effect. He belongs to Mr. Carlyle's school,—a school which seeks to unite the moral interest of the first kind of history with the veracity of the second, by making itself the partisan of the fact, by subjecting the right to the test of success, and by assuming that the conquering cause was the favourite of the gods. A historian of this school will select any great Power that exists or has existed in the world, and trace the steps by which it came to be. In the history of this individual Power, every man who contributed to consolidate it is set forth as a hero, and every one who opposed it, and was crushed by it, as an idiot. Whether the Power is the English Constitution, or the Reformation, or the Napoleonic Empire, or the Prussian Kingdom, or the English Commonwealth, or the great war that ended with Waterloo, its central figure is always the hero of its history, and his might measures right, while opposition to him is the universal form of evil. Every reader of Hegel can recognise the pantheistic principle which lurks in this treatment of history as a war of Forces, in which the greater Force is the more ample manifestation of

the Universal Mind. However successful such a school may be in particular histories, it is clear that it is powerless to construct a universal history. For it has no one principle but to accept success as the justification of a policy; and since nearly all principles have had their successes, nearly all are justified by it. But the school is well able to write monographs and particular histories. For as it makes success the final test of right, there is no previous idea which the facts are forced to illustrate; and as in the eyes of the historian the event proves the balance of right to be on the winning side, he can afford to allow for minor mistakes and lesser wrongs, which may diminish the final total, but do not alter its sign. Thus Mr. Gardiner says, "Some, either real or apparent, Antinomian sentences in Luther's polemical opinions cannot for a moment weigh against the hearty morality of his life, and the general tendency of his doctrines."

It is therefore in the general views of his preliminary chapters that Mr. Gardiner shows the weakness of his school;—warping the great principles of universal history to illustrate his particular issue, the growth of the British Constitution, and the failure of the Stuarts to impress their stamp permanently upon it. In general, this part of the book is an echo of the current prejudices of Englishmen, not corrected by any original investigation, as in the later chapters, but seasoned with a show of liberality and candour which can afford to praise every institution while it had vitality—that is, while it was victorious.

51. A miscellaneous collection of memoirs and papers relating to England between 1620 and 1640 has been selected and arranged from the manuscripts of the Count de Tillières, the French envoy in London during part of that period. He was in the intimate confidence of Henrietta Maria, and his revelations with regard to her conduct soon after her marriage, and the disgraceful intrigues of Buckingham, give some interest to the volume. Considering the authority of the writer, the character of Henrietta Maria will not gain by the publication. Once she interrupted a sermon which was being preached to her guards, by passing backwards and forwards through the room, talking aloud with her attendants (p. 101). She had been warned by her mother, whose parting advice is here printed, to be careful not to imitate the freedom of the English ladies, who were not subject to that reserve which prevailed in all other countries (p. 77). The ambassador saw with grief that she neglected these counsels, and gave occasion for dishonourable rumours by her intimacy with Jermyn, and other young lords. "Whether she preferred the pleasure of their company to the care of her reputation, which is common enough in princes, or whether, as it is more easy to believe, she esteemed that, being innocent, she would be justified by time, all the remonstrances that were made to her on the subject produced no impression, and she continued the same conduct" (p. 200). Tillières does not like Charles. "When

he is not inspired by Buckingham, he seems to act reasonably; and although he appears to be naturally harsh, and imbued with Danish blood, I do not deem him malignant (*méchant*). I only think that he will always act as he is led,—if by an evil genius, ill; if by an honest man, well” (p. 108). “As in great affairs he comes already prepared, and speaks rather for others than for himself, in little things he acts for himself, and according to his natural bent” (p. 138).

The Count de Tillières conducted the negotiations between Richelieu and the Scottish Catholics in 1628, and some of the papers are in this collection. Huntley assured the agent Watson that the Scottish Catholics, headed by Angus and Nithsdale, Grey, Macdonald, and Mackintosh, could bring 30,000 men into the field (p. 215). But he thought nothing could be done without a joint invasion by France and Spain, who might then divide England between them (p. 217). Watson was directed to represent the King of France as the most faithful friend of the oppressed Catholics, for the rather questionable reason that he had put down the Protestants in France (p. 210). This regard for religion did not prevent the ambassador's hoping that Hamilton would put away his wife, in order that he might marry a Catholic (p. 213). He knew very well that, with the minister he served, religion was nothing but a pretence. “That good Cardinal, who had none, cared not which prevailed in that country, and was glad to be able to bring the King of England into trouble, preferring in this, as in other things, his vanity to God and to religion. . . . And he who had powers from the Pope to send missionaries into foreign countries to plant the true faith endeavoured to eradicate it in England” (p. 204). The intrigues here alluded to between Richelieu and the Puritans are unfortunately not more particularly explained by Tillières, who evidently knew the details. It is to be remarked that he deprives Oxenstierna of the merit of that famous saying which is so often quoted with his name. Tillières speaks of “le dire d'un certain Italien, que la plupart des hommes ne savaient pas, *con quanto poco cervello si governava il mondo*” (p. 197). The story of Oxenstierna's rebuke to his son belongs to the year 1645. The date of this paper is uncertain, but Laud seems to have been living when it was written, and Tillières died in 1652.

52. Among the prelates and doctors of the Anglican communion, Lancelot Andrewes holds one of the highest places. His two great weaknesses,—his “want of firmness in opposing the unwise and unhallowed counsels of his sovereign,” and his “undue partiality towards his kindred and friends, whom he loaded with preferments,”—may be palliated, the one by his heresy about the divine vicariate of kings in the government of the Church, the other by a certain softness of heart and family affection which blinded his judgment. He was free from covetousness and pride; a lover of learning and learned men; an intense student, but not a great critic; imaginative and fanciful to the extreme verge of the grotesque, but simple and

pathetic; a soul that really loved religion for itself, both in its external and ceremonial developments, and in its interior acts of piety and devotion. "A great part of five hours every day did he spend in prayer and devotion to God." The last year of his life "he spent all his time in prayer; and his prayer-book, when he was private, was seldom out of his hands." This prayer-book of his, translated and arranged, was published by Mr. Newman in 1842, and was at once adopted in the Tractarian movement. It is one of the most beautiful of devotional books. His sermons were the first republication in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* in 1841, and influenced the thought of the movement almost as much as his prayer-book influenced its devotion.

His attitude towards Rome was determined by the attitude of Rome towards James I., who was in the eyes of Andrewes, like all kings, commissioned to take under his charge the things of God. If the royal power was the image of Christ on earth, Rome, with its claim of the deposing power, could only be Antichrist, Babylon, and the great apostasy, in spite of the great body of truth held by the Catholic Church in communion with Rome. Thus his opposition was mainly political, though he exalted his politics into religion, and considered the Jesuits, and the Catholics who plotted to bring to an end the hateful tyranny of James, to be the greatest heretics of the day.

Bishop Andrewes deserved a good biographer. If his life was without movement, his writings heave with life. But Mr. Tozer Russell has contrived to make him a mere mummy. The biographer, however, in slaying his subject, has unconsciously given us a living portrait of himself, and has thus produced the driest and most amusing, the fullest and emptiest, the most unfair and the most honest of clerical biographies. One would think he had been buried for two centuries, and suddenly dug up, such prodigious interest does he take in state controversies settled a century ago, with such unhesitating security does he revive old calumnies refuted seven times over, with such simple enthusiasm does he take part with the bishop, and with such pedantic minuteness does he give us the skeletons of his arguments, when the sole thing we desire is the living mass of muscle and nerve with which the vigorous and epigrammatic originality of Andrewes clothed them. He does not see that after the lapse of centuries the poles of a man's life have changed, and that what engaged his contemporaries may have become absolutely void of interest to his successors.

In the seventeenth century, Andrewes was only one of the divines who were creating the Caroline Ideal of Anglicanism; to his contemporaries the blows he struck on the anvil, and the parts he forged, were the important points. To us, the image means very little, and we want to see how Andrewes wrought, how he was armed, how he bore himself, what was his intellectual relationship to those with whom he worked, and what new influences he shed around him. Mr. Russell tells us nothing of this; but instead of it he gives us

genealogies of some four hundred persons whom Andrewes spoke to, or wrote against, or met, or did not meet, together with the dates of their births, degrees, ordinations, and deaths. The volume is one of extraordinary industry; by the help of the index, it is almost a biographical dictionary of the period. But, except as an unintentional picture of the author, it is a work absolutely without vitality. It is a magazine of atoms for some future organiser to build up into a living body.

53. The life of Queen Christine has been written with unimpeachable learning and talent by Grauert, and by Geijer in his history of Sweden. Mr. Woodhead has compiled a gossiping narrative in a fair and honest spirit, but with the very smallest conceivable amount of literary preparation. When he describes the works of Salmasius, he derives his knowledge from the conversations of Gui Patin (ii. 14). Huet "found some manuscripts of *Origen's* in the queen's library at Stockholm" (ii. 37). Greek "at that time did not form part of an academic education" (i. 187). The treatment is as flimsy as the materials; and a good subject is spoiled, for which masses of interesting matter might have been extracted from contemporary works. The sole merit of the book is the comparatively impartial temper with which the author speaks of the religious parties: "At that time the two great faults of the Roman Church, ambition and intolerance, were equalled, or surpassed, by the Protestants. These faults were more glaring when contrasted with some apparent improvement in the Catholics. The finances of the Papacy supplied vast sums for ecclesiastical buildings, for the conversion of the heathen, for the support of new religious orders, whose objects were praiseworthy and charitable" (ii. 124).

54. The Diary of the Austrian secretary Korb is the principal authority on which historians have to rely for information on the massacre of the Strelitzes, and on the grotesque ferocity which the Czar Peter displayed on the occasion. Herrmann, the author of the best work on Russian history, borrows from it the most curious traits of his narrative. Some of these are so horrible, and the light in which the character of Peter appears is so sinister, that the care with which the book was suppressed is easily accounted for. It has become a literary curiosity, though copies are far less rare than the translator supposes. He has, however, done a useful service to literature, for the original is a luxury for bibliomaniacs, and it is worth every body's while to learn from a modern Christian example that there was nothing incredible or unreal in what is recorded of the very exceptional tyrants of ancient Rome. This is not the first time that an English translation has been undertaken, but it is the first time that one has been finished. The Latin of the original is very inelegant and often obscure, and Count Macdonnel has occasionally overlooked difficulties.

55. Mr. Keble's life of Bishop Wilson is a remarkable addition to the records of Anglican hagiography—for as such the author clearly regards his book. Wilson, whose works were amongst the first recommended by the authors of the Tractarian movement, is remarkable among Anglican bishops as having made a most systematic attempt to reduce to reality that "godly discipline" which has been little more than an aspiration to his brethren. The scene of his attempt was as favourable as could be conceived. The Isle of Man, then under the sovereignty of the Earl of Derby, with its population of 14,000 persons, was no larger than an ordinary English parish. In extent, no part of it was a day's journey from the Bishop's house; it was divided into seventeen parishes: and its Celtic inhabitants, with their "faith in the unseen," their estrangement from the movements of English religionism, and their traditional obedience to the ecclesiastical courts of the island, were the most favourable materials for the experiment whether Anglicanism was strong enough to wield the disciplinary weapons which it had inherited from Catholicism.

The trial, on Mr. Keble's showing, was a failure. It was in the long-run only a preparation for Wesley (p. 970). He assumes the causes of the failure to be partly the opposition of the civil power, partly the subsequent neglect which ensued after the death of Wilson's successor, partly the mysterious decrees of the same Providence which permitted the reforms of Josiah and St. Augustine to pass away presently after their death. Mr. Keble, so far from believing that the failure was a necessity inherent in the thing attempted, is so convinced that, under ordinary circumstances, the discipline must prosper, that one great object of his work seems to be to recommend its trial in the parishes of England (pp. 256, 480, &c.).

Wilson was a man of a practical talent, perseverance, and tact that would have gone far to make any possibility a success. That in which he failed, under eminently favourable circumstances, could never be carried out by ordinary persons on a large field, and under average conditions. Very few bishops can count on an incumbency of nearly sixty years. No one of Wilson's brethren could isolate himself from all other dioceses, so far as to use them for little else than places of transportation for his own rebellious subjects. The one unfavourable condition against which he had to struggle was the roughness of his clergy. There were about two dozen of them: and of these he had, in the first five years of his episcopate, to suspend two for gross immorality, and one for a gross breach of the law. He came into the island in 1698; he drew up a strict code of discipline in 1708; and in 1711 his fourth clergyman was suspended for adultery. In the twenty-eight years from 1708 to 1736 no less than 1450 cases of strict enforcement of discipline among the laity are recorded, and nine cases of excommunication; after the latter date the assistance of the civil power was no longer afforded, and between 1736 and 1755 there were only sixty-eight cases and six excommunications. After 1736 there were no less than six suspensions of

clergymen, together with a general complaint of neglect against the young ministers (pp. 817, 818). Partly on account of the paucity of ministers, partly no doubt on account of the sympathy with their own order found in the members of all close governments, lay or clerical, the suspended clergymen were treated with an indulgence which laymen, when under censure, were far from finding. This inequality was perhaps one of the intrinsic reasons which made it more difficult year by year to enforce the discipline.

But the great reason was the folly of much of the discipline in itself. Wilson was doctrinally a high-churchman; but he cared so little for dogma that he fraternised with the Moravians, and his books were, with his permission, so modified by his son as to be made not unacceptable to the Dissenters. His first act as bishop was to license a man whose wife was transported from the island, with an oath never to return, to marry another woman, on the ground that the first wife was "dead in law." But in discipline he was a Puritan, and owned his deep sympathy with the Scottish Presbyterian system (p. 744); and a brief review of the faults upon which he animadverted will show that he strove for the maintenance of a similar tyranny. Defamation and matrimonial causes were the two great classes of faults which came before him as ecclesiastical judge; of the minor ones, he considered the breach of the Sabbath to be the head and fountain (p. 845). He punished Sunday fishing, and fiddling on Sunday or Saturday night; physicians might not visit their patients instead of going to church; no one might send a message on Sunday; no barber might shave during church-time; no man might send his dogs into the water to hunt ducks on the way home from church; it was a crime to go to sleep in church (p. 351), and to summon juries on Sunday (p. 642); blasphemers who cursed the king, drank the devil's health, or toasted the Pretender, or the memory of Cromwell, were severely dealt with.

The matrimonial causes were treated in a way calculated to confuse the public sense of the gradations of right and wrong: a man's marriage with his wife's sister was called by the same hard names, and punished with the same penance, as the cohabitation of the nearest kindred by blood; and persons who had been married by a "popish priest" were forced to do public penance for their crime as though they had not been married at all. Sins which the interest of morality would have hidden, and which religion is glad to see patched up by private marriage, the discipline of Wilson dragged ruthlessly to light after marriage, and exposed to the curiosity and gossip of all the little community.

After fourteen years of this discipline, no wonder that Wilson, in a pastoral which Mr. Keble compares to the efforts of some of the best Greek orators, has to complain of the "dissoluteness of manners that are (*sic*) every day increasing among us" (p. 621). And when such physic was found to be without effect, no wonder, again, that the educated part of the people revolted against it. The civil consequences of the ecclesiastical censures were frightful—the sinner

was "delivered in body and goods" to "a kind of penal servitude either for life or for a term of years" (p. 370); and the social consequences were such that even a Jew pedlar, against whom Wilson warned his flock, because he had replied to insults against Judaism by blasphemies against Christianity, found himself unable to trade with the people or to live in the island. The paternal authority of Wilson was no doubt popular with the poor. With the upper classes it was the natural parent of sceptical tendencies, and finally of infidelity and indifference (p. 376). Mr. Keble considers this rather a sign of its goodness, and talks of "the unbelief and discontent inseparable from genuine discipline," as if that were sufficient explanation of its failure, without considering the absolute premium on hypocrisy which such discipline, mitigated on the first outward appearances of repentance, afforded. One person in every fourteen in the island was a kind of ecclesiastical ticket-of-leave man, at large on the recommendation of the chaplain of the prison, whom he had somehow convinced of his penitence.

The first shock which this discipline sustained was brought about by the attempt to imprison officials of the government. The next was when the bishop claimed the power to remit at his discretion the fines imposed by the ecclesiastical courts *ad usum domini*—for the benefit of the feudal lord. When the discipline ceased to be a source of revenue, and only remained as a positive inconvenience, it was no longer enforced by the civil power; hence the difference of the numbers brought under its operation after 1736, when it became optional whether people would submit to it or no. It lingered on in the habits of the people during Wilson's life, rather as a dilettante attempt to play at primitive Christianity than as a serious business, and then departed without leaving a trace of good influence on the island. It only furnishes Mr. Keble with matter for an exposure of the results of enforcing ecclesiastical discipline by civil tribunals,—an exposure which is all the more damaging because it is contrary to the intentions of the writer.

56. The Abbé Le Gendre, who is remembered as the biographer of the Cardinal of Amboise, wrote five memoirs of his own life, one of which has been published by M. Roux. It derives its chief interest from the fact that he was the confidential secretary of the Archbishop of Paris in the best period of the reign of Lewis XIV., at the height of the struggle with the Jansenists and with the Quietists, at the time of the Declaration of 1682, and of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He survived most of the great men of that generation, and died in 1733. Though well educated, and a good writer, he was a man of somewhat frivolous life, a sort of precursor of the *abbé* of a later day. "I know no pastime more delicious," he says, "than to flit from house to house, provided the company is select, and to learn from the safest source the anecdotes of one's time" (p. 23). Yet he knew very well what was going on, and was a tolerably impartial, though not dispassionate, witness of the controversy between the

Jesuits and the Jansenists. He disliked the latter, and strenuously vindicates Innocent XI. from the imputation of having intended to make Arnauld a Cardinal (p. 71). He even suspects a certain priest of having professed Jansenism from interested motives : " car la réputation qu'il avoit d'être du parti lui avoit attiré de très-succulentes pratiques" (p. 7). But he loved the Society no better. The king's confessor, Father Le Tellier, disappointed him of a mitre : " le père me jura, foi de jésuite, cela s'entend, que Clermont m'étoit destiné ; qu'il dît vrai ou faux, je n'y prenois plus d'intérêt" (p. 321).

The Archbishop, Harlay, though not a Jansenist like his successor Noailles, had a great veneration for Arnauld. " He never spoke of him but with great esteem. I have often heard him say that he had never known a greater philosopher or a greater divine" (p. 182). It was remarked that when Arnauld died, many verses and epitaphs were written in memory of him, but that they were all in his honour. Le Gendre says that, after his death, Nicole, who had been his most ardent supporter, grew less of a Jansenist by degrees, and was employed by the Archbishop to draw up the censure on the Quietists (p. 196). But his successor having read the *Maximes des Saints* in Ms. had found nothing to condemn ; and it was only the overwhelming authority of Bossuet, whom he regarded as his master, that extracted a condemnation from him (p. 238). Bossuet, then an old man, asked the king's pardon " on his knees, with tears in his eyes, and his *calotte* in his hand, for not having warned him sooner that the preceptor of the children of France, and Archbishop of Cambrai, was an extreme Quietist" (p. 240). The king yielded ; but, " who would believe it? Lewis XIV., the most renowned monarch of his time, had been so badly educated that he could hardly read and write" (p. 45). Le Gendre has no love for Bossuet. Harlay presided in the famous Assembly of 1682 ; and it was said that he put Bossuet forward to draw up the four articles against the Pope, in order that the great divine might lose his chance of getting a cardinal's hat before him. Nevertheless the Archbishop was bitterly censured for the declaration, which was deemed an act of cowardice and meanness at a time when, in the dispute of the *Regale*, the Pope was sustaining the rights of the episcopate. " The prelates who had taken part in the affair were the first to say so, especially the Archbishop of Rheims and the Bishop of Meaux" (p. 46). Two doctors of the Sorbonne who had spoken against the Declaration were exiled, to the great joy of the Jansenists, to whom they had been most bitter opponents (p. 55).

The following extracts relate to Pope Innocent XI. : " Will it be believed?—it will be with difficulty, and yet the thing is true—whatever the joy of the Catholics at so happy an event (as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), they did not rejoice at it in Rome—Innocent XI. least of all ; and he said, to excuse himself, that he could not approve either the motive or the method of these conversions by thousands, none of which were voluntary. . . . The wisest of the Sacred College exhorted him in vain to have a *Te Deum* for the revocation ; he was six months making up his mind. . . . Cardinal

d'Estrées, by the express orders of the court, denounced Molinos to the Pope and the Inquisition, and demanded his arrest. The Pope, naturally restive, and outraged by this demand, which was an affront on him, and still liking the accused, would not hear of it. With infinite pains his chief advisers overcame his resistance. . . . He never would assist with his money or his credit the unfortunate King of England. . . . In spite of these defects there has been no Pope of modern times who reigned with greater splendour, or whose memory is more revered" (pp. 67, 68, 78, 87).

57. It appears that there is a party among the French Protestants which has renounced Calvin, and adopted Voltaire. M. Coquerel the younger has collected in one volume the letters of Voltaire on the affairs of the persecuted Huguenots, eighty-eight of which were unpublished; and he has eked out the meagre text with an introduction and notes. One of these may serve as a specimen, and will give an idea of the simplicity of the writer. It is appended to a scoff at St. Paul. "Voltaire had a particular antipathy for St. Paul. He did not understand him at all. It would be difficult to find two minds more radically different than the great Apostle and the great infidel" (p. 271). The author of this remark regards Voltaire only in the character of a preacher of toleration, and cares neither for the nature or the object of the toleration which he preached. They both appear distinctly enough in this correspondence. "Toleration," writes the philosopher, "is more praised than known. It is at Versailles, under lock and key. . . . They have shut up this toleration, or rather this indifference, in order to give no pretext for disturbance" (p. 274). Voltaire was himself a victim of the religious spirit of the French law even under the least scrupulous ministers; and there was nothing so hateful to him in religion as its influence in the State. Therefore the sentence of Calas was very welcome to him, as a means of exciting public opinion against the magistrates who administered an intolerant system of jurisprudence. About the same time, a Catholic in Languedoc was found guilty of parricide, and his friends applied to Voltaire to take up his cause. He refused, saying, "Let us beware of presenting to the judges the cruel idea that parricides are common in Languedoc, and that the parliament is as severe towards Catholics as towards Protestants" (p. 119). Madame Calas was alarmed at the opposition which was excited against her cause by the bitterness with which her defender attacked the clergy, and especially that commemoration at Toulouse, which was repeated, after the lapse or another century, last year. But Voltaire declared that it was "very important to show the excessive fanaticism that reigned in the town" (p. 172). Voltaire's motives were known already from his published writings; and the volume of M. Coquerel adds nothing or importance to our information. The true sentiments of the free-thinkers of that age may be found in a letter of the economist Galiani, written in 1771: "Tous les grands hommes ont été intolérants, et il faut l'être. Si l'on rencontre sur son chemin un prince

sot, il faut lui prêcher la tolérance, afin qu'il donne dans le piège, et que le parti écrasé ait le temps de se relever par la tolérance qu'on lui accorde, et d'écraser son adversaire à son tour. Ainsi le sermon sur la tolérance est un sermon fait aux sots ou aux gens dupes."

58. One of the judges of the tribunal of the Seine, M. Desmaze, the author of a history of the Parliament of Paris, has given in a volume on the Châtelet, the old court of justice of the capital, the produce of great research among its archives. Writing from a merely administrative point of view, he leaves out of sight the political element involved in the development of that institution, and disdains even the rich fund of illustration for the social life of past ages which must lie hidden among the materials he has consulted. His book is dry, but business-like, and fills the narrow limits of the subject. Under the kings of the second race the administration of justice which belonged to the counts was gradually made over by them to more competent officers, who, though retaining the military character, were not utterly absorbed by warlike occupations. The officer was the *prévôt* (*præpositus*). When the Count of Paris became King of France, the provost of Paris rendered justice in the king's name, and his court was the Châtelet. He had no authority over the provosts of the rest of France; great part of the city enjoyed immunity from his jurisdiction; and he had at one time a powerful competitor in the provost of the trades,—the *prévôt des marchands*. In the thirteenth century the office had fallen into the hands of the citizens. "La prévosté de Paris," says Joinville, "estoit lors vendue aux bourgeois de Paris ou à aucuns, et quand il avenoit que aucuns l'avoit achetée, cy soustenoient leurs enfants et leurs neveux en leur outrage." St. Lewis removed the abuse, and the Châtelet became the first court, from which an appeal lay to the Parliament. After the reign of Philip the Fair, the popular authority of the *prévôt des marchands* preponderated until Charles V., who restored the influence of the royal officer by entrusting to him the execution of all works of general utility. Henceforth the rival dignitary fell into decay; "il devint un simulacre, un chef nul qui présidait seulement aux repas, aux fêtes, aux monuments publics. Messieurs de la ville ne faisaient rien qu'il n'y eut un repas" (p. 67). As Charles V. and Charles VI. had raised the provost of Paris in order to put down the democratic authority of the *prévôt des marchands*, so Lewis XIV. made use of him against the aristocracy. In 1666 the provost extended his police over the whole of Paris, and even to privileged places; and by an edict of 1674 all particular jurisdictions were suppressed, and incorporated with that of the Châtelet. The court perished together with the old monarchy; the last great cause brought before it was the riot of the 5th and 6th of October 1789. It was abolished in the following year, and, having served the purposes of centralisation, it yielded to the current it had assisted, and is represented now by the tribunal of the Seine and the prefect of police.

59. About a hundred years ago the municipality of Bordeaux commissioned a Benedictine of St. Maur to write the history of the city from the local records. Only one volume, containing the civil history, appeared at the time ; but the second was finished. They have now been printed together, and the second volume describes the ecclesiastical and administrative history of Bordeaux. The editor has added a few not very significant notes. Dom Devienne was a scholar of a somewhat lighter type than the generality of the congregation to which he belonged, and he wrote with a view to popularity. "If," he says, in his preliminary discourse, "the historian must only tell truths, it does not follow that he may omit none. He is not less bound to discretion than veracity. He must write with a view to public utility, and no truth which is offensive can be useful" (p. 13). His use of authorities cannot be always trusted. He relates, without quoting him, Villani's famous story of the interview between Philip the Fair and Bertrand de Got, then Archbishop of Bordeaux, in which it was agreed that the latter should be made Pope on condition of promising to fulfil certain conditions: "L'archevêque écouta sans répugnance des propositions dont l'une tendait à diffamer la mémoire de son bienfaiteur" (p. 60). This story has been entirely confuted by Rabanis, *Clément V et Philippe le Bel*. Still, it is certain, from Dino Compagni, that Clement V. was elected by the influence of the king ; and his subsequent conduct, like that of another Clement, was such as to encourage the belief in a previous understanding. Some of his letters, which throw an unfavourable light on the intrigue for the destruction of the Templars, and were therefore suppressed by Baluze, are still extant, and tend to confirm this view. But Dom Devienne, though hard upon the memory of a pope who was his countryman, was not a Gallican, and even hazards a very unfavourable description of that system. He says of the Cardinal de Sourdis, that "his natural haughtiness had found but too much nourishment in that system of independence which still imbued a part of the clergy of France—ancient prejudices that had taken rise in times of ignorance" (p. 137).

In 1660, the University of Bordeaux having passed a resolution favourable to Nicole's edition of the *Lettres Provinciales*, the Jesuits appealed to the king, and the faculty of theology was suspended for two years (p. 142). Dom Devienne gives much curious information on the municipal system, the trade, and the wines of the city. In the famine which succeeded the great frost of 1709, the magistrates adopted such precautions, that corn was cheaper at Bordeaux than at any other place in the kingdom (p. 276). It appears that the wines of the district of Médoc, which includes Margaux and Laffite, began to be celebrated only in the eighteenth century, and that the tithes of certain parishes had suddenly risen from less than 20*l.* to 1200*l.* or 1600*l.* a year (p. 267).

60. The biography of the first German who combined the profession of Judaism with secular learning has been written by Dr.

Kayserling with great care, but in a very narrow and intolerant spirit. Neither Jewish nor Christian orthodoxy finds favour with him; and he is equally severe on the Rabbis who resisted the inroads of rationalism, and on Protestants who believed in their religion. He casts imputations on the moral character of Hamann; and speaks with great bitterness of Lavater, because he challenged Mendelssohn to abjure, if he could not refute Bonnet's defence of Christianity. And yet when Mendelssohn applied to Lavater on behalf of the Jews in Switzerland, his intercession was efficacious. The tone of this writer is best represented in the supplication by which D'Argens induced Frederick to grant Mendelssohn the right of domicile at Berlin: "Un philosophe mauvais catholique supplie un philosophe mauvais protestant de donner le privilège à un philosophe mauvais juif."

The concession was obtained in 1763. Mendelssohn had already lived at Berlin for many years, and he continued to reside there till his death in 1786, enjoying the reputation of one of the most eloquent metaphysical writers, and the greatest influence among the Jews, in whose position he effected a complete revolution. In his youth they were entirely excluded from the literature and even the language of Germany. "Knowledge of German," says our author, "and heresy were synonymous to the Jews of those days. It was intended, as it has often been attempted since, to protect the religion of truth and knowledge by means of ignorance" (p. 11). Those who learnt to speak German correctly were denounced, and the ruin of religion was prophesied as the consequence of such an innovation. A friend of Mendelssohn was expelled from Berlin in 1746 because a German book had been found in his possession; and he himself studied Euclid in a Hebrew translation because his master knew no other language. Even under the tolerant sceptre of Frederick II. disabilities were imposed; and it was ordained, in order to encourage the royal china factory, that no Jew should be allowed to marry but on condition of expending 300 dollars on porcelain.

At a time when the name of Spinoza could hardly be pronounced without a shudder by the people of his sect, Mendelssohn conceived the warmest admiration for his writings, and laid the foundation of the influence they afterwards exerted on the rise of Pantheism in Germany. English writers, especially Locke and Shaftesbury, made a deep impression on him; but he said of the French that they had not had a single metaphysical writer since Malebranche (p. 47). Dr. Kayserling, however, admits that he cannot claim a place even in the second rank of original thinkers. His chief importance lay within the sphere of his own community. He saw that the contempt in which the Jews were held was due to their want of education; and he undertook to remove it by making them participate in the literary cultivation of the country. In order to overcome the difficulty offered by their own prejudices, he translated the Pentateuch and Psalms, so that the study of German, instead of being opposed to their religion, might be associated with it. Whilst he

succeeded in this endeavour, he at the same time deliberately undermined the dogmatic character of their system. In his eyes, Judaism was not a religion, and required no faith. Its injunctions were addressed only to the will; they exacted obedience, not belief. Religion was natural, not revealed; and of this natural religion Judaism was a form. Yet Mendelssohn accepted the Jewish ritual, and clung in his heart to the ceremonial law, though he was persuaded that his friend Lessing possessed religious truth as perfectly as himself. Thus he opened the gates of Judaism to the same invasion of Rationalism which was about to prevail in Catholic France, and which, from its centre at Berlin, was extending over German Protestantism.

61. Dr. Herbst has published his biography of the *Wandsbecker Bote* in a third, improved edition. There is a charm about the quiet upright life of his hero altogether disproportionate with the permanent value of his writings; and his name is still a household word in Northern Germany and Holland, almost as popular as that of Bunyan is with us. From the year 1770 to the fall of the old German society, and almost till his death in 1815, Claudius was one of the most strenuous and influential upholders of religion against unbelief in the Protestant North; and there is no layman of those days whose writings penetrated so far among the uneducated class. But their style was too homely, and their tone too religious, to allow him to rank among the German classics; and the interest of his biography is social more than literary. As a humorist he was eclipsed by the genius of Jean Paul; and as a Christian thinker he had neither the depth of his great contemporary Hamann, nor the wide cultivation of the superficial Herder. To us he is very interesting, because he betrays the real condition of religion in his time by his mode of opposing unbelief. The idea of a church, and reference to ecclesiastical history, seldom appears. There was nothing to inspire him with an interest in these things, in the sphere in which he moved. In his opposition to the prevailing tendencies, he put dogmatic difficulties out of sight, and sought the sympathy and coöperation of religious men without distinction of creed. The assaults were directed against the whole of the Christian system; and he deemed that all to whom it was dear, in whatever form, ought to combine for its preservation. Thus he never dwelt on the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, and laid great stress on Catholic practices of piety, on asceticism, and the usefulness of the monastic life. It is hard to say what would have separated him from the Church; but it appears that he never came in contact with Catholicism, or that he met with it only in a form as indefinite and undogmatic as his own theology, or else tainted by the demoralising rationalism against which he contended.

62. On the 20th of February 1808 Napoleon received a deputation of the *Institut*, and listened to a report on the condition to which

learning had fallen in consequence of the Revolution. It was read by the perpetual secretary Dacier, and had been drawn up with the assistance of several colleagues, of whom Sacy was the most eminent. We learn from it something about the great historical works which were interrupted in 1789, and of which the continuation still exists in Ms., such as the second volume of Labat's *Concilia*, and of Coustant's *Epistolæ Pontificum*; whilst others are still entirely unpublished, such as Grenier's History of Picardy, and the works of the Benedictines Lenoir, Fonteneau, and Houzeau, on Normandy, Poitou, and Touraine. Dacier's judgments hardly deserve attention, except in questions of classical learning. He describes Greek scholarship as extinct in the provinces of the empire, making an exception only in favour of Strasburg, on account of Schweighäuser; whilst Latin literature is so little cultivated, that it requires the strong hand of the emperor to revive it (p. 69). Not one edition of a classic, published in France from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, has retained its value, except Hardouin's *Pliny*, and the *Cicero* of Olivet (p. 74). In Dacier's opinion, Cicero and Virgil would have been more at home in the Latinity of Sannazaro or Muretus than in that of Seneca and Lucan. Some of his statements detract from the weight of his authority. In speaking of Lévesque's history of Rome, he questions whether it was not superfluous to recur to a subject so often treated (p. 211). But his doubts seem to be suggested less by a critical opinion on the labours of Rollin and Beaufort than by the danger to society of contemplating a nation "frantically fond of liberty." He derives comfort from the fact that the author, though he has not made a complete apology of Cæsar, has not approved the excesses of the faction that opposed him (p. 212); and he commends Mitford for having "avoided that enthusiasm for an exaggerated liberty which has misled so many modern writers, especially in his country." Dacier is incapacitated by other things besides imperialism from speaking of the writers of foreign countries. He calls Gibbon a famous Scotch historian; and says that Folieta, who lived in the sixteenth century, "écrivit en Latin dans le siècle dernier" (p. 67). Blunders of the same kind and proportion abound in the notes, which profess to carry the account of European learning down to our time.

63. The recent collection of the writings of Boissonade contains only portions of his lighter articles on a variety of literary topics. All that belongs to serious scholarship is omitted. Perhaps there is little of any value, except as a memorial of the state of criticism and taste in France between the extinction of the old school of Clavier, St. Croix, Villoison, and Larcher, and the revival which has taken place under the influence of the Germans. Boissonade, who died at the age of eighty-three, in September 1857, had long enjoyed, in spite of his really modest and retiring character, the reputation of the first Greek scholar in France. Originally a student of the Dutch type of Ruhnken and Wesseling, he was introduced by Bast to the new school of Wolf, and bore willing testimony to the supremacy in

philology of Wolf's greatest disciple, Böckh. But he was destitute of their constructive, historical faculty, and was all his life, like Bekker or Godfrey Hermann, a man of texts. "Il voulut se renfermer dans la critique verbale," says M. Naudet, his biographer. He appears even to have preferred those authors whose works require little thought; and whilst he declared Aristotle's *Politics* a tiresome book (i. 62), he devoted himself chiefly to a very secondary class of later rhetors and grammarians. His most important publication was the *Anecdota Græca* in five volumes; but he left unpublished an edition of the Greek Anthology, which is about to appear, and which is greatly wanted.

These two volumes deal chiefly with modern literature, which he had extensively studied, and to which he applied a rather pedantic kind of criticism. "Je porte d'ailleurs," he says, "sur tous les livres mes yeux de grammairien et de critique minutieux" (ii. 618). Thus he cannot translate the title of Lady Morgan's novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, and apologises as follows: "Je n'ai pas traduit *wild*. Ce mot s'emploie fréquemment en parlant des jeunes gens irlandais, pour exprimer leur caractère vif, pétulant, étourdi, et non réprimé par la culture et l'éducation" (ii. 103). His strength lies in tracing the pedigree of borrowed ideas. He shows, for instance, the original of the comparison by which Goldsmith concludes the description of the parson, in a noble passage of Bossuet's oration on Condé: "Tant son esprit s'élevait alors! tant son âme paraissait éclairée comme d'en haut dans ces terribles rencontres! Semblable à ces hautes montagnes dont la cime, au-dessus des nues et des tempêtes, trouve la sérénité dans sa hauteur, et ne perd aucun rayon de la lumière qui l'environne" (ii. 75). In his preface to Parny, he says: "Nous y avons ajouté un choix des variétés de lecture, et des notes littéraires où sont indiquées avec quelque exactitude les sources et les imitations" (ii. 360). There are some passages on monastic life, which make it difficult to believe that he can have been destitute of religious feeling: "Il n'est plus aujourd'hui d'asile aux malheureux que la mort. . . . Cet homme désespéré pouvait autrefois échapper à ses maux sans sortir de la vie; les monastères lui étaient ouverts. . . Il recouvrait sa vigueur morale, et même la recouvrait plus grande, car la solitude a la puissance merveilleuse d'étendre, d'élever, et de fortifier les cœurs qui, l'ayant cherchée par amour ou par besoin, ont su la bien mettre à profit. . . . Il est un fait que personne ne peut contester: partout où s'est établi un monastère, là s'est élevé un village, et l'on ne parviendrait peut-être pas à citer un seul hameau d'une date plus récente que la formation du dernier couvent" (ii. 376).

64. There is a quarter of Paris, in the neighbourhood of the great seminary of St. Sulpice, which is still very thickly inhabited by ecclesiastics, and in which the houses and gardens that were the scene of the most terrible outbursts of religious fanaticism during the Revolution still exist. The famous Convent of the *Carmes* is scarcely altered since that 2d of September, which is one of the glorious dates in the history of the Church of France. Till very

lately, the mark of a bloody hand could be seen on the wall ; and the places where the principal victims fell are still shown. An account of the massacre was published a few years ago in England ; but it is not referred to in the more complete and elaborate work which M. Sorel has compiled with the aid of private and official papers. The barefooted Carmelites settled at Paris in 1611, after some opposition from the Parliament. Their monastery was one of the most austere in the city ; they were much respected ; and even after the Revolution had begun, they remained on good terms with the people of their district. On the day when 115 priests were slaughtered in their church and garden, they were not molested, and persons were sent to visit them in their cells, in order to reassure them while the massacre was going on. Soon after, they were, however, dispersed, and their house became a prison. M. Sorel describes all the details of the butchery, and the various ways in which forty-four of the captives escaped. Besides thus reducing the received number of 170 victims, he proceeds to destroy many illusions which poetic history preserves, concerning those who were afterwards imprisoned at the *Carmes*. Lamartine relates the imprisonment of the Girondins, and the inscriptions they wrote upon the walls, and even recognises the handwriting of several of the leaders. M. Sorel shows that they were never there, and that another sentence, signed with the names of the Citoyenne Tallien and Josephine Beauharnais, of which he gives a facsimile, is also spurious. They too were not in this prison ; and Madame de Fontenay did not marry Tallien till after her release. Nevertheless, this absurd forgery is religiously preserved under a glass cover. Such exposures are a useful lesson. If there are men who, under no inducement but the desire of pictorial effect, will invent and gravely recount scenes that could not have occurred, there are many more who will commit the same enormity for some more desirable or more respectable object.

65. The fourth volume of Mr. Massey's history of the reign of George III., containing the first revolutionary war, exhibits a stronger grasp of principle, a more confident though still impartial judgment, and deeper convictions, than the volumes which preceded it. In two respects it has very high merit. The author is a just and sound partisan in the discussion of political doctrines, and yet shows no partiality towards the leaders of his party ; and he states, with an emphasis and detail which is the more honourable because it is out of proportion with the design of his work, the case of the Irish Catholics against the government of England. With a surer hand than Mr. May, he draws the line of demarcation between the doctrines of the Whig party and those of its recreant chiefs who opposed the anti-Jacobin policy of Pitt. Quoting the words of Fox,—that sovereignty was absolutely in the people, and that, when a majority of the people thought another kind of government preferable, they undoubtedly had a right to cashier the king,—he adds : "These may be good democratical principles ; but they certainly are not Whig doctrine." "By his shallow and unskilful advocacy, the

Whig leader not only strengthened the case of his opponent, but discredited the principles from which the traditions of English liberty are derived" (p. 41). Mr. Massey vindicates Pitt from the accusation of having desired war. "The ministers of the Crown, rashly accused of provoking a rupture with the French democrats, were the last to admit the necessity of war. They desired only to guard this country against the contagion of French principles" (p. 2). He explains the famous dagger-scene, from private information, by the fact that the very conspiracy which Burke denounced caused a Cabinet to be summoned, after which Pitt expressed his conviction that war was now inevitable.

The weakest portion of Mr. Massey's volume is the account of military operations; the best is the exposition of Pitt's policy towards Ireland. "The grievances of the Irish people were manifold; and it must be admitted that the prospect of redressing those grievances by lawful means had nearly disappeared when the insurrection began. . . The Catholics of Ireland felt that they must either submit to the denial of their political claims, or resort to those means of relief which the people in all ages have attempted under intolerable oppression and wrong" (p. 329). And yet no Catholic of note took part in the rebellion; all the leaders were Protestants. Mr. Massey has examined with very minute accuracy the conduct of Pitt in reference to the Catholic claims; and his verdict is as severe as his evidence is conclusive. In the autumn of 1799 Lord Castle-reagh represented to Pitt that the Union could not be carried unless the Catholics were conciliated with an assurance of emancipation. "A positive promise was made for a valuable consideration. . . Some supporters of the Union had bartered their votes for titles, some for places, and some for money; but the Catholic community, without whose aid the great measure could not have been carried, and in the face of whose hostility it would not have been attempted, demanded only honourable terms. They asked for an equality of civil rights with the rest of their fellow-subjects. Their terms were granted, and their part of the engagement was punctually fulfilled" (p. 540). "Yet Mr. Pitt seems to have been of opinion that this engagement, of which he had received the full benefit, was satisfied, so far as he was concerned, by the formal resignation of his office when the king refused to sanction the proposed measure, and that he was at liberty to resume office the next day, with or without his colleagues, and upon a positive pledge to renounce the policy which he had only a few short weeks before declared to his sovereign to be dictated by 'his unalterable sense of public duty.' If such conduct as this is to be justified on the ground that Mr. Pitt was under no express compact with the Catholics, I know not what species of engagement is binding upon public men" (p. 572). "The whole tenor of his conduct on this occasion, and his offer to withdraw the question at the last moment, sufficiently prove that Pitt was never really in earnest, as Grenville was, on Catholic emancipation; indeed, it is very doubtful whether he would have pressed the matter to the extent of a colourable support, had he not been urged

forward by the strong will and sincerity of his principal colleague" (p. 559).

When Mr. Massey says that "the grievance which mainly affected the peace and prosperity of Ireland lay beyond the reach of any political remedy" (p. 280), he forgets that the Established Church and the Orange ascendancy are political institutions. It is not, as he seems to imply, the dogmatic hatred between Protestant and Catholic that distracts Ireland, but the hatred which a nation feels for the church of a dominant minority. The error is a serious one. The cause to which he attributes discontent still subsists. Those causes by which he thinks it justified have been removed, he says, during the last fifty years. He does not therefore perceive that the political and judicial motive for disaffection has survived all the changes that Ireland has undergone since the Union.

It is not worth while to criticise Mr. Massey's remarks on points remote from his real topic; such as his excessive depreciation of Reeve's *History of the English Law* (p. 192), and the unjust accusation of rapacity brought against Macdonald, one of the most honourable soldiers of France (p. 436). But he has been guilty of great injustice towards Edmund Burke. After describing the concessions made to the mutinous seamen of the Channel fleet, he says that they were blamed by nobody, with the characteristic exception of Burke: "With the same want of judgment and temper which generally marked his public counsels, the dying statesman strongly recommended the employment of repressive measures" (p. 233). Mr. Massey's authority for this is Lord Stanhope, who says "that the advice of Burke was entirely against those concessions to the sailors that nevertheless were made" (*Life of Pitt*, iii. 50). Lord Stanhope relates this on the authority of Wilberforce; but Wilberforce does not imply that Burke disapproved of the concessions (*Life of Wilberforce*, ii. 212). We know his sentiments on this question from his correspondence with Laurence, and they are exactly in unison with the story actually told by Wilberforce. Burke thought the claims of the sailors substantially just; but he deemed that the government ought to have conceded them in such a way as not to impair its authority, and ought to have yielded to reason and not to threats. He deprecated weakness; but there is not the slightest evidence that he advised resistance or severity. Lord Stanhope has misunderstood Wilberforce; but Mr. Massey has gratuitously superadded a remark on Burke's general policy which is entirely unwarrantable. He was always strongly opposed to undue rigour and to wholesale punishment. In the riots of 1780 he had been one of those most strongly denounced by the rabble. Yet, when order was restored, he raised his voice, with all the vehemence of which he was capable, to mitigate the punishment of the rioters, and to reduce as much as possible the number of those who were to suffer. His writings on this occasion contain the wisest advice to all governments for their conduct in similar cases.

who, after having received the tonsure in 1794, was brought into the army by Radetzky, in 1803, but never succeeded in making himself a name, derive their sole value from the letters of Prince Schwarzenberg to his wife, written during the campaign in which he held the supreme command. The memory of the major is not well stored; and, though he was present at twenty actions, he appears not to have had the luck which sometimes opens to young officers the secrets and the adventures of war. His adulatory, querulous, and undignified patriotism would mar yet more interesting recollections. Metternich was, according to him, the sole author of the ruin of Napoleon (p. 149). He recalls with pleasure a day when four thousand hares were shot on an estate in Hungary with the help of as many beaters (p. 72). The invasion of Champagne revealed a curious property of the physical system of the Cossacks, who, although they could drink brandy like water, were very soon upset by the French wine (p. 175). Possibly quantity may have had as much to do with it as quality; *alieni profusus* is the character of most armies in a conquered country. The only curiosity of military history recorded by Major von Thielen occurred on the night after Napoleon's retreat from Aspern. It was expected that the victorious archduke would follow him across the Danube; and three signal guns were to be discharged before midnight, if the attack was determined on. Thielen was posted on a height, to look out for the signal from head-quarters, and fell asleep. Luckily for him, and unfortunately for Austria and for the reputation of the best soldier of the Habsburgs, the three guns were never fired.

The first letter of Prince Schwarzenberg is written from the battle-field of Leipzig, on the eve of the decisive conflict. It is touching in its simple piety, and in the writer's consciousness of inferiority to his mighty antagonist. The others will not add to his fame. It is evident that Napoleon owed his destruction to the impetuous advance of the Prussians; whilst Alexander caused much delay at first, and the generalissimo dreaded throughout the idea of coming to close quarters. He is very angry with the slowness of one ally and the eagerness of the other. "You must know," he writes to the princess, "that on the 13th, that is on the 1st of January according to the Russian calendar, the Emperor Alexander crossed the Niemen at the head of his guards a year ago. Therefore he thinks it very poetical to cross the Rhine on the 1st of January this year; and that is why my reserves are on the Rhine, while my head-quarters are at Vesoul" (p. 178). On the 26th of January, before the decisive battles of Laon and Arcis, he writes from Langres: "Here we ought to make peace, that is my advice; our emperor, Stadion, Metternich, even Castlereagh, are quite of the same opinion; but the Emperor Alexander!" (p. 184.) On the 14th of February, "I must confess that I continue the war with the most heartfelt disgust" (p. 220). All those movements which ultimately ensured success are angrily attributed to the ambition of Alexander and the insane haste of Gneisenau. It is very clear that Major von Thielen's hero can claim no part of the merit.

67. M. Alfred Nettement is the ablest and most judicious writer of a party whose principles are generally adverse to intellectual labour. In his useful history of French literature under the Restoration and the monarchy of July, he showed himself a zealous legitimist; and it is the same spirit which pervades a book of higher pretensions and more conspicuous ability which he is now writing on the history of the Restoration. The third volume, beginning with the fall of Napoleon, describes the secret negotiations between Fouché and the Bourbons, and the great errors of the Royalist reaction in the autumn of 1815. These events have been partly narrated in the last volume of M. Thiers, and in the first of M. Guizot's memoirs. They have been recorded very fully and with great fairness and research, from the point of view of a moderate liberalism, in the excellent history of the Restoration by M. de Viel-Castel, and also in a work which for political instructiveness approaches those of Tocqueville—the History of Parliamentary Government in France, by M. Duvergier de Hauranne. M. Nettement in some points surpasses each of these competitors, and his work will retain a real value in the eyes even of those who are not attracted by his opinions. He for the first time explains the conduct and the adventures of the Baron de Vitrolles, who played as considerable a part in the second Restoration as in the first; and he shows clearly, from the notes of his conversations with Fouché, all that passed in the mind of that adroit intriguer in the last great crisis of his life. Some additional light would have been thrown on these events if M. Nettement had consulted the tenth volume of the *Supplementary Despatches*, where papers are often needlessly reprinted, and sometimes wrongly dated, but where there is some private correspondence that appears to have been unknown to the French historians. That volume also contains copious evidence of the fact, on which M. Nettement justly insists, that the English ministers believed and said that measures of great severity were required in order to secure the restored throne.

In this circumstance the author rightly discovers the justification of the Duke of Wellington's refusal to intercede for Ney. The history of the marshal's trial and death has never been so well or so fairly told as in this book. M. Nettement relates that, when he was taken to the place of execution, he insisted that the priest who was with him should get into the carriage first: "I have heard contemporaries tell that, at the sound of this friendly altercation, the coachman looked round; at the sight of the marshal he became frightfully pale, and fell without consciousness from his seat. It was an old soldier of the marshal's who had recognised him" (p. 421). By an oversight, we are told in one place (p. 172), that Ney was arrested on the 3d of August at the Château de Bussières, and in another that he was taken at the Château de Bessonies on the 5th (p. 354). In describing the passions of the Royalists during the period which has been called *La Terreur Blanche*, our author betrays a partisan spirit. Instead of admitting the inhuman ferocity which prevailed in the aristocratic society of Paris, and which condemned as a crime the share taken by the daughter of Lavalette in effecting the escape

of her father, he insinuates that exaggerations of this kind were the artifices of calculating adversaries, in order to render the Royalists odious (p. 449). Accordingly, he avoids mentioning even the most authentic instances of this passion for revenge. Perhaps the most striking omission is in the trial of General Travot (p. 602). He was tried before a court-martial, presided over by General Canuel, who had served against him in the West during the Hundred Days. Travot had distinguished himself in the old war of La Vendée. It was he who took Charette, and the clemency and humanity he had displayed had done much to pacify the country. The advocate who accused him cited this very quality as a crime, and prejudiced the court against him by recalling the mercy he had shown of old to the defeated Royalists. M. Nettement says nothing of this, and even tries to produce an impression favourable to the court by relating how Travot, although condemned to death, only suffered two years' imprisonment.

The history of the fate of another Bonapartist general, well known as a glorious tradition in the family concerned in it, is told for the first time from private documents, and is the gem of the volume. At the fall of Napoleon, a large body of imperial troops were quartered in the royalist town of Montbrison in Auvergne; and conflicts would have broken out between the enraged soldiery and the inhabitants but for the influence which was speedily obtained by a royalist noblemen of the place, the Viscount de Meaux. When the difficulties of the situation seemed about to overwhelm him, the General Mouton-Duvernet arrived, pacified the town, and induced the troops to adopt the Bourbon colours. Whilst he was doing these services to the new government, he was involved in the same proscription in which Ney afterwards perished. Once more he brought the angry troops to obedience, and then concealed himself in the house of M. de Meaux, whose royalism disarmed suspicion. Meantime the royalist commander of the district was lodged in the same house in which the proscribed Bonapartist was hidden. During his seclusion, in the presence of constant danger, and under the influence of the Christian family with whom he lived, the veteran of the Empire returned to his religion, and was reconciled to the Church he had long forgotten. One day his relations said to a person who asked after him, that he had disappeared so completely that it seemed as if he had never left the house of M. de Meaux, in which he was lodged before the decree appeared. The person to whom this was said was a spy, and he guessed the truth at once. The house in which Duvernet was concealed was searched in vain. The cook was carried off to prison at Lyons, in the hope that by ill-treatment she might be induced to betray the secret. She resisted firmly; but Duvernet could not bear that others should suffer for him, and he surrendered, in spite of the entreaties of Madame de Meaux, whose husband was at Paris. The efforts of the Viscount de Meaux to save him failed, and Mouton-Duvernet was shot in July 1816. Many years later the royalist who had protected him, having lost his wife, went to end his days as a Trappist at Aiguebelle. Here,

towards the close of his life, the abbot commanded him to write down the episode of the arrest and death of his friend; but the old royalist required of his children that the manuscript should never be shown to any one who would use it against the government of the Restoration. Thus it remained unknown until the grandson of the writer gave it to M. Nettement.

68. Among the four great critics of modern France, it is hard to deny the palm of versatility and cultivation to M. Sainte-Beuve. Villemain is a better historian, and understands more thoroughly the action of events on literature; Saint-Marc Girardin, weak as a political historian, has produced, especially in his analysis of Rousseau, masterpieces of literary psychology; Vinet, the most impartial and sympathetic of critics, judges books like a great philosopher, and stands on a far higher level than the other three. M. Sainte-Beuve has not only shown himself familiar with every school of modern literature, but has proved, in *Volupté*, and in his history of *Port Royal*, that he is capable of grappling with the most vast and difficult problems; whilst the first volume of his lectures on Chateaubriand traces with a marvellous dexterity all the currents of thought and taste which spring from the French Revolution. The fifteen volumes of his *Causeries*, and the *Portraits Littéraires* that preceded them, afforded no opportunity for the display of these higher faculties. They are individual in treatment, and excessively popular and ephemeral, though rarely superficial. The *Nouveaux Lundis* begin less auspiciously. There are still the same literary resources, the same catholicity of taste, the same rich variety and precision of expression. But the author writes as the mouthpiece and apologist of the empire. Bitterness has taken the place of the mingled seriousness and cheerfulness that used to charm readers of every class; instead of elevating taste into a moral idea, like his great Swiss rival, he deliberately renounces principle, and degrades his splendid faculties to a labour of frivolous and partial criticism. M. de Rémusat said one day, "I have such a weakness for talent, that I could not refuse to vote for that devil of a Veuillot, if he became a candidate." "There," says our author, "is the true *littérateur*, with an open mind, as I wish to be" (p. 43). He says of M. Prévost-Paradol, one of the youngest and most accomplished, but by no means the deepest or most serious, Parisian writers, "I am afraid of finding myself in presence, not of a real politician, but of a believer. His political faith is too strong for me; mine has not resisted the shocks of experience" (p. 153). In another passage (p. 50) there is a defence of infidelity. In this frame of mind, the severity of M. Guizot, and the deep religious feeling of Madame Swetchine, are rudely treated by the prince of critics.

A certain fellowship in the absence of veneration, and in the beauty of style surviving the oblivion of graver laws, renders him more just towards M. Veuillot. "We must not forget, in judging him, the circumstance, that he did not suck in Christianity by degrees, at different times, and from his early years. A violent neo-

phyte and intrepid catechumen, he embraced Christianity and all the Roman religions at once, without the least preservative or corrective" (p. 47). And alluding to a particular passage of this most eloquent of the French journalists, he says: "I know not, in truth, any nobler prose, or any of which the press should be more proud" (p. 74). There is truth in his hostile judgment on Guizot: "Of the qualities essential to a ruler, one—fecundity of ideas—was wanting. He only knew how to resist with a magnificent obstinacy, without varying his means, without finding resources or expedients. He possessed in the highest degree the power of speech; he had not a general appreciation of general ideas and public passions, or at least he only partially understood ideas, and passions only to contradict them and to combat them to death" (p. 106). We must add Shakespeare to Göthe in the following excellent passage: "Göthe is the only poet who possessed a poetic faculty in support of each one of his critical appreciations, and who could say of every thing that he judged, of every kind, 'I could make a perfect specimen of it, if I chose.' When one has but a single circumscribed and special talent, the best thing to do when one becomes a critic is to forget this talent, to put it simply away in one's pocket, and to say to oneself that nature is greater and more various than she proved in creating us. Incomplete artists as we are, let us have at least an intelligence wider than our talent and our achievements" (p. 8). There is a good story of Rouget de Lisle, who, after one bright inspiration, fell into embarrassment and awkwardness. In 1815, at a moment of great excitement, some friends asked him as he came in, what he had seen. "Things look badly," he said; "they are singing the *Marseillaise*" (p. 180). Here is an excellent sketch of Benjamin Constant by Béranger, whom, it was said, he meant to visit in prison: "Yes, I am sure he will come; he neglects no opportunity of becoming popular. I said to myself on Sunday, when every body surrounded me, that he must have thought: 'I should like to have written songs, and be condemned in this manner.' There is no triumph that does not make him envious; it supplies him with sensations. . . . He is so much exhausted, that he borrows from others the emotions he no longer finds in himself. His passions are all artificial" (p. 433).

69. The historical and statistical account of Paraguay, by a former under-secretary of state, Colonel du Graty, breathes that spirit of animosity against England which has become almost universal in South America. "The haughty and exclusive policy of Great Britain ought to show to the American nations that it is time to unite, in order to put an end to that mode of proceeding towards them which consists in treating them like barbarians" (p. 100). Paraguay is fortunate, compared to other states of the continent, in the absence of a slave population, in the humanising influence of the Jesuit missions on the Indian tribes, and even in the dictatorship of Dr. Francia. The Spaniards began the work of emancipation; no Negro can be born to slavery; and there is no slave-trade. The whites exceed the

men of colour in the proportion of five to one (p. 202). The missions, which were commenced in 1610, were suppressed in 1768 by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions. Their place was taken by other priests, who, however, were deprived of the civil administration in the settlements which the society had governed. "They had not only founded about thirty villages, but had accomplished great works that still exist, or that are proved by the ruins of fine buildings, which were destroyed after their expulsion" (p. 56). The Indians soon abandoned the missions, and their number fell between 1767 and 1801 from 144,037 to 45,639. The character of the people differs from that of the other Spanish Americans by an extreme reserve, the result of the long oppression suffered under Francia (p. 264); but his successor, Lopez, has been able to remodel the life and institutions of the country without falling into the troubles and disorders through which the other colonies have passed to order and freedom. The work of Colonel du Graty gives a very favourable idea of his administration, and of the vast resources of the country.

70. M. Calvo, the *chargé d'affaires* from Paraguay to Paris and London, and author of the Spanish translation of Wheaton's *History of the Law of Nations*, has completed a collection of the diplomatic papers of the South-American States, which will be as important for their history as the work of Dumont for that of modern Europe. The documents are given in the original, with historical introductions in Spanish; and the whole is preceded by a political essay, written in French, on the state of the South-American continent. It is evident from this important paper that the Mexican war and the Brazilian quarrel are but symptoms of a strong and general inclination of Latin America towards imperial France. The work is dedicated to Napoleon III., "the European sovereign who has best appreciated all the importance" of that region; and the Emperor "accepts with pleasure the dedication of a work truly interesting at the present moment." The recent progress, marvellous indeed, of South-American trade is attributed to his far-sighted policy, inasmuch as "he has understood better than his predecessors the advantage which France might obtain by forming closer political and commercial relations with the republics of Spanish America" (p. xv.). The author declares that his people are drawn towards France by a multitude of moral links,—*"religion, instincts, aptitude, and the analogy of origin and language;"* and that French is nowhere more generally spoken than among them. But "while the government of the Emperor Napoleon III. acquires the sympathies of the Latin populations throughout the continent of South America, by the conciliatory, loyal, and generous policy it has developed of late years towards that comparatively feeble people, the government of Great Britain adopts a policy diametrically opposite, which is oppressive and intolerable."

The spirit which M. Calvo's work manifests is that of the national unity of the South-American States. He desires that they should form one great confederation, presenting to the world a united front,

and connected by a commercial league more liberal than the Zollverein. Their population is now above 32,000,000, and their area equal to nearly forty times that of France. Their prospects are less gloomy than they appeared for many years to European observers, for of late a great change has come to their fortunes, which is amply established by our author. The amount of their import and export trade in 1860 exceeded 80,000,000*l.*, or three times that of Spain. Their trade with England alone amounted to 25,000,000*l.*, whilst our trade with Spain was only 5,000,000*l.* With France their trade was in 1860 nearly equal to that with Great Britain, but it increased more rapidly, and employed 1027 French ships. M. Calvo even expects that the States of South America will, sooner or later, absorb the whole trade of the world, considering their progress in spite of intestine troubles. These troubles he does not, however, look upon with unmixed regret. Without them the advance of civilisation might have been yet longer retarded; and they were more necessary for the civil and intellectual emancipation of the people than the Revolution of 1789 in France (p. xxii.). In these young and growing countries they were less hurtful than they would have been in Europe, and the vitality of society enables the people to derive from the worst agitation an impulse to further progress (p. iv.). As it is, they have done more for railways, telegraphs, and the physical conditions of civilisation than the mother-country whose yoke they threw off. In pointing out the superiority of Chili and Paraguay to the other republics, M. Calvo attributes the peace and prosperity of Brazil to the stability imparted by monarchy, and to the wholesome fear inspired by the immense majority of the African population (p. xxviii.).

71. In Mr. Bonamy Price's lecture on the Venetian Quadrilateral the political point of view prevails over the purely military. The argument goes to show, from a description of the position, that the possession of the great Italian fortresses is essential to the existence of the Austrian monarchy; and the lecturer, though he explains very accurately the nature of the ground and the strategic relations of the rivers and mountains, scarcely even touches on the peculiar character of the system of fortification. Whilst Peschiera and Mantua are frontier fortresses, and therefore constructed for a prolonged defence, Verona, on the second line, being protected by the others, is a model-fortress of that open description which is suited not to a garrison, but to an army, and gives every facility for the defenders to adopt the offensive. This is the great engineering merit of the works of the Quadrilateral, while it is tolerably certain that the weakest point is the defence of the lagoons of Venice. Mr. Price treats with rightful scorn "the sonorous principles of nationalities and geographical limits," which were the pretext for the conquest of Lombardy; but he does not pursue the enquiry into the legitimacy of the Austrian claim to Milan. For the military argument which he forcibly urges applies only to the possession of that part of Italy which still remains

to Austria. No great passes open the Tyrolese Alps west of the Lake of Garda. The line of the Adige is the great defence of Austria; and the Adige is commanded by the plateau on its right bank, and can only be held with that of the Mincio. The strategic importance of that outer line was proved long before the Quadrilateral existed, in the campaigns of Eugene. Its value is as great for Germany as for Austria. A great military authority, the Prussian statesman Radowitz, who was one of the most determined adversaries of Austria, explained, in the Frankfort parliament, the consequences to be apprehended from the loss of Verona: "Our expensive system of defence on the Upper Rhine would be useless; the positions in the Black Forest, the strong fortress of Ulm and the Upper Danube would be turned. The conflict would begin in the plains of Carinthia and Bavaria instead of the Upper Rhine. One-third of the German empire would be lost without firing a shot, simply by the strategic disposition of the two parties. . . . If Germany is to be safe at a point which has been menaced for centuries, the territory of Venice and the country as far as the Mincio must not fall into the hands of strangers." Mr. Price might have cited in favour of Austria the saying of Montalembert: "Un état sans forteresses est dans la nécessité d'être toujours vainqueur." He says with perfect truth that "the Quadrilateral is perhaps the most magnificent economy in Europe; for it makes every soldier do the work of three." And he concludes with a passage which is the deepest in his lecture, showing that the necessity of the Austrian occupation of Venetia has increased in consequence of the expansion and aggressiveness of a united Italy.

72. The Northern view of the American question is put forward with great ability and quite remarkable fairness by Mr. Dicey in his *Six Months in the Federal States*. Politically, the "case of the North" rests, he tells us, on three grounds,—the absence of any grievance of sufficient importance to justify secession, the present loss and inconvenience which would result from a partition of the United States, and the future danger of still further subdivisions. As to the first of these, it is no doubt true that the Southern States went out of the Union as a matter rather of sentiment than of policy. Whatever dangers they might have had to fear from the rise of the Republican party to power belonged to a still distant future; and under the threat of secession the Federal Government would willingly have given every possible security against their occurrence. At no time, from the election of Mr. Lincoln to the present moment, has it been possible to doubt that in order to keep the South in the Union, or to induce it to return to it, the North would have guaranteed slavery in the Slave States, and even have left it an open question in the free territories. Still all that this necessarily amounts to is, that at the moment of secession the North had the best claim on our sympathies. But to hold that the South judged wrongly is one thing; to hold that the North had any right to force it

into judging differently is another. The presumption against secession is rebutted by the stronger presumption against coercion. To prove that A is justified in compelling B to undo what he has done, it is not enough to establish that B was originally wrong in doing it. The other two arguments resolve themselves into questions of interest. If the maintenance of the Union is really essential to the national existence of the Northern States, they have a good right to fight for it. Self-preservation is the first instinct of communities as well as of individuals. But it is hard to see that the Northern States, with a population of twenty millions and an aggregate area nearly three times that of Austria, Prussia, France, and Italy, taken together, cannot exist as an independent nation without the addition of the Confederate States. If it is not a question of existence, but simply of aggrandisement, we can see no reason for subjugating the South, which would not equally justify France in extending her boundary to the Rhine, or Spain in annexing Portugal. It will be seen that Mr. Dicey leaves the constitutional aspect of the question out of sight altogether. In his eyes, the secession of the South is simply a rebellion, to be judged as any other rebellion. Indeed, in more than one place he draws a parallel between it and the Indian mutiny, not of course as to the manner in which the contest has been carried on, but with respect to the allowances which Englishmen ought to make for the excesses of those who are engaged in suppressing it. It never seems to occur to him that the fact of the seceding States being sovereign communities, united with the remaining States of the Union by a special compact, but owing them no allegiance, and holding a position of perfect equality with them, makes any difference between the two cases. And yet, where there is no common superior, with whom but with the parties to a contract can it rest to determine whether that contract shall be put an end to? It is no answer to this question to say that the interpretation of the Federal compact is delegated by the terms of the Constitution to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is the minister of the several communities, appointed to arbitrate between them in certain given cases. This was the position successfully, as we think, defended by Mr. Webster against Mr. Calhoun. But when the latter asserted on behalf of the legislature of an objecting State the right to nullify an act of the Federal legislature on the ground of illegality, he ignored the machinery provided by the Constitution for the settlement of questions of interpretation. Here we have a question, not of interpretation, not whether a contract is broken in this or that particular, but whether it continues any longer to answer its objects. No mere agent of the parties, no mere arbitrator chosen to decide a particular class of questions arising under the contract, can be competent to determine this more general and fundamental issue. That must be the work either of a common superior to whom both sides owe allegiance, or where, as in this instance, no such common superior exists, of the contracting parties themselves. It is only fair, however, to Mr. Dicey, to say that he fully recognises the excep-

tional character of the United States Government. The most eager advocate of State rights could not wish for a more telling enumeration of the reserved powers than is to be found in his chapter on "State Constitutions." "Absolute powers on all questions of life and death,—law-making, taxation, regulation of religion, social relations, and political institutions,—are conceded to it within its own limits. . . . If New York chose to restrict the qualification of an elector to persons possessed of a million dollars, and to reduce the government to an oligarchy; if Massachusetts declared marriage void and illegal; if Louisiana confined the franchise to Roman Catholics; or if Wisconsin passed an agrarian law,—the Federal Government would have neither the right nor the power to interfere." And yet it does not appear to strike him, that where the individual States have preserved such vast and undefined elements of their original sovereignty, the determination of one or more to put an end to the Union between them cannot, morally or constitutionally, be compared to the case of an ordinary insurrection.

The reason of this seeming inconsistency is to be found in the character imparted to the contest by the element of slavery. Apart from this, no doubt, Mr. Dicey would be quite willing to admit the constitutional right of secession. Indeed, he goes much further than this, and professes himself ready, under ordinary circumstances, to acknowledge the simple right of revolution even without any cause whatever. "'I do not like you, Dr. Fell,' may be a very good argument for a schoolboy; but when a nation can give no better reason why for a revolution, I confess that my sympathies are with the established government. . . . Still, to my mind, the right of every every nation, wisely or unwisely, to choose its own government is so important a principle, that I should admit its application to the case of the South, if it were not for the question of slavery." He is convinced that the success of the North implies the emancipation of the Negro, and this fact settles at once on which side his sympathies and those of Englishmen generally ought to lie. Now, assuming the truth of this conviction, and setting aside altogether such questions as whether the Northern States have any better right to undertake an anti-slavery crusade in Georgia or Louisiana than in Cuba or Brazil, we deny the soundness of this view. Underneath and beyond the slavery question there lies, as Mr. Dicey very clearly points out, the Negro question. When you have set your slave free, what are you to do with him? In all the three possible solutions of this problem Mr. Dicey sees equal and almost insuperable difficulties. Instincts of race are too powerful to admit of amalgamation. "A black brother can be tolerated, but a black brother-in-law is an idea not pleasant to the Anglo-Saxon mind." And besides this, the physical powers of the mixed race is said by the best American physiologists to be inferior to that of either the pure white or the pure black. It becomes feebler with each successive intermixture, and, "as a rule, dies out with scrofulous diseases." As to colonisation, it is impos-

sible to transport four millions of people who are strongly attached to their homes. If they remain in the South as a free population side by side with white labourers, they will gradually be driven from the field. The Negro dislikes work; the Anglo-Saxon loves it. What chance will the one have by the side of the other? Mr. Dicey falls back, therefore, in despair on the abolitionist solution—settle the slavery question, and leave the Negro question to Providence; in other words, set the slaves free, and then let them shift for themselves. But grave responsibilities are not to be thus evaded. The race which has grown and multiplied in the United States, and formed one of the chief instruments of their industrial greatness, deserves a better fate at their hands than to be set free only that it may ‘slowly die out, by a diminution of their prolific powers, and disappear with more or less of suffering.’ The case of the Negro is not parallel with that of the Indian. There is no apparently irreversible law against his living side by side with the white man. The numbers of the race have increased under all the hardships of slavery; and it is merely an ingenious cruelty to say, We will wash our hands of the whole subject—we will set them free at once, without any preparation or training, and trust to the inevitable law to get them out of our way as quickly as possible. It is the duty of the Americans to legislate for the real welfare of the Negro, not simply for the relief of their own eccentric consciences. For good or for evil, the fate of the slave must rest with the free inhabitants of the Slave States. The share the Free States may once have had in the responsibility of slavery has been removed, in a great measure, by the secession of the South; and they had better be content with working out the problem of emancipation for themselves on the smaller scale and under the less difficult conditions which it presents in the Border States. “The recent policy of the Abolitionists,” says Mr. Dicey, “is explained better by a saying of Wendell Phillips than by any elaborate explanation. Some one asked him how he, who had been proclaiming for years ‘that the Union was the fruit of slavery and the devil,’ could be now an ardent advocate of this very Union. His answer was ‘Yes; but I never expected then that slavery and the devil would secede from the Union.’” We suspect that when once the devil has “seceded,” whether from an individual or a community, the wisest policy is to let him go. To force him back in the hope of converting him is at once quixotic and imprudent.

But although we dissent entirely from Mr. Dicey’s conclusions, we must not omit to notice the admirable frankness with which he states all the facts he comes across, whether they make for or against his argument. If he fails to convince us, it is from no want of ability, candour, or moderation: it is from the inherent weakness of the cause he has undertaken to defend.

73. The enthusiasm of all classes in the Confederate States on behalf of the war is confirmed by testimony, the more valuable because unwilling, in *Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army*. The writer

warns the Federals that until they display an earnestness in some degree approaching that of their adversaries, they have little chance of subduing them. Every sacrifice that is asked of the people of the Southern States is at once made. In the Mississippi Valley, when General Beauregard wanted gun-metal, every church, court-house, factory, public institution, and plantation, gave up its bell; and fire-irons, candlesticks, gas-fittings, and door-knobs were sent to the foundries in wagon-loads. The women of Alabama contributed 200,000 dols. to build a gun-boat for the Alabama River; and throughout the Confederacy they have given vast quantities of jewellery to be sold for similar purposes. Of Union feeling Mr. Stevenson saw no traces. In fact, the opposition to secession, which did undoubtedly exist in the South before the war, never went beyond a desire that the State-vote should be given in favour of staying in the Union; and this was perfectly compatible with a full determination to abide by the State decision, on whatever side it should be given. Nor is it only by the sacrifices actually made that the value of this entire sympathy between the Government and the people is to be measured. It secures to the troops the earliest and most trustworthy information of the enemy's movements, and invests them, in whatever part of the country they may find themselves, with all the advantages of special local knowledge. Even the Negroes are more willing, according to Mr. Stevenson, to give intelligence to the Southerners than to the Federals; and it is of much more use to the former than to the latter when it is given. They are much better able, from long experience, to test its correctness—a point of no small importance in dealing with an inferior race. Ignorance how far the slaves' habits of observation and desire to tell the truth may be trusted must often prevent the Federal officers from availing themselves of really useful information when it comes to them through this channel.

74. So much of the aspect of society as could be seen by a passing traveller during a street saunter, or from the windows of a railway-carriage, is very well given in *Two Months in the Confederate States*. The writer sailed from New York to New Orleans in October 1862, passed the Confederate lines to Jackson in Mississippi, and thence went across Alabama and Georgia to Charleston, and through the Carolinas to Richmond. Of the physical comfort of his tour he does not speak very highly. Before the war the whole rolling stock of the Southern railways came from the North. The old cars are therefore greatly out of repair; the new ones it has been necessary to make are of the plainest possible character. There is not much inducement to unnecessary journeys, when they have to be made in filthy carriages with broken seats, unglazed windows, and doors which cannot be shut. Nor is the traveller soon at the end of his troubles. The speed of the trains has been reduced to ten miles an hour, at which rate it is believed that the existing rails will last till the end of 1864. By that time the companies expect to be able to relay the great military routes with the new rails in

stock, those to be manufactured in the South, and those taken up from the less important lines. So far, however, as civilians are concerned, the less inducement the better, since as it is there are not means of transport enough for the troops and the sick and wounded. This is one cause at least of the scarcity which prevails in many parts of the Southern States. Every where throughout his journey the English merchant saw immense tracts of ungathered Indian corn which there was no way of conveying to a market. Salt is the article of food of which there is most need, as without this the people cannot cure their hogs. They have no taste for fresh meat; and they look forward with great dread to a time when, if they cannot get salt, they must take to eating beef and mutton. Of course the value of all kinds of foreign supplies has immensely risen, though notwithstanding the blockade enough still come in to furnish almost daily sales by auction in the sea-port towns. All the old stocks had been sold by their owners at an enormous profit, and the money realised invested again, chiefly in cotton, which had been bought for about 3*d.* per lb., and left stored in small quantities, and in places remote from any river or railway. In spite of the rise of prices, the English merchant found that all goods which had run the blockade were first offered to the Government, apparently without any compulsion, at the regulation price of the week, though this was sometimes only half what might have been obtained in the sale-room. From this cause, as well as from the absence of contractors, and the unwillingness of the troops to draw their pay as long as they can avoid it, he reckons the cost of the war to the Confederates at only a fourth of what it is to the Federals.

There is plenty of confirmation to be found in this work of the enthusiasm every where displayed in support of the war, and the utter absence of any Union sentiment in the South. Even the conscription does not excite ill-will. Men enough are left in every district to carry on its necessary business; and for the rest every man knows that he must consider himself as under arms, but that he will not be sent for unless he is really wanted. The author was at Richmond when the news arrived of the Democratic victories in the November elections; and he was surprised to find no importance attached to them. The Democrats were hated even more than the Republicans. The feeling towards England was hardly so bitter as he expected, and, with rather a curious distortion of facts, it was believed that in England the people were on the side of the Confederates, and the aristocratic and mercantile classes against them.

75. Sir Peter Braila, formerly a professor at the Ionian University, and now a member of the government of the Seven Islands, who published in 1851 "*An Examination of First Ideas and Principles*" (*περὶ πρώτων ἰδεῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν δοκίμιον*), has followed up that manual by a purely metaphysical and psychological treatise, which is strictly a development and continuation of his earlier work. The subject is divided into two books, *βιβλία*; each of these into parts,

μέρη; sections, *τμήματα*; and chapters, *κεφάλαια*; as well as subdivided into minor sections, which, for the convenience of reference are numbered continuously throughout. Book the first, on the "theory of intelligence," treats of "first ideas" (*πρῶται ἔννοιαι*), "perception by touch" (*ἄφῃ*), and the other senses, which certain of the ancient Greeks held to constitute collectively *αἴσθησις* and *ἐπιστήμη*, *i.e.* accurate knowledge gained through sensation. The author proceeds to discuss "language," "reflection," "association of ideas," "memory," "imagination," "habit," "conversation;" and he has a section on those peculiarities of the human mind which seem withdrawn from our direct control, but are connected with imagination, dreaming and conscious existence in sleep. All these themes are separately treated of in short chapters and sections, precisely after the manner of Aristotle's *Ethics*; and though the subject is not favourable to a very lucid style, and modern Greek is hardly so familiar to educated English readers as the ancient dialect, the writer's views will be found to be expressed, on the whole, with such clearness, that they may be followed with but little trouble by any one tolerably familiar with Aristotle. The second part, on "logical reasoning," *λογικὴ*, contains disquisitions on "truth," the "authority of conscience," "apprehension" (*ἀντίληψις*), the "influence of language," "certainty, doubt, and probability," "faith and scepticism." These subjects are treated much as Locke or Paley discusses them, always with reference to intuition, and not merely to educational habits. The second section discusses the "causes of error," and the finding of truth objectively in relation to man, to the material universe, and to God. Here the author compares the inductive reasoning of Newton with the Baconian doctrines of causes and effects, and takes a somewhat disparaging view of the latter. The third section is on "demonstration," *ἀποδεικτικὴ*, and is treated in great measure geometrically, with the aid of diagrams. Section three is on "the beautiful," as illustrated by the arts. Book the second is entitled *ἀγαθολογία*, and has considerable resemblance to Aristotle's *Politics*. "As logic," says the author, p. 215, "has for its object truth, and the consideration of what is beautiful (*καλολογία*) has the *τὸ καλόν*, so the consideration of what is good (*i.e.* publicly or privately beneficial) has the *τὸ ἀγαθόν*. And since it is this to which the definition of *πρᾶξις*, human action, pertains, it follows that the question of *good* completes the second section of philosophical science, just as the two preceding complete the first, which has regard to intelligence." This book contains disquisitions on the "motives of human action," "the nature of spirit," "the passions," "duty to ourselves, to our neighbour, and to God," "virtue and happiness." The latter part of the work is chiefly engaged with the discussion of justice in its private and public relations, and with a very remarkable sketch of a philosophy of history.

It appears to us, on rather a cursory examination, that there is much originality in this treatise, and that both the arrangement of

subjects and the manner in which they are regarded as depending on each other in regular sequence is in a great measure new. The author takes a very modest view of his own performance. He says it is of necessity a mere compendium, which is curtailed of many accessories he would gladly have introduced. "Philosophy," he remarks (Preface, p. 6), "is preëminently the offspring of ages and the reflection of the divinest spirits that have become known to us in history. And since it was in ancient Hellas that it received its noblest and sublimest exposition, it is the more needful that a modern Greek who treats of the same subject should have a due sense of humility. We shall think ourselves fortunate, if the school to which we belong shall consider this little work not unworthy of its attention and its favourable judgment. We offer it as a slight return for our own acquired knowledge (*ὡς εὐτελὲς δίδακτρον*), to show our profound affection; and we hope our beloved country will receive it in a kindly spirit, as a proof of our entire devotion, and as conveying a fervent prayer that intellectual greatness in philosophical studies may revive among us,—that brightest and purest ray of our ancestral glory."

76. Dr. Haughton's new theory of muscular action is an extremely ingenious extension of an observation of Dr. Wollaston. In the Croonian Lecture, read before the Royal Society on the 16th of November 1809, that distinguished philosopher called attention to the sound, or *susurrus*, produced by the muscles when in a state of contraction. Dr. Haughton has endeavoured to determine the musical value of this sound, and thus determine the rate of muscular contraction. Aided by some friends, he concludes that it is CCC or DDD, that is, two octaves below bass C and D, which would give for DDD thirty-six vibrations per second. By means of this determination of the limits of muscular contraction, he next attempted to find the quantity of work stored up in muscle; this he found, approximately of course, for one pound-weight of the central portion of the deltoid muscle and the supra-spinatus muscle of the arm, to be 1.56 ton lifted one foot. His calculation of the work done in a day by the human heart is 124.6 foot tons, or that weight lifted one foot, his total mean labouring force of a man being 340.2 foot tons. He throws out a suggestion that the *tinnitus aurium*, or singing in the ears, is a sign of the rate at which nervous action takes place in the brain. On one occasion he estimated the musical value of the tinnitus in his own ear to be the octave above treble C, that is five octaves above the susurrus, and therefore corresponding to a rate of vibration thirty-two times faster than that of the muscle, or 1024 times in the second.

These observations, as the first direct attempt to measure the amount of force engaged in vital functions, are of the highest interest. They are in perfect harmony with the notion of Liebig, that with every motion of the muscles, every act of volition, a portion of the muscles and cerebral and nervous matter is decomposed; so that the

accurate determination of the vital force of muscle would throw light upon the force engaged in organic chemical compounds. There is also a direct relation between these speculations and the results obtained some years ago by Mr. Sullivan; by vibrating for a considerable time certain unstable compounds, especially those containing chlorine substituted for hydrogen, they were decomposed. We recommend this little book of Dr. Haughton to the serious attention of physiologists.

77. The object of Professor Ansted's Rede Lecture is "to point out some of the mutual relations that exist between various departments of science, but especially the manner in which all natural sciences relate to geology, and geology to all the others." There are few investigations, the author well observes, which are more interesting and instructive than those which illustrate the harmony that pervades all nature, and show that all the parts are related in such a manner as is explicable only on the theory of *design*. Ingenious as were the speculations of the ancient philosophers who, like Heraclitus and Epicurus, excluded such design or *πρόνοια*, and referred every thing to physical necessity, they failed to note the perfect correlation by which the whole system is sustained, so that every form of matter, organic or inorganic, has its dependence on something else. Cicero, however (*De Nat. Deor.* i. § 9), approaches very closely to a perception of this great fact, which must be the basis of all scientific reasoning: 'Omnes autem ejus partes atque omnia membra tum facillime noscuntur, quum totæ quæstiones scribendo explicantur. Est enim admirabilis quædam continuatio seriesque rerum, ut alia ex alia nexa et omnes inter se aptæ colligatæque videantur.'

Professor Ansted gives us in this lecture a rapid and comprehensive, but very admirable and interesting *résumé* of physical science generally, as brought up to the present time. The advance of science, in truth, is in these days so rapid, the views it almost daily opens before us are so vast, that no ordinary student can keep up with it, unless by the assistance of those master-minds who, while themselves perfectly conversant with all the discoveries of the age, will condescend occasionally to present them in a brief and popular form. The author well observes that we are all apt to dwell too much on detail, without remembering the true place of detail. Great facts may become trifles when considered as subordinate to the vast operations which have been going on from countless time in the universe; while, on the other hand, minute results may derive great importance simply from their bearing on other branches of science.

The Professor's remarks on the part which *water* has performed in arranging the earth's crust are extremely interesting, and will appear to many, who have speculated largely on the igneous theory, to be rather startling. He refers almost every thing to water; very little, and only superficially, to the direct action of fire. The notion

held by many, that the earth is a globe of liquid fire, with a solid crust only a hundred miles thick,—like an egg held in and by its shell,—he rejects, as contrary to the most recent and careful investigations.

Volcanos and earthquakes he regards as never very deep-seated, and usually as having their focus or seat of action between five and about thirty geographical miles below the surface, which would be represented by the very slightest scratch with a needle on the surface of the egg-shell. Even granite he refers primarily, if not entirely, to the action of water; mineral veins and crystallised incrustations, even gems and the most anomalous chemical changes and combinations, he thinks more readily explained by the action of water than of fire. And, indeed, our common observation favours his view. What is a flint, for instance, but silica aggregated in a state of solution round some organic matter? An agate, when polished, bears the most certain evidence of having been deposited in successive coats round some nucleus; why not then garnets, diamonds, and other gems? Crystals of quartz, so hard that they will readily cut glass, may be found in almost any crevice, cavity, or *geode*; even in the interior of flints. These must have been produced by the infiltration of water: then why not also the quartz and felspar, much more the peculiarly *stratified* mica, in granite? Pieces of rock-crystal occur (and such were known to the ancients, and much prized by them³), which contain drops of water within them,—apparently the residue of a fluid from which the crystal itself was concentered. That iron was of aqueous deposit has long been known even to those who were not prepared to believe, as Professor Ansted does, that even gold and silver contained in the hardest rocks were deposited by water, under certain conditions of pressure and heat. As iron appears to be one of the principal ingredients in the solar system—meteoric stones (so called) being generally of more or less pure iron—and as it occurs both in animal and vegetable life, it may some day be found that the vast deposits of it on our earth are largely due to the decomposition of organic matter. For instance, it may often be seen oozing from beds of turf in the form of peroxide, and as such it must have been the colouring matter of the red sandstones.

So far from believing in the liquid interior of the earth, which has been deduced from the gradually increasing temperature in deep mines, from the phenomena of hot springs, volcanos, the form of the earth, and its violently ruptured crust, Professor Ansted cites the remarkable conclusion recently arrived at by the most profound mathematical investigations, which tend to show that the substance of the earth must, on the whole, be more rigid than steel. From other calculations it has been inferred that, with a solid crust much less than one thousand miles thick, the earth would not preserve its figure with the perfect rigidity which it must be assumed, from known data, to possess.

³ See Claudian, *Epigr.* vi.—xiv.

Professor Ansted touches briefly, but well, on the questions of the antiquity of man on the earth, and the gradual change and succession, through a vast period, of all organic forms. Either by this view, or by another and less probable theory of many sudden extinctions and new creations, we can alone explain the geological fact, that every form of organic life was, in the ancient world, totally different from what it is now. "Can we admit," says the author, "that the Being who has so arranged the relations of heat and cold in this atmosphere, land and water, that each must constantly interpenetrate the other, and by their mutual action produce incessant alteration, without involving injury or destruction; that this Almighty Power has so contrived his noblest work,—the infinity of life that for countless ages has peopled the world,—as to be fitted only for one brief period, so that when a foreseen and prearranged change in the surrounding material conditions has become sufficiently great, species must be annihilated in order to be followed by fresh creations, no better fitted than their predecessors for the conditions they are forced to put up with? It seems to me that a need for miraculous interference of this kind would suggest weakness and incompleteness in the original design; and as I am not prepared *à priori*, and in the face of much evidence to the contrary, to admit such weakness, I cannot entertain the notion."

78. In the summer of 1862 the conductors of the journal *l'Italie*, published in the French language at Turin, commenced the publication of a review of the current scientific literature of Italy, by the French geologist, M. de Mortillet. The articles published during the latter half of the year 1862 have now been reprinted in a small volume at Paris. It is proposed to bring out a similar volume annually. There is much more activity among scientific men in Italy than is generally supposed; but the results of their labours have hitherto but slowly, if at all, become known to the scientific world, unless when read to the French Institute, or noticed by German journalists. The transactions of the learned societies of Italy are rarely to be found complete in our public libraries; and we have found it much easier to get books from Kasan than from Naples. We believe, therefore, that M. de Mortillet will not only confer a benefit on the scientific men of the rest of Europe, but will stimulate the Italians themselves. Considering the difficulties always attending a first attempt, the *Revue* is very well done.

79-83. Towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, two important events took place in eastern Asia,—the discovery of the Ochotzk Sea by the Russians, and the conquest of China by the Mandchou race. The same desire to reach the treasures of the tropics which inflamed many of the Crusaders, and which, though it may have been only a secondary agent in producing the Crusades themselves, was the primary one in the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century, was also that which excited the followers of Jermak,

the Cossack conqueror of Siberia, to advance farther and farther until they reached the eastern ocean. There they heard of a great river flowing to the sea, through a richly-wooded and corn-growing country which abounded in furs, rich silk-stuffs, and metals—even, it was said, including gold. Similar reports were given by Tungous hunters in the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal. The great river in question was the Kara Mouran or black river, the Sakhalin of the Mandchou, now known as the Amour. The news of this wonderful land reached Jenis'ejs'k, and Toms'k at the same time, between the local governments of which there existed a considerable rivalry ; but before either of them had organised an expedition, the new-named Wojewóda, or commander, of Jakouts'k, which was at first governed by Jenis'ejs'k, but was now independent, anticipated his colleagues, and in 1643 fitted out an expedition of 132 men, chiefly volunteers, adventurous fur-hunters who allowed themselves to be registered as Cossacks, and placed it under the command of Poyarkow. The expedition, by ascending the Aldan and some of its confluent, and crossing the Stanowoj mountains, reached the Amour by sailing down the Dseya to its junction with that river. They then sailed down the great river to its mouth ; and from thence, after an absence of three years, Poyarkow returned to Jakouts'k. The party carried a single half-pound gun, and were apparently ill provided with arms and other necessities. They appear to have suffered dreadfully, fully one-third of them having perished from hunger ; and for a time they were obliged to live on the dead bodies of their comrades or their enemies.

Three years after the return of Poyarkow, a new expedition under Khabárov, composed of about half the number of volunteers, started by a new way up the Olekma, which by means of the Urkan led directly to the upper Amour. Here a fixed settlement was made, which was maintained by the continuous influx of fresh adventurers. Khabárov, like his predecessor, found the country of the upper Amour and lower Dseya occupied by agricultural tribes living in small settlements or villages, many of which were surrounded by trenches and walls, with covered ways to the water. Small towers commanded the fields, and within the walls was a kind of citadel. Long before the arrival of the Cossacks, the country of the upper Amour had apparently been the battle-field of armies, which ravaged the country and destroyed its agriculture. Milowánov found in 1681, at Argoun (Sakhalin oula Khotun) old fortifications, which he described and of which he drew plans. The natives did not in the least remember who were the builders of these fortifications, or where the inhabitants had gone, although they knew that the deserted fields belonged to the Daurians, or Dahurians, who retired from the banks of the river on the arrival of the Cossacks.

The indigenous people submitted to a tribute of a certain number of skins per family annually ; the Chinese, however, determined to dislodge the invaders. The posts which the Russians had established were attacked, among others the fortified one of Albazin, which was

twice besieged, the first time in 1685, when the Russians capitulated, and were allowed to leave. Two months after the capitulation they reoccupied the place; and in the following summer of 1686 it was again besieged. The garrison held out until 1687, when the Chinese raised the siege, in consequence of preliminaries for the negotiation of a treaty having been entered into. The anxiety of the Chinese to dislodge the Russians seems to have arisen altogether from the conduct of the Russians themselves, who plundered the country, and murdered the unarmed inhabitants. Khabárov, indeed, in his voyage down the Amour acted more like a wild-beast than a man: he landed only where he saw villages, wasted the country, murdered the inhabitants, and burned their houses.

At this time the Russians attached more importance to a profitable trade with China than to the conquest of the Amour. Hence it was that during the second siege of Albazin they made overtures to the Chinese, which were well received, and the negotiations above mentioned were entered into. They terminated in the treaty of Nertshins'k in 1689, by which the limits of the two empires were regulated. The whole of the course of the Amour, from the point where that river is formed by the union of its upper two great branches, the Chilka and the Argoun, was restored to China, as well as the wooded country which extends from the north of the river to the mountains; the basin of the Chilka and the left side of that of the Argoun,—that is, the territories known as Dauria or Dahuria,—remained to Russia. Until within the last few years these were the acknowledged boundaries of the two empires. The wild country north of the Amour being, however, very little known, the limits were badly defined; and consequently the Chinese, in tracing their frontier, placed it considerably within the line which the Russian commissioners intended. Russia has thus for more than two centuries been in possession, without knowing it, of a territory about one-eighth of the area of France. Tribute of skins arrived every year at Irkoutsk, from tribes of whom the Russian officials scarcely knew the name, and not at all the home. Although Pallas and other Russian travellers had visited Lake Baikal and the Transbaikalian steppes, yet no one had ever advanced to the extreme frontiers along the confluent of the Amour; so that this region was as little known eighteen years ago as at the time of the treaty of Nertshins'k.

According to the treaty of 1689 the Chinese were to erect marks along the frontier, and inscriptions in several languages containing the stipulations of the treaty. The Russians believed that the last of these marks on the Stanowoj mountains was on the Gorbiza; but as there are two rivers to which this name appears to be given,—the little Gorbiza, and Gorbiza-bira, or great Gorbiza, or Amadshár,—the Russians assumed the boundary to be the small Gorbiza, while the Chinese certainly intended it to be the Amadshár. It appears that in 1741 Müller, to whom we owe almost all our knowledge of the history of Northern Asia, was of opinion that the Amadshár, and not the small Gorbiza, was the boundary; and in the Atlas of Russia, published in

1745 by the Russian Academy, this view of Müller was adopted. But nothing was done to rectify the frontier, nor was any further notice apparently taken of the matter until 1832, when Col. Ladyshins'kij, who was head of the mission in Pekin, journeyed on the Amour; and in a despatch to the governor of E. Siberia, which we believe has not yet been published, proposed to have the boundary-marks and inscriptions sought for. The merit of having established the real boundary, and thrown light upon the true geography of the Stanowoj mountains, is due to Middendorff.

Already in 1681 the navigation of the Amour was looked upon as a means of reaching India. In 1716 a singular proposition was made by two merchants to the Russian Senate, to the effect that, by the union of many navigable rivers and lakes, the Russian merchants might go from Archangel to the Oriental Ocean, and consequently arrive easily and by a short way at Japan and the East Indies. The rivers which would be available for this purpose would be the Dwina, the Tafta, the Irtish, Oby, Keta, Jennissei, Angara, Baikal Lake, Chilka, and the Amour. This is certainly the most remarkable river system in the world; and the ideas of the two merchants have been in part realised, for a considerable traffic is carried on between Europe and Siberia by the Volga and Kama, instead of the Dwina and Tafta.

The great value which the free navigation of such a river as the Amour would have for the Russians is so obvious, that it is not surprising that various authors had drawn attention to the subject, and that some attempts were made to get permission from the Chinese, as was done, for instance, by the ambassador, Count Golóvkin, in 1806. Col. Ladyshins'kij appears to have even formed a plan for the military occupation of the whole district; and certain it is that before Middendorff's discovery the Russian government had come to the determination of getting possession of the Amour. The character of North-eastern Asia, the intense cold of winter, the danger and distance of the Arctic Seas of Kamtschatka and Ochots'k, and the distance of the latter from Irkouts'k, the centre of Siberian commerce, offered almost insuperable obstacles to the development of commerce and civilisation, while the possession of the Amour removed all these difficulties. A great river rising in the very heart of the continent opens up a water-way into seas which command the commerce of Japan and China. Besides the numerous ports along the coast, there is the safe bay between the mainland and the Island of Sakhalin or Tarakaï, which may be looked upon as part of Japan, from which it is only separated by the Strait of La Pérouse.

The discovery of Middendorff directed the attention of the Russian government to the region of the Amour, which at once became the subject of active study. From 1847 to 1849 a survey was taken of the south coast of the sea of Ochots'k, and of the gulf or strait into which the Amour debouches. Encouraged most actively by the governor-general of East Siberia, General Mouravjev, afterwards Count Mouravjev Amourski, reconnaissances of the river were made,

even up to the Chilka, between the years 1849 and 1854. Negotiations were then set on foot with the Chinese government, which was at that time embarrassed by the war with England and France; and on the 28th of May 1858 all the country north of the Amour to its embouchure was ceded to Russia, together with the whole coast region south of the Amour, a little farther south than the parallel of 42° N., and between the Ussuri, which falls into the Amour, and the sea, was ceded to Russia by the treaty of Aïgoun (Sakhalin oula Kho-tun). The proceedings of the Russians on the Amour seem to have been wholly unknown to Europeans; the first account, so far as we know, being that of the French missionary priest Venault, who travelled in Mandchouria in 1850, and sent an account of his journey to the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.

Since the annexation of the Amour country, a considerable scientific literature on the subject has grown up. Besides the part of the great work of Middendorff, now in course of publication, relating to the Stanowoj mountains, &c., there is the work of a scientific commission, now being published by M. Schrenk, well known for his travels in the Tundra of the Samoyedes. This commission consisted of M. Schrenk himself, M. Maximowicz's, from the Botanic Garden of St. Petersburg, and M. Permikin, the geologist (*Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande in den Jahren 1854-56*). From 1853 to 1856 they investigated the lower Amour, the Ussuri, and the southern part of the island of Sakhalin. It is to these naturalists that we owe the first accurate notions on the physical aspects, climate, vegetation, and population of the maritime region east of the Ussuri and south of the Amour. M. Maack, a distinguished zoologist, accompanied by a botanist, M. Gerstfeldt, who had paid special attention to ethnography, examined the valley of the Amour itself, from 1855 to 1857, with regard to its productions and natural resources; the result of their labours appeared in Russian in 1859, with a very beautiful atlas. A geological examination of the island of Sakhalin, by Von Maydall and Schmidt, was ordered in the year 1860. The results of this examination have not, we believe, been yet published; but as the centre of the island had not previously been penetrated by any European, the geology must present considerable interest in connection with that of Japan.

Before formal possession was taken of the Amourland, the description of its scenery, productions, and advantages as a colony, had produced a great enthusiasm for emigration thither. It became in the minds of many an Eldorado—a wonderful field for trade and the cultivation of corn. It was therefore important to obtain an exact knowledge of its geographical and physical constitution before premature immigration should lead to losses and suffering. The Geographical Society of St. Petersburg accordingly determined to devote its resources to this object. Towards the end of 1850 the society resolved to send a scientific expedition to investigate Kamtschatka, the Aleutian and Kurile islands, and the lands of the Russian American Company. Mr. Golubkow and Count Hutten Tschapsky

placed a sum of 57,000 silver roubles at the society's disposal for this purpose. Very complete instructions were drawn up and printed in 1852; but no suitable persons having been found at the time, and Petropaulowski harbour having been afterwards given up in consequence of the Anglo-French war, and the probability of the Amour being opened, the regions it was intended to investigate lost much of their importance, and the expedition has consequently not been sent. It was then proposed to examine the region between Irkoutsk and the Jablonoi mountains. The expedition, which at first was to consist of several divisions, was reduced to two:—an astronomico-topographical one, the direction of which was undertaken in 1853 by Mr. Schwartz; and a geological one, which did not come to any thing, as the persons to whom it was committed proposed conditions which the Geographical Society could not accede to. Mr. Schwartz, with the help of several of the corps of surveyors and topographical engineers, has completed his work, and has given to the Geographical Society, in seven sheets, a map of the greater part of eastern Siberia, founded upon astronomical determinations of places, and geodetical observations. It is said to be a work of great merit, which will throw much light upon the geography of eastern Asia. It is not, we believe, yet published.

The journey of Herr Gustav Radde, although undertaken for the Botanic Garden of St. Petersburg, may be considered as also fulfilling one of the objects of the expeditions of the Geographical Society. His chief duty was to collect plants and animals, and make notes upon points of natural history. Of the result of his observations we have as yet only his journals, forming the volume of Helmersen and Von Baer's *Beiträge*, and Dr. Regel's *Aufzählung*, &c. His journal is chiefly valuable for the notes on geographical botany, of which it may be said to consist almost entirely. Though it would be difficult to find a more matter-of-fact journal of a scientific expedition, and one in which the writer less frequently indulges in a digression, or attempts fine writing in his descriptions, which are often as arid as the steppes he paints, nevertheless a perusal of his book produces a most lifelike picture of the whole region on the mind. He certainly appears to be able almost unconsciously to seize upon every physical feature, every aspect of vegetable life necessary to produce a clear and unprejudiced conception of the region, and to present them all in a simple yet fresh and plastic form.

M. Radde, instead of giving his journal in a chronological order, divides the country examined into four regions: 1. The eastern Sajan mountains with the high Munkou-Xardik and the Kosso-Gol plateau; the Oka and Irkout system, and the S.W. angle of Lake Baikal, and the Kamara range: these formed the ground of investigation in 1859. 2. The Baikal Lake and its confluent, examined in 1855. 3. The Russian Dauria; the north end of the high Gobi; the most southern Apple Mountains with the Sochondo: examined in 1856. 4. The upper and middle course of the Amour; the Bureya or Kamni mountains especially: examined during 1857 and

1858. He gives in a short chapter at the end the chronological order of his journey.

Although, as we have said, the book is chiefly valuable for geographical botany, it contains many valuable observations on geography and climate, occasional ethnographical notes, and many on zoology. We can here only notice a few points which appear to us to possess special interest.

The Altaï, as is well known, trifurcates east of the sources of the Irtysh and Oby; the southern chain being the Etagh or great Altaï, the central the Tangnou-oula and its eastern continuation the Khangai, and the northern the Sajan and its eastern continuation the wild Ergik-Targak-Taigan. The last may be considered to end in the great lateral valley formed by the basin of the Kosso-Gol, westward of which a great snow-chain, which does not seem to be properly indicated on any, even recent, maps, joins the Ergik-Targak-Taigan with the Tangnou. North of the Kosso-Gol lies a mighty mountain node, the southern declivity of which slopes down to the lake, which according to Radde's barometrical measurement is 11,452 feet high. From this node there runs in an E.S.E. direction a high range, the profile of which is as peculiar as it is picturesque. This range is called the Gurbi, or Uráll, or Tunsinski alps. It is a true continuation of the Sajan, and connects the latter with the Baikal systems. The great node in question is called the Munkou-Xardik (or eternal snow), and curiously enough is not mentioned by Ritter or by A. von Humboldt, unless the Mondergon-oula of the latter, which is stated to be not more than one-third of the height found by Radde, be it. To the north of this mountain stretches a high land very thinly peopled, in which rise a number of parallel streams. These all unite with the lower Angara, which then, under the name of the lower Tunguska, constitutes the largest of the S.E. confluents of the Jennissei, connecting that river with Lake Baikal. The southern side of the mountain forms a passable slope without spurs to the shore of the Kosso-Gol, which is 5400 feet above the sea. Here the air is so dry that on the plains the winter is snowless. Nevertheless the lower slopes are richly wooded; and this is generally the case with the Sajan mountains.

The Munkou-Xardik consists of a highly felspathic granite, which on its northern side is in part covered with crystalline slate. Pallas did not think the Baikal system belonged to the Sajan. The rocks on the right bank of the upper Irkout, which are a continuation of the Kamara-daban, or chain which lies immediately south of Baikal, are considered by Radde to be geognostically identical. The Kentei and Apple Mountains, which are sensibly parallel to the great depression of Lake Baikal, and the northern slopes of which reach that lake over the region of the Selenga, appear also to be granite, but whether identical with that of the Munkou-Xardik and the eastern Sajan is not known. Radde draws a contrast between the mountains in question. He says the Kentei and Apple Mountains are uniformly rounded broad ridges, while the Sajan are wild peaked moun-

tains. The Sochondo, which may be looked upon as a mountain node of the Apple Mountains and Kentei range, and which, according to Radde's measurement, is 8260 feet high, is covered with immense spheroidal blocks of granite in the wildest chaos. The top of the mountain consists of a plateau a mile wide, with terrace-like ascents from the S.W. The jointing and shivering of the rocks is greater on the Apple Mountains than on the Sajan, but the latter appears to show evidence of more sudden elevation. The Tangnou and its continuation, the Khangai, appear to be connected with a high plateau, the northern margin of which is at least 3000 to 4000 feet high, but which falls away rapidly to the north; so that in the upper Selenga valley it is only 1500 feet, and at its mouth in Baikal 1363 feet.

The Munkou-Xardik is in many respects a place of very great interest. On its southern side the extreme limit of the larch was found to be 7244; it was here, however, very much crippled. The limits of the Alpine species of *Salix*, *Rhododendron*, and *Betula Nana* was about 7700 feet. Between 9700 and 9800 *Draba ochroleuca* (Bg.), *Papaver Alpinum* (Lin.), *Chrysosplenium alternifolium* (Lin.), and *Saxafraga cernua* (Lin.), marked the limits of phanerogamic herbaceous plants. The lower limit of the glacier on the southern side was found, on the 12th of July 1859, to be 10,514 feet, which was the limit of all phanerogamic plants; specimens, though dwarfed, of *Draba ochroleuca* reached to this point. The ridge of the mountain is perfectly east and west, and in places only 1 to 1½ feet wide. On the top of this ridge, and at a point about 60 feet below the culminating part, the temperature was 34.25° Fahr. On the 15th of June 1858 the snow converted into ice extended generally to the end of the glacier, while in 1859 it only lay in chasms at this part on the 6th and 24th of July. On the northern side the glacier was about four wersts long and four wersts broad, and reached a small lake called the Jechoi-Ekin-Nor, the most S.E. source of the Oka. This lake appears to be perpetually frozen, and affords an example of a phenomenon which must have occurred in the Swiss lakes during the glacial period. The northern side of this lake is formed by serrated precipices, behind which bold massive rock-spires tower to heights little short of the Munkou-Sardik itself. M. Radde was not able to determine the height of the lower end of the northern glacier, but he states that it was at all events above 7000 feet. The extreme dryness of the atmosphere is no doubt the cause of the great height at which the lower limit of the glacier occurs, and for the very peculiar phenomena presented by the distribution of vegetative life. Mr. Atkinson, in his *Oriental and Western Siberia*, published in 1858, mentions a visit to the glacier of the Munkou-Xardik; but his book contains scarcely any information of a scientific character, in addition to its excellent sketches, though he appears to have traversed some of the most curious regions of Northern Asia. It is greatly to be regretted that no geologist has thoroughly examined this region, the complete study of which has now become an absolute necessity in connection with the glacial theory. If any geological expedition

should be sent there, it is to be hoped that it will not confine its operations to noting down the general character of the rocks, and the collection of a few fossils, but will pay especial attention to the more modern deposits which have not received any attention hitherto, and to the chemical composition of the various granites, and the chemical changes which take place in the curious saline lakes of the steppes.

To the north of the Munkou-Xardik is a mountain from which flow some of the feeders of the Kantsha, a confluent of the Biellaya, upon which is situated the remarkable graphite works of M. J. P. Alibert. This enterprising man, who is said to be a Frenchman, having made a considerable sum of money by his speculations in Krasnoyarsk and Irkoutsk, was desirous of embarking it in gold-washings on the eastern Sajan mountains, which had hitherto been but little investigated. In searching for gold in the streams of the mountain in question, he discovered fragments and pebbles of the graphite, and, with the aid of a chief of the Soyoten, he soon discovered the vein itself. About sixteen years ago he commenced the first operations, and every thing, even to the arrangement of the rooms of the house he has built on the top of the mountain, has been conducted on a solid and permanent basis. The difficulties to be overcome were enormous, not the least being the height of the works, which are 7353 feet above the sea, and consequently are above the limits of trees. Roads had to be constructed, one of which occupied twelve years in making; even the cattle to be employed in the works had to be provided for by the establishment of a large farm at a height of 5500 feet. The plumbago is carried from the Alibert mountain to the village of Golumet, 200 wersts from the works, over bad roads, at a cost of from two to three silver roubles the pud of 36 lbs. Thence commences its long journey by the great road which now may be said to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean; this occupies six months. The graphite is packed in strong boxes made of the soft odoriferous wood of the *Pinus cembra*, each of which holds from 5 to 6½ puds. The sorting takes place in a building specially erected for the purpose, the best sorts being those having a kind of wood-like fibrous structure as well as being specifically lighter. The proprietor has erected a small church, richly decorated and provided with stained-glass windows made in Moscow, and near the church he has erected a large cross, which may be seen for miles round, and which serves to guide the traveller to this remarkable establishment.

The Alibert mountain is formed of a nucleus of granite and syenite, covered on its southern side with crystalline slates and limestone; the northern side is more or less escarped, but at the base of the escarpment the slates also occur. It is probable that a fault, or a series of parallel east and west faults with an upthrow to the south, may be traced along the whole Tunskinski alps. The graphite occurs in a principal vein six feet wide, which is almost perpendicular, dipping east in coarse crystalline syenite and varieties of

granite, and appearing to increase in thickness and quality in the shaft, which in 1859 was 80 feet deep. Graphite also occurs in the Slüdenka valley, at Lake Baikal, and in 1859 was discovered by coasting operations on the N.N.E. side of the mountain. Syenite and calc spar are considered to be the best vein-stones, and the workings usually follow them. The International Exhibition of 1862 contained a magnificent collection of graphite in the Russian division of the great central hall, some of the specimens cut into obelisks and busts, and some highly polished. This collection was contributed by M. Alibert.

A meteorological register is kept at the graphite works, and the observations are made three times a day. From the register it appears that the mean temperature of the year is about 23° Fahr., that of winter 1.5° , of spring 28.4° , and of summer 48° . The coldest month is December, which has a mean temperature of -2.2° . It is curious that the temperature at eight o'clock P.M. was nearly as high as at noon in July. The observations on the direction of the wind are curious: 553 observations give W., 1 N.W., 13 N., 12 N.E., 42 E., 7 S.E., and 8 S., while 459 indicate stillness. On the 21st of May 1858 there was an earthquake from S. to W. at $10\frac{1}{4}$ P.M., lasting five seconds, and on the 21st of June another lasting seven seconds. On the 19th of February 1859, at 25 minutes after three o'clock P.M., there was an earthquake from S.E. to N.W., lasting thirty seconds, and so strong that stoves and chimneys were injured. This region appears to be very subject to earthquake shocks. Humboldt⁴ says that Irkoutsk and the deep basin of Lake Baikal appear to be the centre of disturbances in eastern Siberia, and that in the month of February 1829 the town just mentioned suffered much from the violence of earthquakes. All these disturbances are rendered still more interesting by the existence of a great extinct volcano not far from the Alibert mountain, in the valley of Djem-a-louk, a tributary of the Oka, of which Mr. Atkinson has given a brief notice. It is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of this establishment of M. Alibert, to have a complete series of observations carried out there with corrected instruments.

M. Alibert has also been making some interesting experiments in acclimatization, having formed a garden on the eastern side of the mountain, in which, at a height of 7000 feet, he has succeeded in growing plants of the genera *Trollius*, *Aconitum*, *Veratrum*, *Saussurea*, *Aster*, *Sedum*, &c., as luxuriantly as in the Baikal valleys at an altitude of 4000 feet.

We must refer the reader to the book itself for the account of Lake Baikal and of its mountains, of the Daurian Steppes, of the Apple Mountains, and of the middle Amour and the Bureya Mountains. In his account of the birds of passage of the steppes, the author states the very curious fact that most of them travel with their craws full of small pebbles; some of the larger birds, such as the white stork (*Grus leucogeranus*), having as much as two ounces. A somewhat

⁴ *Fragmens de Géologie et de Climatologie Asiatiques*, tom. i. p. 125.

analogous mode of stopping the cravings of hunger is adopted by the wolf: in winter, when it cannot get food, it scratches the snow away, and scrapes some earth, which it swallows, and then lies quietly watching its prey.

The coloured plates accompanying M. Radde's book are excellent, and have an air of fidelity to nature: among them are three of especial interest, giving the types of vegetation in the leafy woods in the Bureya Mountains on the middle Amour, the pine-forests of the same region, and the prairie vegetation. The latter perfectly realises the graphic description of Alexander von Humboldt in his views of nature ("On Steppes and Deserts"). The map also deserves mention, as it is based upon the unpublished map of Schwarz, and is corrected by the observations of Radde.

All the plants collected by M. Radde were transferred to the herbarium of the Imperial Botanic Gardens at St. Petersburg, and are being enumerated by the superintendent of that establishment, Dr. Regel. He very wisely proposes to include in this enumeration a number of other collections from the same or adjoining districts of north-eastern Asia. With the exception of the monopetalous orders, which are to be elaborated by Herder, who has already been associated with Regel and Rach in the publication of a similar work,—the enumeration of the plants collected by Paullowsky and Stubendorff,—Dr. Regel will work up all the other orders, both cryptogamic and phanerogamic. M. Radde himself is to give a general review of the flora of the districts which he examined, and the distribution of the characteristic species, &c. The exceedingly rich collection of plants which the Botanic Gardens possesses affords abundant opportunities for revising many groups; and Dr. Regel accordingly proposes to revise several of the more difficult ones in separate publications. The review of the species of the genus *Thalictrum* and of the family of *Betulaceæ* are examples of what he proposes to do. In the chief work are to be found, in the shape of notes, which often occupy several pages, numerous synoptical monographs, such as those of *Pulsatilla*, *Aconitum*, *Corydalis*, &c.

From the great extent of the Russian empire, and especially from the peculiarity of the new region of the Amour, where the oak and many other plants found in Western Asia and Europe reappear without being found in the intermediate regions of central Siberia, its flora is at this moment of great interest to the botanist, since its careful study offers the means of reducing the innumerable specific forms and varieties which have been created by successive botanists, and of referring them to the types from which the influences of climate, soil, and other conditions have caused them to deviate. We believe Dr. Regel's labours so far to be in the right direction, and to be eminently worthy of the attention of scientific botanists. The *Flora Ussuriensis* is a valuable complement to the *Flora Amourensensis*: it is, however, to be regretted that, while the descriptions are in Latin, the observations are in Russian, which is understood by comparatively few persons in Western Europe.

84. There is certainly room for a good work upon comparative climatology in relation to physiology; but Dr. Mühry's book does not supply the want. It is full of valuable information, conscientiously and laboriously obtained, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere; but it is deficient in plan and arrangement. It is, indeed, little more than what an epitome of the valuable annual reports published by Professor Heusinger in Canstatt's *Jahresberichte* would be. There is also great confusion in the printing—not in the mechanical, but in the editorial work. The article "Mendoza," taken at random, will illustrate this. In a single paragraph of nearly four pages we have a short topographical account, in which reference is made to rocks and plants; then come winds, rain, temperature, barometer, psychrometry, and agriculture, without any order or attempt at correlation; and in a note are given the diseases incident to the district.

Perhaps the want of order may be explained by supposing that Dr. Mühry intended his book to be a collection of documents—there are about 800 notices in it—serving as an appendix to his *Allgemeine geographische Meteorologie*; indeed he says as much in his preface. The *Traité de Géographie et de Statistique médicales, et des Maladies endémiques, comprenant la météorologie et la géologie médicales, les lois statistiques de la population et de la mortalité, la distribution géographique des maladies, et la pathologie comparée des races humaines*, by Dr. Boudin, published a few years ago, appears to us a far more scientific book, as far as form and arrangement go, than these works of Dr. Mühry. It is time that some of the great medical societies should endeavour to produce an adequate encyclopædia on the relation between life and the medium in which it is carried on. Such a work would supply a great desideratum in physiology, and would embrace the following subjects: 1. *Physical geography*—consisting of the chorography and topography of each distinct climatic region, the orography, hydrography, geology, character of flora, temperature, barology, winds, rain-fall, &c. 2. *Anthropology*—ethnology, biostatics (height, weight, average length of life, &c.), influence of external circumstances (soil, occupation, &c.) upon biostatical conditions. 3. *Geographical nosology*. 4. *Comparative therapeutics*. The last subject has not yet, as far as we are aware, been treated of by any one.

85. Independently of the production of whole masses of rock and the entombment of fossil remains in rocks, vital processes perform an important part in geological changes, especially those of decay; animal and vegetable matter acting as reducing agents, and, above all, the evolution of carbonic acid, the most powerful known agent in the chemical decomposition and formation of rocks. The growth of turf or peat, bog iron-ores, &c. offers the key to the formation of coal; and from this point of view, as well as from an agricultural one, the minute study of the phenomena of marshes and peat-bogs is of great importance. Dr. Senft's book professes to give us the

results of studies of this kind. It is divided into four chapters: (1) the plant as the transformer of the superficial part of the earth; (2) the formation of marshes; (3) the formation of moors and peat-bogs; and (4) the formation of morass ores or limonites. The arrangement is good, and there is undoubtedly much information in the book. The descriptions are, however, very diffuse; and repetitions of the same ideas and facts are very common. The author tells us in his preface that, in order to be able to observe and investigate without any prejudice or preconceived views, he avoided reading any of the works upon the subject. Nature alone was his guide. "All that she offered me," he says, "in rich abundance in many geognostical wanderings, repeated during many years, was immediately investigated and noted on the spot from every point of view; at the same time, innumerable experiments were made with dead vegetable matter under the most varied conditions as to locality: even chemical analyses were undertaken in the open air on the spot (for example, in the investigation of humus and peat-water), in order to obtain the fluids for investigation as fresh and as unchanged as possible. The results gained in this way by eight years of investigation I have now arranged together as a whole." After this statement, we were surprised to find not only that he had read books on the subject, but that he actually gives a list of about fifty works of reference. The want of a complete study of the literature of the subject is, however, visible on almost every page of his book.

In the infancy of a branch of science it may be desirable to gather facts in the way followed by Dr. Senft; but surely it is not wise to spend one's time in rediscovering what has long been known. Besides, the point of view of a science changes with every addition made to it; and consequently every investigator should make himself acquainted, as far as possible, with the exact position of the subject which he proposes to investigate; and in describing his results he is bound to graft them upon the previous knowledge. In this way the same amount of labour is far more fruitful than according to Dr. Senft's plan, which is equivalent to making each investigator begin by discovering the whole subject first. He states that the *Cervus megaceros*, the big-horn or gigantic Irish deer, is found in peat-bogs—a fact which is, we believe, new to science; at all events, we never heard of any specimens having been found in peat, though we have dug them out of the marl *underlying* peat. Perhaps his statement that the bones of the Mammoth were found in the underlayers of peat at Witgendorff, near Sprottau in Silesia, is equally loose.

His chemical notions are somewhat peculiar; as, for instance, where he comes to the conclusion that pure peat is charcoal impregnated with resinous bituminous substances and pyroligneous acid, and gives in proof his own results from the destructive distillation of different kinds of peat. Why should not he also look on a piece of wood or a loaf of bread as peat; for the products might be described in the same way as he describes those of peat? Like

many geologists who believe that a few tables of chemical analyses are necessary ornaments to their papers, Dr. Senft has many tables of the results of the products of distillation of peat by Berthier, Pogendorff, and others, which may have been once useful for determining the technological value of peat as a fuel, but which can have no meaning in a geological book; while he makes no mention of the modern investigations, some of the results of which have a direct bearing upon geological phenomena. We are unable to see what new facts he has added upon the subject of the resins of peat, and the substances in solution in peat-water, in all of which he seems to us to be merely reproducing the results of Mulder.

It is really time that geologists, physiologists, and agriculturists should give up the custom of printing elaborate analyses, such as those given by Dr. Senft of the ashes of *Carex caespitosa* and *Eriophorum vaginatum*. The only use of such tables appears to be to show how completely the authors of the books in which they occur misconceive the nature of chemical phenomena, or the use of analyses. The most elaborate analyses are valueless unless they are made for a definite object; in fact, chemical analysis is an instrument of investigation, and like all other instruments may be wrongly applied by unskilful hands. That a man may learn to make a most elaborate analysis, and yet not be capable of investigating the simplest problem, is unhappily now too well established by the disproportion between the number of persons who are metamorphosed into "chemists" by the new methods of training, and the results of their labours.

Dr. Senft is, we believe, the author of one of the most excellent books on Lithology which have yet been published, *Die Classification und Beschreibung der Felsarten*: we have been greatly disappointed, therefore, in the present work, in which we had hoped to find a complete epitome of all that is known upon the subject it treats of.

86. M. Delafosse has completed his work on mineralogy, and we can now judge of it as a whole. The descriptive part is very good, but by no means as rich in information respecting varieties or modifications either in form or composition as the second edition of the late M. Dufrenoy's great work. His classification is founded upon the relations between the chemical composition and the crystalline form, and may be looked upon as an eclectic one, in which he has endeavoured to preserve all those groups in which he recognised the most natural relationships, and which had been established in preceding systems of classification. He assumes three classes: 1. Non-metallic combustibles (A. carbonaceous, B. sulphurs); 2. metallic combustibles (A. simple or mixed native metals, B. combined metals or definite alloys, C. mineralised metals, or simple sulphides and selenides and sulpho-salts); 3. non-combustible minerals (A. oxides, B. haloids, C. oxysalts). He classifies the oxysalts into orders, according to the electro-negative or acid constituent, and not according to the base, as Dufrenoy does. Each order is divided into tribes according to the

crystalline system to which the species belongs. It approaches in many respects the system of Dana, but we think it is somewhat more convenient. His division of the aluminous silicates would probably be found useful in determining minerals, though it must be admitted that it is very artificial. He makes five groups: 1. sclerites or hard stones, generally harder than quartz; 2. hyposclerites, with earthy bases and a mean hardness between 5 and 7; 3. felspars; 4. zeolites; and 5. phyllites or micas and chlorites. We should prefer classifying all silicates, as L. Gmelin did, according to the ratio of the base and acid; the families thus formed being subdivided into tribes according to their crystalline forms.

This book will of course be especially useful to those who desire to understand fully the remarkable views of M. Delafosse on hemihedrism. It is well known that Weiss was the first who employed that word, and pointed out the geometrical relations between hemihedral and holohedral forms, although Haiiy was acquainted with many cases of this dissymmetry, which formed so remarkable an exception to his law of symmetry. Weiss, however, merely established the existence of the phenomenon and formulised it; but he made no attempt to explain it. M. Delafosse has shown, however, that natural crystals should not be confounded with simple forms; that crystals having the same form may differ materially in molecular structure; and that consequently the phenomena constituting the hemihedrism of the German crystallographers would come within the conditions of symmetry, provided the consideration of physical characters was introduced.

87. The district with which Mr. Blanford's last report is concerned forms a portion of the great plain which extends along the eastern coast of Southern India, between the bay of Bengal and the elevated plateau of Hyderabad and Mysore, bounded by the Ghâts. It is termed the Payen Ghât, or country below the Ghâts. The principal rivers rise in the plateau, and, with the exception of the Câvery, come through the east Ghâts by broad depressions, and not by narrow gorges. The Payen Ghât is not an unbroken plain, but has several hill-groups more or less isolated, and some of them of great elevation, occupying the country to the south-east, and carrying the line of the uplands parallel to the coast as far south as the Câvery valley, which, together with the gaps of Palghat to the south of the Nilgiris, constitute a narrow strip of low country stretching across the entire peninsula, and separating the Nilgiris and the outlying hill country of Trichinopoly and Salem on the north from the Anamullies and similar hill-clusters of Madura and Tinavelly on the south. The low country proper, or Payen Ghât, is thus restricted to a tract from sixty to eighty miles in width, which stretches along the coast from Cape Comorin to the united deltas of the Kistna and the Godavery. This Payen Ghât appears to have suffered very little change in physical configuration from a long-past geological time. The beds, some of which may be older than the lower cretaceous, lie as undisturbed

and unaltered and as little inclined as the bottom of the neighbouring sea. The part of this region now reported upon embraces portions of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and South Arcot, and extends from a little north of Pondicherry to a little south of Negapatam in the delta of the Câvery. Three principal rivers run through it—the Câvery, the Vellâr, and the Puniar. They have formed ancient alluvions, which are almost continuous along the whole coast from Pondicherry, or the delta of the Puniar, to Cape Calymere, to where the large fertile delta of the Câvery ends. The alluvions of the central delta, or that of the Vellâr, extend inland for forty-four miles. Crystalline as well as sedimentary rocks are found in the district; the area of the former lies north-west of a line running from the coast about ten miles north of Pondicherry to about ten miles north of Trichinopoly, and that of the sedimentary rocks south-east of it. On Mr. Greenough's map of India the country occupied by the sedimentary rocks is coloured as gneiss.

The crystalline rocks are gneiss, granite, hornblendic gneiss, and greenstone dykes anterior to the sedimentary rocks. Mr. Foote and Mr. King, who assisted in the survey of the district, mention that the foliation of the gneiss coincides with the bedding of the unchanged rock, and with the axis of the great folds. We do not understand why the report of these gentlemen is not given, unless it be intended to publish it separately.

Previous to the present report, M. Chevalier, who visited Pondicherry in the exploring vessel *La Bonite*, in 1836 or 1837, had given an account of the rocks of the district. Before its publication, however, Mr. Kaye and Mr. Cunliffe published, in 1842, the results of their labours there. Professor E. Forbes also examined the invertebrate fossil animals, and Sir P. Egerton the fish, which they collected. M. d'Orbigny had also published an account of a collection of shells obtained during the scientific voyage of the *Astrolabe*. These various investigations showed that the sedimentary rocks were cretaceous. Mr. Blanford, from his own observations and those of his colleagues, concludes that they comprise several distinct groups of deposits, resting unconformably on each other, and representing in broken sequence a long geological period. As developed in the Trichinopoly area, where they are best seen and most extensive, these groups are five in number, independent of the tertiary sandstone known as Cuddalore sandstone and the later alluvions. These groups are distinguished by the local names: 1. Arrialoor group; 2. Trichinopoly group; 3. Ootatoor group; 4. Valadayur or Pondicherry beds; 5. the plant-beds of Ootatoor. The Arrialoor beds are upper cretaceous; and Mr. Blanford says the fossils remind one of the white chalk, especially by the abundance of Bryozoa, Echinida, Brachiopoda, and small corals, and the occurrence of such forms as Crania and Marsupites. A skeleton of the Megalosaurus, but badly preserved, has singularly enough been found in them. Professor E. Forbes considered the Trichinopoly group to be about the age of the upper greensand; and Mr. Blanford thinks that, so far, the fossils

tend to confirm this opinion. The original collection of fossils of Mr. Kaye and Mr. Cunliffe described by Professor Forbes contained no specimens from the Ootatoor groups, the fauna of which is characterised by abundance of Cephalopoda, which, on the whole, look like those of the Gault, though there are representatives of older and newer beds from the Neocomien to the white chalk. Mr. Blanford considers the fauna to be intermediate between the neocomien fauna of the Valadayur beds and that of the newer deposits in Trichinopoly and Verdachellum. He has the merit of having established the difference between the Valadayur beds and the overlying Ootatoor beds, and having thus explained some of the anomalies which had before existed with respect to the Pondicherry fossils. The fifth group consists essentially of fine micaceous shales, alternating with sandy shales and coarse semi-consolidated sand, the finer bands containing impressions of Palæo-Zamia fronds. Mr. Blanford seems to think that these plant-beds are not much older than the beds which rest upon them; but Dr. Oldham thinks they are contemporaneous with the intertrappean beds of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal, and with those of Cutch, which underlie beds containing marine oolitic fossils. They may, perhaps, be triassic. The area occupied by them is small, being confined to the bottom of a little valley or depression in the general surface of the country, and exhibits evidence of denudation which must have been enormous if they be triassic.

The geological survey of India, apart from its industrial utility to the country itself, is of great importance to European geology; for it is only when we come to be acquainted with the forms of life which have existed in different distant regions under low and high latitudes, and their distribution in the several rocks, that we can hope to correlate the succession of rocks over the globe, or apply palæontology, with any hope of success, to determine the question of the origin of species.

The present report may be regarded as a substantial contribution to geology; but we have not the means of examining the author's conclusions critically, because the names of only a very few species of fossils are given, and there are no sections. The author has explained the absence of the fossil evidence by stating that, as the fossils were numerous, it would have taken a long time to examine them, and that it was thought better not to delay the report. Several plates are referred to in the text, but they were not to be found in our copy. The wood-engravings are wretched, and would not be missed if they were left out altogether. The map also is very badly executed. Why not, instead of issuing these incomplete reports, give a brief *résumé* of results annually, which would enable scientific men to know what has been done. This would satisfy the Government, or ought to do so, and it would allow time to bring out the detailed reports properly illustrated, and accompanied by the fossil evidence.

88. The upper part of the Rajmahal Hills, in Bengal, consists of

hard quartzose grits, white shales, and sandstones, black carbonaceous shales, and coarse ferruginous sandstone, with which are intercalated soft, amygdaloidal, or columnar basalt, generally containing olivine, the whole being capped with compact basalt sometimes 1000 feet thick. The interbedded shales and sands vary from two or three feet to forty feet, while the interposed sheets of trappean rock are from thirty to a hundred feet; so that that rock constitutes the predominant feature of the hills. The white shales and sandstones are full of beautiful fossil plants. The thin shale-beds are often baked and indurated into a dense ringed porcelanic mass, like biscuit china, often of the most perfect white colour, and frequently one mass of impressions of fronds of Palæo-Zamia. The figures and descriptions of the plants found in these beds are now being published by the Superintendent of the Indian Survey. Nearly one-half of all the species found belong to the Cycadeaceæ. But these plants form the prevailing characteristic feature of this remarkable flora to a much greater extent than even such a numerical proportion would represent. From the size, abundance, and luxuriance of growth of the individuals of these species, slabs of several square yards could frequently be obtained, the surface of which would show nothing whatever but the matted leaves of these plants, often beautifully preserved. The drawings seem to be very faithful, and the execution very good; it is certainly in marked contrast with that of the map of the Trichinopoly district in Mr. Blanford's report. It appears that these plates are the first of the kind ever attempted in Calcutta. Dr. Oldham may certainly be congratulated on the result. Where specific distinctions depend so much upon minute detail, photography might be substituted for drawing. Why not obtain a photograph and print directly from it by the processes of Mr. John Osborne or Sir H. James? We have seen lithographic prints from photographs by Mr. Osborne, which, in point of finish, are quite equal to all the requirements of palæontology. The fossil flora of Rajmahal is of great interest and importance in connection with the age of the various groups of stratified rocks in India.

89. The palæontological museum of Munich is exceedingly rich in fossils of the Jurassic formation; and its curator, whatever may be the defects of his work, *Die Juraformation Englands, Frankreichs und des südwestlichen Deutschlands*, is justly considered an excellent authority on the fossils of that formation generally, and of the Alps especially. We are glad, therefore, to find that he proposes to publish, in the form of occasional memoirs, the results of his investigations during the preparation of a catalogue of the whole collection. The volume which has appeared contains three memoirs: 1. on Jurassic Crustacea; 2. on tracks on lithographic slate; and 3. on Jurassic Cephalopoda.

The paper on the Crustacea is entirely devoted to the macrourous decapods, or fossil stalk-eyed crustaceans allied to the lobsters, and is illustrated by thirty-eight beautiful plates. As the Munich museum contains nearly the whole of the original specimens described by Count

Münster, who has hitherto been the chief authority upon Jurassic Crustacea, a revision of his descriptions is a great boon. We may judge of the importance of such a revision by the fact that the ninety-six species of long-tailed crabs described in the second part of his *Beiträge*, published in 1839, has been reduced to forty-six. Prefixed to this memoir is an analytical table of the distribution of species in the Lias and Jurassic rocks, and a classification of the macrourous decapods.

The Ichnites or "track" on the lithographic slate do not resemble, according to Dr. Oppel, any of those published, nor does a comparison of the extremities of the vertebrate animals hitherto found in the slate cast any additional light upon them. Dr. Oppel throws out the suggestion, that they may be those of the strange feathered creature recently discovered, the *Archæopteryx lithographica*.

The third memoir on the Jurassic Cephalopoda is illustrated by eleven plates of figures of Ammonites chiefly new or very little known species.

90. M. d'Archiac objected to the works of Quenstedt, O. Fraas, A. Oppel, and others, on the geology of the Alps, that they were rather "frames for fossils" than geological works strictly speaking, because they were deficient in every quality of the latter—geological maps, stratigraphical and orographical sections, physical descriptions of the country, mineralogical descriptions of the rocks, and attentive study of their modifications vertically and horizontally, their dip, their area, &c. The objection may be applied with even greater truth to the costly work of Dr. Schafhäütl. It contains indeed several excellent chemical analyses of iron stones, and of the substance which gives the peculiar chloritic character to certain cretaceous beds,—which has recently been called glauconite, and which Dr. Schafhäütl has found not to be a mineral, or the chamber of calcareous shelled infusoria filled up with some green substance, as Ehrenberg thought, but parts of the animals themselves; but one looks in vain for a clear lithological description of the succession of beds. Dr. Schafhäütl, it is true, denies the utility of sections in such difficult mountains as the Alps, and thinks they are merely ornaments with which geologists like to embroider their work, but which only lead to error. We readily admit that sections are not always expressions of truth; but there is something to be said for Bacon's aphorism, "*Citius emergit veritas ex error, quam ex confusione*;" and though sections may not always be correct, they render the descriptions intelligible, and thus facilitate the discovery of truth. The district Dr. Schafhäütl describes is the south-eastern corner of Bavaria, between the Salza and the Inn, and not far to the westward of Salzburg. The subchain of the Alps forms the chief subject of investigation; it may be considered to consist, among others, of the same succession of cretaceous beds as the Gosau beds of the Austrian Alps, which Reuss has shown to be Turonien. Dr. Schafhäütl has described 492 species from these beds, making, with their varieties, 510 forms, of which he has given 1243 figures. Of these he says

151 belong undoubtedly to the cretaceous formation. The remaining 341 species (362 in the book) are analogous, but not identical with the forms of the Eocene period of Lyell.

Dr. Schafhäütl has also described the fossils of the high limestone alps, of which the cretaceous rocks just mentioned are the subchains. He thus distributes 41 species from the highest part of the chain: 17 liassic, 3 dogger or brown jura, 5 from the oolite, 2 from the coralline ditto, 2 from the lower Oxford clay, 2 from the cretaceous, and 9 perfectly new. In the absence of a geological map and sections, we could not attempt to account for the anomalous mixture of fossils which he has noticed in this district, and which appears to be of frequent occurrence in the Alpine and Pyrenean rocks belonging to the lower chalk and upper jura.

Dr. Schafhäütl's work will be chiefly, if not altogether, valuable for the figures of the fossils, which are all copied apparently from good specimens, and seem to be very carefully drawn. Although he has not made any new genera, his new species are numerous enough, as the following approximative calculation will show:

	New Species of					
	Cretaceous rocks &c. of Kressenberg.			Jurassic rocks of High Alps.		
Vegetabilia . . .	1	.	.	.	.	3
Amorphozoa . . .	4	.	.	.	.	3
Rhizopoda . . .	23	.	.	.	.	2
Anthozoa . . .	3	.	.	.	.	6
Bryozoa . . .	5	.	.	.	.	5
Echinodermata . .	13	.	.	.	.	1
Brachiopoda . . .	3	.	.	.	.	1
Lamellibranchiati .	69	.	.	.	.	16
Gasteropoda . . .	83	.	.	.	.	10
Cephalopoda . . .	6	.	.	.	.	18
Crustacea . . .	18	.	.	.	.	—
Pisces . . .	11	.	.	.	.	—
Reptilia . . .	3	.	.	.	.	—
	<hr/> 242			<hr/> 65		

We have thus 242 new species, out of a total of 492 belonging to the cretaceous rocks.

91. The basin of the Adige and its confluent in South Tyrol is classic ground to European geologists; and, as Baron von Richthofen says, the travellers' book at Predazzo bears witness to the numbers of geologists, mineralogists, and chemists, who have visited it. Brocchi, Marzari-Pencati, A. von Humboldt, Keferstein, Senger, wrote on it. But it is to L. von Buch that its celebrity is chiefly due; for it was upon the observations made there that he founded his celebrated theory of dolomitisation. Since then, Studer, Count Münster, v. Klippstein, Emmerich, Fuchs, Merian, Escher, v. Schauroth, Curi, von Hauer, and lastly, von Richthofen, have investigated the Tyrolean Alps. To the masterly investigations of the last, which he has now completed by a map, we are indebted, however, for the true relations of the rocks of that region.

The part of South Tyrol included in this map consists of the portion of the eastern basin of the Adige, through which run the Eisack (which joins the Adige below Botzen), the Gaderbach, the Grödnerbach, which obtains its southern confluent from the Seisser Alps, and, lastly, the Avisio, which joins the Adige at Levis above Trent. It also includes the valley of Livinallongo, and the lateral valley of Andraz or Buchenstein, which belong to the upper basin of the Piave. Some of the confluent of that river rise on the Pordoi mountains, which form a kind of node dividing four great drainage areas. The sources of the Avisio, Grödnerbach, and Gaderbach are also upon this range. The basin of the Avisio contains the Val di Fassa, with the lateral Val di Monzoni, the Val di Fiemme or Fleimsthal, in which Predazzo is situated, and the Val di Cembra or Zember Thal, all celebrated for their minerals. St. Cassian, which is equally well known, is in the valley of the Gaderbach.

Owing to the varied nature of the rocks, the surface of the country is very complicated. The foundation of the region consists of crystalline slates, which form the submountains of the granitic centre, the Cima d'Asta, which, island like, rises out of the sedimentary rocks. To the north, these crystalline slates are exposed over a large area, and directly upon them repose the rocks of the Trias, no other older rock coming into the district, though occurring to the eastward. The triassic period was opened by mighty eruptions of quartzose porphyries, every successive eruption during a long period penetrating the previous ones, and the erupted rock spreading itself in great plateaus over the mica slate. After the first eruption, a sinking of the whole land took place until it was covered by the sea. The erupted rocks were denuded, and the materials deposited in great bank-like stratified tufas, while the finer transported materials were deposited as red sandstone, forming the first sedimentary beds of the Trias of South Tyrol. During a continuous slow sinking, the precipitates gradually altered; an abundance of animals made their appearance. The first beds contain no organic remains; the fauna changed itself many times. At length the sinking ceased, and a sudden violent elevation occurred—the only one which took place in South Tyrol. The previous sea-bottom over a wide area became dry land, and the sea now reached into Tyrol only as a gulf of the Venetian sea. Immediately after this sudden elevation mighty eruptions followed, which, with manifold changes in intensity and in the nature of the products, lasted until the end of the triassic formation. The central hearth of these eruptions was the upper Val di Fassa and the district about Predazzo. The former was beneath the sea, and the latter was dry land. Hence in the former were deposited submarine tufas, and on the latter volcanic hills of igneous rocks. The small bay in which the tufas were deposited, and which we may call the Bay of St. Cassian, is therefore of great interest. Two circumstances deserve especial notice in this region during the triassic period. The first is the extraordinary variety of the products of eruptive activity on the dry land; thus, at Monzoni and near Predazzo,

there follow each other, augitic porphyry, uralite porphyry, syenite, schorl-granite, hypersthenite, felspathic porphyry, diorite and syenitic porphyry, which, as we have before stated, were preceded by quartzose porphyry and the granite of the Cima d'Asta. In all of these a most manifold development of minerals has taken place, and is even now in course of formation. The second circumstance is the development of a peculiar rich fauna at places somewhat removed from the centre of activity, which in its more complete state is known as the St. Cassian fauna.

As the eruptive activity ceased, the sea-bottom and land began again to sink, until the whole of South Tyrol, and nearly the whole Alpine region, was gradually covered by a deep sea, in which was deposited the great beds of limestone and dolomite, which now form the imposing mountains that so powerfully attracted the attention of L. von Buch, and in which lived a richly developed fauna. These limestones and dolomites are covered by the Raibler beds, which close the triassic series. During the deposition of the lias, the South Tyrol was again slowly lifted out of the sea, by which the region of St. Cassian, Predazzo, and the Seisser Alp was not again covered. From this point, the farther we proceed eastward, the more the formations which succeeded the triassic become developed.

Although the equivalents of the three great divisions of the Trias may be discovered in the Alps, Hauer and Richthofen consider it better, on palæontological grounds, to divide the Alpine Trias into only two great divisions, namely, the lower and upper Trias. The two divisions have not a single species of fossil in common, and are consequently very sharply separated palæontologically, while in each certain fossils occur at every niveau. The sudden elevation of the land mentioned above divides the triassic period geologically in the South Tyrol into two divisions, which are sharply marked in the sections, and which Richthofen distinguishes as *older* and *newer* Trias. This distinction he considers, however, to be quite local, and to have no signification for the remainder of the Alpine Trias. In the following table we have coördinated the Trias of the district represented by the map with the general divisions of the Trias in the Alps, and with the well-known classic divisions of the Trias elsewhere :

Trias generally.	Trias in the Alps.		South Tyrol.
	1. Raibler beds.	Upper Alpine Trias.	1. Oolitic calcareous sandstones and pisolithic iron.
	2. Hallstat limestone.		2. Schlern dolomite.
Keuper . . .	3. St. Cassian beds.		3. St. Cassian beds ; Sedimentary tufa and Wenger beds ; Cipit limestone ; Buchenstein limestone.
	4. Virgloria limestone.	Lower Alpine Trias.	4. Virgloria limestone ; Mendola limestone.
Muschelkalk .	5. Grettenstein limestone.		5. Campiler beds.
Buntsandstein .	6. Werfen beds.		6. Grödener limestone in the Seisser Alp.

The map is very well executed, the sections apparently worked out with great care, and there are nine pages of bibliography. It was a mistake not to accompany it with a short memoir containing a *résumé* of the present state of our knowledge about both classes of rocks, igneous and sedimentary, and a discussion of the sections. It is true that the memoirs of the author have been published elsewhere; but those who may wish to have this map might not be able to procure a number of volumes of journals in which they are scattered. Even such a table as that we have given would be useful to many readers.

92. In the year 1763 Elie Bertrand thus graphically described the value set on palæontology: "Il y a, je l'avoue, dans l'oryctologie bien des choses qui ne servent qu'à l'agrément ou à la curiosité; telles sont les pétrifications: c'est le luxe de cette science, et le luxe aujourd'hui se mêle partout. Il ne faut pas être trop sévère, crainte de dégoûter des gens qui ont du loisir et de l'argent, et qui ne feroient point de cabinets si rien n'amusait leur curiosité" (*Dictionnaire Oryctologique*, disc. prél. p. 29). What shall we say of it in the year 1863? In one respect, at all events, it is still, if not the luxury of a science, a luxurious branch of it, to judge by the space which it occupies in our museums, and by the extent and costliness of its literature. Like many other things which were the luxuries of other centuries, it has become a necessity of ours. It is now the foundation of geology, because it alone gives us the element of time, and without it our notions of life would be incomplete indeed. Born of geology, its childhood and youth were modestly passed as a part of that science, or of zoology and botany; it has now entered upon an independent existence, having its own chairs, and henceforward its own archives. A chair of palæontology has, in fact, been established at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle of Paris, and M. d'Archiac appointed to fill it. His course will occupy four years. The first year will be devoted to an introduction embracing various subjects, a knowledge of which is indispensable to the serious and complete study of palæontology. The second year will be devoted to the quaternary and tertiary floras and faunas; the third year to the secondary faunas and floras, or the cretaceous, jurassic, and triassic ones; and the fourth to the transition, or the Permian, Carboniferous, Devonian, and Silurian floras and faunas. Then will follow a general tableau, commencing with the Silurian, of their development and replacement in time, and a discussion of the laws which govern the grand phenomena of the succession of beings.

Looking upon the proper subject of his chair as the knowledge of fossil plants and animals studied in their relations with the antiquity of the beds of rock which contain them, and not merely in their purely biological relations,—that is, in what he calls "*stratigraphical palæontology*,"—and having, as we have just stated, abundant time to develop fully his mode of dealing with the subjects, he commences, according to the true philosophical method, with the

historical development of the science up to the present time. This portion of his course is treated in the volume before us, and enables us to judge of his conception of the whole. The book is not a mere transcript of his lecture-notes—it adopts the order, and gives the substance of his lectures; but it is what a book, as distinguished from a lecture, should be,—more substantial—containing not merely the logical skeleton, but the skeleton clothed with the flesh of facts and arguments. His treatment is twofold—geographical and chronological—the latter being subordinate to the former; that is, he studies the chronological development of his subject in each country successively. This method has some disadvantages, but, on the whole, it is the right one to follow.

While agreeing fully with M. d'Archiac, that from the discovery of the relation existing between age or the relative position of any given rock and the organic forms which it contains we may date the foundation of true geology, and further, that this principle or law is one of the grandest and most fruitful of the philosophy of nature, we think he betrays a want of due appreciation of the value of lithological evidence. Stratigraphical palæontology gives us, no doubt, a comparative chronometric standard, which enables us to appreciate the influence of time in physical as well as vital phenomena; but it would be a grievous error to suppose that the study of physical and chemical phenomena could not give us such a standard quite independent of all vital phenomena. We do not say that our knowledge of the minute phenomena of rocks is yet so far advanced as to enable us to get such a standard, or that such a one would ever be as convenient—we might say as palpable—as the palæontological one; but we have no doubt that, once determined, it would be more exact.

In his *discours d'ouverture* M. d'Archiac has the following observations on the great question of the origin of species: "Let us further add, that if ever the problem of life come to be solved, even partially, it will only be by the intermediation of palæontology. If, on the one hand, it is not opposed to the fixity of specific characters, to the stability of animal and vegetable species, within certain limits, on the other hand it teaches us that which the most delicate scalpel or the most powerful microscope could not reveal to us, namely, that this stability does not necessarily involve perpetuity, and that, so far from that, not only species, but even many genera, and even entire families, have been extinguished, and replaced by others which have disappeared in turn, and constitute thus the successive evolution of all the forms of which we have investigated the laws. Palæontology has, more than any other science, the right to sound the mystery of the origin of beings, because it studies the question with its true elements, because it alone is sufficiently near to nature to lift the veil which covers it, if it is permitted to man to attain this object. Shall there be in fact a Newton for the laws of life, as there has been one to apply the general principle which rules matter—universal gravitation, the greatest idea, after that of God, which has ever

entered the human mind? The future alone will tell us; up to the present we are not aware, in spite of many pretensions, that any serious precursor, that any Kepler, that any Galileo, has yet appeared in this direction."

Those who are acquainted with M. d'Archiac's admirable *Histoire des Progrès de la Géologie* need not be told that his new book is not likely to be a dry catalogue of the names of authors and of their works, but is sure to be a thoroughly critical history. He completely demolishes the factitious reputation of De Luc, and shows that Buffon's merits in connection with the subject were real. Another name, too, which he has inscribed on a proper pedestal is that of Guettard, who may be regarded as the author of the first attempt to construct a geological map based upon numerous observations, and who also deserves to be remembered as the first man who discovered the existence of extinct volcanoes in the centre of France. And in reference to the latter subject, he draws attention to the imperfect statements contained in many works, even in the best and most complete work which we possess on the centre of France, *The Geology and Extinct Volcanoes of Central France*, by Poulet Scrope.

It appears that the illustrious Lavoisier was actively associated with Guettard in the preparation of his *Atlas Minéralogique de la France*. M. d'Archiac, from a perusal of the Mss. and the journals of the journeys which Lavoisier made during 1764, 1765, and 1766, in different parts of France, but particularly in the north, comes to the conclusion, that if his observations had been coördinated, and published at the same time as the *Atlas Minéralogique*, France would have been farther advanced in geology than any other country of Europe. These hitherto unknown labours of Lavoisier will add additional interest to the edition of his complete works which M. Dumas is about to publish.

M. d'Archiac is very severe upon Cuvier's celebrated *Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe*. He says: "Thus, as one may judge, his *Discours*, &c. is not a work of high aim as synthesis; it is feeble, and, one may even say, almost valueless, except in that which concerns his proper labours. It has no direct geological value; and as a general idea, or geogenic view, it is not only far below the *Protogæa*, and the *Epoques de la Nature*, but we place it even after what Breislak, Brocchi, and many others have written on the same subject. . . . One sees, then, to sum up, that Cuvier had no defined system in geology; he followed afar, and at a great distance even, the ideas of his time, or of others more ancient; and he emitted none which were personal to him. He is not, therefore, the creator of any method of observation; he has discovered no principle the application of which belongs to him; and the exaggeration of his panegyrists falls before an analysis and a logical discussion of the book which may be regarded as the most general and most complete expression of his views, at the same time that it is the last and as it were the crowning of them."

There is much truth in these conclusions, and in the analysis on which they are founded. Some of M. d'Archiac's severity appears to be traced to his dislike of having biblical histories alluded to in scientific memoirs. It was this spirit which perhaps led him into an error where, in combatting the opinions of Cuvier about the antiquity of man, he concluded that the traditions of the Egyptians appear not to be very ancient or very complete, when we attempt to ascend to those of India, of China, and other nations, the origins of which are unknown. He would have been much nearer the truth if he had reversed his proposition; for all modern discoveries tend to show that the traditions of India and China are far younger than those of Egypt.

He is evidently not in favour of the theory of transmutation or progression of species. After analysing the curious work of Maillet, the *Telliamed*, he says: "These last views of Maillet—like those which have been put forward by J. Robinet in his *Considérations philosophiques sur la Gradation naturelle de Formes de l'Etre*—according to which the general object of nature would be the tendency towards man, manifested by the products which resemble him more and more,—these views, let us say, are those which sixty years after De Lamarck reproduced, adding all that the progress of science and his personal investigations could furnish in confirmation of them. They belong, however, just as much to the domain of speculative anthropology as to that of positive palæo-zoology; and as to the latter, the more it grows the more it contributes to fill up the gaps in the series of beings, and the less it justifies those ideas of the transformation of types towards which many persons now again manifest a certain tendency."

We look forward with considerable interest to the publication of the remainder of this very important work.

93. It has long been a question why there are so few handbooks of conchology including both recent and fossil shells, and sufficiently well illustrated to enable a student to determine the genera and characteristic species. The subject is a favourite one among amateurs; collections of recent and fossil shells are indeed more numerous than of almost any other natural-history objects; and a knowledge of shells is the keystone of stratigraphical geology. Till now, as far as we are aware, there were only two such elementary books which included both recent and fossil species—Philippi's *Handbuch der Conchyliologie und Malacologie*, and Woodward's *Manual of the Mollusca, or a Rudimentary Treatise of Recent and Fossil Shells*. The former has no figures; the second is an admirable little book, containing a vast amount of information in a very compact form. The wood-engravings are not very good; but as they are intended chiefly to explain the general structure of the animals, they are sufficient. The figures to illustrate generic and other classificatory distinctions are engraved, and on the whole, taking the price into account, it is well illustrated. It consists, as is well known, of three parts,—the first and second comprise the physiology and classifica-

tion, and a synopsis of the genera, and the third the geographical distribution, which is very complete. A third manual has just been added by Dr. Chenu. The aim of his book, he tells us, is to facilitate the classification of collections, and to make known the recent and fossil genera proposed by the conchologists and palæontologists of all countries, by giving a summary diagnosis, translated or textually reproduced from their works, and illustrated by one or more figures as carefully executed as possible, and chosen among the types indicated by the author of the genus, and always, when occasion offers, among the types of Lamarck.

The work is very beautifully printed and illustrated. It contains very nearly 5000 wood-engravings, representing between 3000 and 3500 species of recent and fossil shells. These engravings are among the very best of the kind we have seen. Although all the large shells are of course drawn on a very reduced scale, while the examples from such genera or subgenera as *Pussilla* or *Paludinella* are necessarily of full size, the figures, taken as a whole, exhibit such a symmetry that they give one a general notion, not only of the relative proportions of their size, but also of their delicacy and fragility. In the first volume, which was printed in 1859, a novel attempt was made to print the woodcuts in colours. Only a few are thus executed, of which we may mention as eminently successful *Ommastrephes sagitata*, *Eledone moschatus* (in three states), *Argonauta Argo*, *Polymita picta* (five figures), and *Callicochlias pulcherrima* (three figures). This peculiar polychromatic printing was executed by M. Rémond, the distinguished engraver; but we do not know whether there is any technical peculiarity in the process of printing. There are no coloured engravings in the second volume recently published, which seems to show either that the process is difficult, or that it is too expensive. The eminent success of this first attempt ought certainly to encourage further efforts. If all the recent shells in Dr. Chenu's book were thus coloured, it would render it one of the most beautiful natural-history works ever published. Figures coloured in this way would be invaluable for works on ornithology and ichthyology, and for showing the flowering organs of plants in botanical, and the arteries, veins, &c., in anatomical text-books.

The author would have added greatly to the value of his book if he had prefixed a well-illustrated elementary chapter on the structure of the Mollusca, and another on the principles of classification; and if he had added an appendix on the geographical distribution of recent shells, and the stratigraphical and geographical distribution of the fossil genera, as well as an index to the species figured.

We are glad to find that Dr. Chenu, while respecting the principle of anteriority, wherever it can be adopted without disturbing names which are convenient and have the prescription of long usage, has not fallen into the error of destroying the whole nomenclature of the science for the ostensible object of doing justice to some forgotten naturalist. Every classification of natural objects must necessarily be at best but the expression of the knowledge of the time at which

it is made, and must inevitably be modified, or entirely remodelled, as the science progresses. The larger the number of objects compared, and the greater the knowledge that exists regarding their forms and structures, the more complete will be the basis for framing a classification. Hence a group established at an early period will in most cases require to be modified as knowledge accumulates. Every genus, subgenus, or other division, is founded upon certain typical forms; and all forms which possess certain characters well marked in the type are grouped together. The forms thus grouped together will of course have the typical characters differently developed; and some will exhibit them so vaguely and imperfectly that, when more fully studied, they may be referred to other types, and the group subdivided. If the original group was established on correct principles, its typical forms would still remain grouped together when it was broken into subgroups, or merely stripped of the doubtful forms; in either case the original name given to the group, if characteristic and euphonious, or consecrated by usage, should be retained. A large portion of the literature of natural history cannot unfortunately be looked upon as an extension of the true knowledge of the structure, development, or habits of species; it consists rather of new classifications. To make a positive addition to science, however small, requires in general a great deal of labour; and consequently a reputation must be of slow growth. This does not suit an ambitious young naturalist who wishes to be distinguished at once; and he therefore makes classifications in which his name may appear on every page of a book, at the end of some barbarous designation, associated with the names of all the great naturalists. This method also affords a convenient means of puffing the classifier's friends, or conveying flattery to other scientific men by calling species or genera after them. There are people who enjoy a great reputation in botany and zoology, who have not added a real fact to science, and whose whole claim rests upon having taken some one's classification and modified it sufficiently to make it look unlike the original. This cannot, of course, be done with advantage unless there be some plausible excuse. In renaming the species or genera, these charlatans display a wonderful amount of historic lore, to show that somebody has long ago formed the group which they are about to subdivide; in this way they get rid of the name of the author of the classification by substituting some name a century old, and under cover of this they contrive to coin new ones of their own. National prejudice is the great shield of this quackery. If the author of the classification to be modified be a Frenchman, the Englishman discovers that Lluyd, or Ray, or somebody else, has made the same genus, and given it another name; and so too the Frenchman or the German. In this way synonyms multiply, science is made obscure and repulsive, and its progress is greatly retarded. It is not only right but commendable that justice should always be done to any man to whom the priority of a discovery is due; but the invention of generic or specific names, which can only be temporary symbols, is

hardly of sufficient importance to justify the introduction of periodic confusion into science by a change of familiar names and a multiplication of synonyms. When the names are euphonious, suitable, and habitually used, they ought not to be changed, even though some one else may have a prior claim to their authorship. We cannot see what science gains by changing Lamarck's name *Perna* for Klein's *Isognonum*, or his *Solarium* for the *Architectonica* of Bolten.

Dr. Chenu proposes to place all the engravings of his manual at the disposition of conchologists, whether of France or of other countries, who would undertake to analyse, as Mr. Crosse proposed, the genera created since the commencement of the century, and to suppress the faulty ones, after having proved that there was no occasion to establish them. He also makes the same proposition to persons who occupy themselves with other branches of natural history; he says he has nearly 10,000 very fine engravings on wood (*Vertebrata* and *Invertebrata*), the greater part of which have not yet been used, and among which valuable materials for publication may be found by means of galvanoplastic copies.

94-96. There is an excellent society in Liège called *La Société libre d'Emulation*,—a kind of Society of Arts,—which has done good service in fostering, improving, and promoting the various local industries. Among the means it employs are prizes for memoirs or essays upon various subjects, the best being printed at the expense of the society, in addition to the author receiving the prize. M. Franquoy's essay, *Des Progrès de la Fabrication du Fer dans le Pays de Liège*, M. Malherbe's *De l'Exploitation de la Houille dans le Pays de Liège*, and M. Stévant's *Des meilleures Méthodes d'Analyse des Minéraux qui en Belgique servent à l'Extraction du Fer, du Cuivre, du Zinc, et du Plomb*, have been thus honoured. Two of them deserve notice, because they discuss some questions of great interest in the history of inventions; and the third, because it affords a model which might be imitated in some other branches of trade.

M. Franquoy claims for his country, the old Pays de Liège, which included also a part of the provinces of Namur and Hainault, the important inventions of cast iron, the high furnace, and perhaps castings in iron; and we are disposed to add an unclaimed invention, the slitting mill. He has not adduced any new facts of a decisive character in support of his claims; indeed, he displays no research at all; and in one case he has undoubtedly claimed for Liège the merit of having first introduced on the Continent an improvement which there is every reason to believe was invented there. When Agricola's book *De Re Metallica* was published in 1546, iron ores were treated in three different ways, according to their fusibility. The very fusible ores were treated in a kind of smith's hearth, like the Catalan forge; those which were somewhat less fusible were smelted in furnaces three feet high and five feet broad. The broken ore was thrown in along with the fuel through the throat, and the succeeding charges took the place of the melted ore and charcoal; the combustion was

carried on by two hand-bellows, which could be worked by one man. After a strong heat of twelve hours the cinder was tapped, and a mass of iron was found in the bottom, which was brought under the hammer. If the ore was more difficult to melt, it was roasted, crushed, and smelted in higher furnaces. According to the figures in Agricola, these furnaces appear to have been from five to six feet high. Agricola nowhere speaks of liquid products from any of these furnaces, though perfectly fluid iron must have been frequently obtained when the mass of iron, made in the first reduction of the ore, was re-fused before it was hammered.

The six-foot furnaces, not being adapted for ores which are fused with much difficulty, were gradually made higher, and gave rise to what are known in Germany as *Stücköfen* and *Flossöfen*, the former being the older. As the *stücköfen* were only ten to twelve feet high, a very large expenditure of charcoal was required to smelt the infusible ores, and they were kept in blast only six days. The *flossöfen* were higher and were kept in blast longer. The question to be answered is, when and where were these *stücköfen* and *flossöfen* invented, and when did the latter become the true high furnace? Most metallurgists admit that the improvements originated in Liège; others, however, consider that both the *stücköfen* and the *flossöfen* were German inventions, although the descriptions of Agricola may be taken as negative evidence that high furnaces were not used in his time. The following facts may throw light on the point. O'Reilly⁵ states that, in the middle of the fifteenth century, there were such large furnaces in England, that in twenty-four hours they were able to produce from 40 to 60 cwts. of raw iron with wood charcoal. To do this, the furnaces must have been at least 18 to 20 feet high. We do not know upon what authority O'Reilly makes this statement, and it would be worth enquiring into. Steffens, who wrote an account of the iron manufacture in Sweden in 1646, mentions the dates of the building of a number of furnaces upon the French plan,—Ulfshütte 1625, Norshütte 1644, Nisshütte 1638, &c.; all the others in the eastern mining district were, he says, old Swedish furnaces, from two to three hundred years old. Some had been out of blast for a hundred years, and others had been repaired; the latter, he concludes, could go from 20 to 30 weeks, while, he thinks, the oldest ones could work for from 5 to 16 weeks. These furnaces must have produced cast-iron; so that the date at which that substance was known in Sweden may be carried back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. M. Franquoy fixes the discovery of cast-iron in the thirteenth century, and that of the high-furnace about the year 1500. Gustavus Adolphus, in order to raise money, often gave mortgages of the crown lands to foreigners. Thus Finspang, with its territory in East Gothland, was mortgaged, in 1618, to William de Besche of Liège, but in reality to Louis de Geer his surety. The latter arrived in Sweden in 1627, as we learn from a letter of Gustavus Adolphus to Axel Oxenstierna, dated November 6, 1627: "Louis

⁵ *Annal. des Arts et Manufact.* t. vi. 226.

de Geer has now arrived in this country." And, on the 24th of December, he obtains permission to use Prostholm, near Norrköping, for building ships. Master John Skytté, the tutor of Gustavus Adolphus, relates how Louis de Geer had said, "that we had an India here in Sweden if we knew how to use the mines rightly." Under Christina, De Geer got Danemora in 1641, and brought over Walloon smiths to carry on the works there; and he, no doubt, did the same for the great arms factory of Finspang. The dates of De Geer's arrival and operations in Sweden correspond with those given by Steffens for the erection of furnaces on the French plan—that is, of high furnaces. We have, however, positive evidence that not merely cast-iron, but also the mode of casting it in moulds, was known in Sweden before that period. For Henry IV. of France bespoke cannon-balls from Sweden through Andreas de la Fromenté; and Charles IX. answers, November 28, 1602, that the dimensions had not been stated. Garnej (*Hanledning uti Svenska Masmästeriet*, Stockholm, 1791) has the following remarks on the origin of the Swedish name for high furnace: "Some believe that the Swedish name *masugn* originated with German workmen who immigrated into this country, and derive it from the German word *maas* or *maass*, because every thing used in such a furnace must be managed according to a proper proportion, otherwise the smelting would fail. The master or director of such a furnace, and of the establishment belonging thereto, for the same reason is called in Swedish *masmästare*. But as the Swedish *masugn* is called in Germany a *hohofen* (French, *haut-fourneau*), and the *masmästare*, *blaa-meister*, *hohofenmeister*, or *plaaerer* (French, *garde de fourneau*), names which have no similarity whatever with the Swedish ones, and we know that, before the arrival of the Germans, cast-iron was prepared in Sweden,—whence it follows that the furnaces employed for this purpose must have already had Swedish names,—we may thence conclude that the word may have had another origin. It is well known that *masa* is a Swedish word, and means 'to warm oneself'; but nevertheless I would not venture to derive the word *masugn* from it because of its meaning warmth. According to Rudbeck's Mss., the Irish call a lime-kiln *mason-noit*; the French call a mason *masson* or *maçon*, from the Belgian *machio*, which means 'an artisan'; so that *masugn* would be derived thence, and might mean an artificially-built furnace (Ihre's *Glossar. Ling. Sveciæ*)." The last part of this paragraph refers directly to a Walloon origin. It is singular that Garnej does not appear to have known that the French name for *stücköfen* is *fourneau à masse*. The relationship between the Swedish and French names is so obvious that one or the other must have borrowed; every probability is in favour of the Swedes being the borrowers; but, in addition, we think there is complete evidence in the fact that the loupes of iron are called *massé*, pl. *massiaux*, in Foix, and now generally in France; and the conversion of raw iron into loupes in the puddling furnace without previous refining is called *mazeage*. These words are evidently connected with *mazza*,

blows with a club, Italian *mazzicare*, Portuguese *maçar*, 'to strike,' in reference to the hammering of the loupes. The French and Germans gave a new name to the smelting furnace when it became high, while the Swedes simply continued to apply the old name of *masugn* or *fourneau à masse* to every kind of iron smelting furnace.

It is probable that the art of casting hollow iron ware originated wherever fully fluid iron was first obtained. The only evidence which M. Franquoy is able to bring forward in favour of Liège is a petition addressed by the iron-masters of Liège to the Prince-Bishop in the year 1700, in which they state that, having on hand several millions of iron pottery, in consequence of Liège workmen having gone to work in foreign countries, they, the petitioners, had associated together to improve their workmanship, to which no stranger had yet been able to attain, in order to maintain the trade in the country where it originated; they demand that no new furnaces be established, because the old ones are capable of producing more than double the number of pots, boilers, vats, &c.; and further, that *poteries de fer* shall only be made at two furnaces of the village of Grivegnée, and at two of the village of Vennes, which have always been engaged in this manufacture, and the first masters of which were the inventors. This is certainly an important document, and would be quite sufficient to establish the claim of Liège, if it be admitted that the first high furnaces were employed there.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, rolling cylinders began to be employed in Lorraine and Belgium, and at the same time heating furnaces appear to have been employed at Liège. The rolling cylinders were the first example of rotatory apparatus for the manufacture of iron. M. Franquoy asserts the first slitters erected on the Continent to have been at the village of Prayun, by one Gillaume Fraipont, to whom the right was conceded; he further adds, that the first was erected in England at Dartford, in 1590. According to Gough's *Camden*, this first iron mill for slitting bars was set up by Godfrey Box of Liège; so that M. Franquoy appears to be in error when he only claims for Liège the honour of having introduced them; and it is highly probable that slitting rollers were introduced at Liège at the same time as the flat rollers.

Another remarkable invention, for which it appears the world is indebted to Liège, is cementation steel, which has been the fortune of Sheffield.

M. Malherbe displays most laudable industry in making use of the few materials at his disposal; but his criticism and philology are not on a level with his patriotism, or real technical knowledge of coal-mining. He begins by peopling the banks of the Meuse and the Ourthe, which were covered with thick forests, with Eburones and Tungrians, which, according to him, were German races. He was, no doubt, led to this opinion by the passage of Cæsar: "Con-drosos, Eburones, Caeræsos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL. millia." Nevertheless, he makes *eburon* come from the Celtic *heibouren*, which Cæsar latinised, and

which signifies workmen who work the carbon of the earth. This etymology he applies to explain the word *bure*, or pit, and the name for coal-miner in Hainault, *borain*, and that for collieries, *borinage*. When the coal came to be regularly extracted, the pits were called *bures*. Some, he says, derive this from the English *bore*, although it is probably of Arabic origin (byre, wells); we nevertheless find a great analogy between *bure* and Eburon. It does not occur to him that if the Eburones were coal-miners, Liège could not lay claim to be the first country where the discovery of regular mining was made; for there was *Eburo-britium* in Lusitania, and several *eboras* in the Spanish Peninsula, Yverdon in Switzerland, Eburo-dunum in Gallia Narbonica, and, lastly, ancient York in England. His derivation is, perhaps, as near the truth as that which is sometimes adopted from the Sanskrit *ibha*, elephant; old Gaedhelic, *boir*; Latin, *barrus*. "Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?"

The word *bure* is interesting, because there is a supposed Pictish word *dobur* which occurs in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and which, according to Mr. Skene, now signifies in Gaelic 'a well.' There is also the Irish *bior*, a thorn, a spit, which is evidently connected with the Old High German *borôn*, Middle High German *boren*, and English and Danish *bore*. Whatever be the origin of the word, it appears from a charter of Hugues de Pierrepont, Bishop of Liège in 1202, granting a piece of land called the *Campus Maurorum* to the monks of the order of Cîteaux, that a *bure* existed in a field which was accorded as an annex to the grant. M. Malherbe thinks that this may explain a popular expression in Liège, "*neur comme on Moriâne*," that is, black as a collier. But among the people of Gallia Belgica mentioned by Cæsar were the *Morini*, and the Campus Maurorum may refer to them, and not to Moors, of whose presence in Belgium we have no knowledge. It should also be remembered, in drawing an argument from the expression just quoted in favour of the antiquity of coal-mining in the Pays de Liège, that the Cagots were called *Maures*, and the expression in question may refer to them.

We have not space to discuss the legend of Hullos, from whence the name *Huille* is by some supposed to be derived, or the many interesting facts about the improvements in this branch of Belgian industry to which M. Malherbe refers. We trust his book may succeed in directing attention to a branch of historical archæology which is of the highest importance, and which has hitherto been singularly neglected. It is certainly worth while to know the origin, and trace the development, of inventions which have changed the whole social, and, we may add, deeply affected the moral, life of mankind.

The idea upon which M. Stévant's work is based is excellent, namely, to collect all the best processes for analysing the ores of the useful metals of Belgium. The descriptions of the various processes, as well as the selection made, show a good practical knowledge of the subject. The book has, however, a very great defect, which may

not strike persons who are actually engaged in analysing or smelting Belgian ores, and who are, therefore, practically acquainted with them; we allude to the want of a good mineralogical description of the ores, and a table of analyses of typical specimens. There are certainly some processes in the book, the relative values of which a person not knowing the Belgian ores could not possibly distinguish. With these additions, this little work might serve as a model for what might be advantageously done for certain districts in this country.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE fifth session of the present parliament was opened by commission on the 5th of February. The most important passage in

The Queen's speech was an intimation that the estimates would provide for a reduction of expenditure.

Upon the fulfilment of the promise thus given depended the adhesion of the Economists to the Government; and, as Lord Derby had taken occasion in the debate on the Address to separate himself from his friends on the question of intervention in America, the fate of the ministry was really decided for the session on the appearance of the estimates. The navy estimates for 1863-64 were introduced on the 23d of February. They provided for an outlay of 10,736,032*l.*, being a decrease, as compared with the vote of the previous year, of 1,058,273*l.* On the 9th of March the army estimates were moved by Sir G. Lewis. They amounted to 15,060,237*l.*, showing a reduction of 1,000,113*l.* on the expenditure of 1862-63. As on the Economist theory a cheap government is the ultimate end of all reforms, and the final cause of a pacific policy, the 2,000,000*l.* thus saved secured the support of Mr. Cobden and his friends. The reconciliation claimed to be nothing more than a bargain; for if Mr. Disraeli could have made a higher bid in the same direction, he might doubtless have carried them along with him in his opposition to Lord Palmerston. But though retrenchment forms part of the traditional creed of the Tory leader, it is not in very good odour among his followers; and the Economists wisely preferred accepting a substantial reduction from the existing Government to trying the doubtful chances of a dissolution and a change of ministry. In other respects, Lord Palmerston's position in the House of Commons has remained unchanged throughout the session. Besides his own immediate party and the Economists, the general tenor of his foreign policy has retained the Radicals; and the scrupulous care with which he has evaded all important domestic questions has preserved the confidence of those adherents of the *status quo* who prefer a minister strong enough to do nothing to one who would have to justify his accession to power by doing something.

Lord Palmerston's tactics have many obvious advantages, and they have been crowned with a large measure of temporary success. Whenever he has stood in need of support, he has obtained it. He has always been able to count upon the votes of some one important section of the House of Commons, in addition to his own regular supporters; and by this means he has kept the Liberal party in office under very adverse circumstances, and with hardly a working majority. But it is essentially a system which sacrifices the future to the present. No party can dissociate itself with impunity from all its most cherished traditions. No party can avowedly

subordinate the maintenance of principle to the retention of place, without alienating in the end the sympathies of its own members and the respect of its opponents. And this is just what Lord Palmerston has done. There is no liberal measure which has benefited by his leadership, none which would not fare just as well if the Tories were in office. The application in detail of those great principles which, with much error in theory and many shortcomings in practice, it is the glory of the Liberal party to have interwoven with the constitution, has been handed over to private members, to be injured by their crotchets and discredited by their failures. The succession of dogmatic tradition has come to an end. There is no king in Israel, and every man does that which is right in his own eyes. Each fresh session sees the party more and more disorganised, and more and more driven to rely, not on its own strength, but on the divisions of its adversaries. But the present session has also witnessed a marked advance on Mr. Gladstone's part. Hitherto he had been content to confine himself for the most part to the special duties of his department; and consequently the financial policy of the Government—the expression of his own theories, the creation of his own hand—has been the salt which saved it from decomposition. But this year he has put himself forward as the avowed advocate of political development. On two occasions he has in a measure gone out of his way to make it plain that his theory of generalship differs from that of his leader; that in his eyes political truths have no exemption from the general law of all truths, which can only be shown to have taken root by the fact that they have grown and borne fruit. On the 4th of March he spoke in support of the third reading of Mr. Hadfield's bill for abolishing the declaration now made by nonconformists, as a qualification for certain offices, that they will not use their official influence to the injury of the Established Church. The greater part of his speech was devoted to showing the impossibility of binding the legislature by special compacts, and to proving that this particular measure would do no harm to the Church of England; but there was something more significant in the way in which he based his advocacy of the bill on the incompatibility of the pledge which it seeks to abolish with the general principles of religious equality which have been once for all adopted into our constitutional theory. "Look at the manner in which, since 1828, the whole system of the administration of the State has been altered, how it has been founded upon the general recognition of the equal civil rights of the members of all religions. I admit, this declaration does contain in it more or less acknowledgment of civil inequality. It does constitute a civil inequality when certain persons are singled out to make a declaration limiting or tending to limit the discharge of their obligations as members of Parliament, or as holders of any other office of trust." So, again, in his speech on the Dissenters' Burials Bill, on the 15th of April, he grounded his vote for the second reading on the inconsist-

ency of the present state of the law "with those principles of civil and religious freedom on which for a series of years our legislation has been based." Taken by themselves, neither of these two speeches are of much moment. They derive their importance from Mr. Gladstone's position, antecedents, and character. They are an expression of his views on the general conduct of the party to which he belongs, not necessitated by the defence of any Government measure, but voluntarily put forward in the face of many considerations which might have inclined him to remain silent. And no one can doubt that Mr. Gladstone has the will, if only he had the power, to make his acts tally with his words. His is not a mind in which strong convictions lie dormant and unfruitful. When the first of these speeches was delivered, the future leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons was still an open question. Two days before the second, it had ceased to be so. While Sir George Lewis lived, it was possible that the choice might fall on him. If it had done so, the predominance of the critical element in his mind, and the disposition to put up with anomalies and inconsistencies in practice, which so often accompanies it, might have led him by a different road to a policy very similar to Lord Palmerston's; and his great power of conciliation would have naturally aided him in gaining support from opponents as well as friends. But his unlooked-for death not only removed from the Cabinet one of its ablest members, but from the House of Commons the only possible rival to Mr. Gladstone. Henceforward the future of the party is bound up with him; and if such a prospect is not without its drawbacks, if among his many great qualities tact and caution are not the most conspicuous, if his followers may have to encounter reverses which a more adroit general would avoid, there is another and a brighter side to the picture. Under his guidance the Liberal party will no longer be kept in office by a systematic abnegation of principle; it will no longer be untrue alike to its past history and its future hopes: if it will have more defeats, it will have greater triumphs; if it will be less secure against disaster, it will at least be safe from humiliation.

On the 16th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement. Two special causes had tended to depress the revenue during the past year. The disruption of the United States had raised the price of the ordinary American cotton, which usually sells at 6*d.* per lb., to 24*d.* per lb.; and the consequent paralysis of the cotton manufacture had reduced to pauperism the wealthiest class of our labouring population. In England distress was mainly confined to Lancashire. In Ireland it was spread, in less intense form, over the greater part of the country; and the value of the whole agricultural produce of the island, which from 1856 to 1860 was on an average 39,437,000*l.* per annum, had fallen in 1862-63 to 27,327,000*l.* The two great luxuries of the working-classes are beer and spirits; and consequently one of the earliest evidences of their being affected by distress is the dimin-

ished yield of the taxes levied on those commodities. Accordingly the excise showed a deficiency of a little more than a million, in comparison with the estimate for the year. Notwithstanding this drawback, however, the total revenue for the year 1862-63 was 70,603,000*l.* being an excess of 553,000*l.* over the estimated revenue. The two most satisfactory items were the customs and the income-tax; the former showing an increase of 484,000*l.*, and the latter of 467,000*l.* The excess in the customs returns is due, in a great measure, to the operation of the commercial treaty with France; but the gain in this respect is very far from representing the whole influence of that measure on the commercial prosperity of the country. In 1859, the total value of exports to France, including foreign and colonial as well as British goods, was 9,561,000*l.* In 1862, it had risen to 21,824,000*l.*, thus far more than making up the decrease of 6,618,000*l.* in the total exports to the United States.

The estimated expenditure and the estimated yield of taxes for the year 1862-63 may be thus compared :

Estimated Expenditure.

Funded and Unfunded Debt	£26,330,000
Consolidated Fund	1,940,000
Army Estimates	15,060,000
Navy Estimates	10,736,000
Collection of Revenue	4,721,000
Miscellaneous Estimates	8,962,000
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	£67,749,000

Estimated Yield of Taxes.

Customs	£24,180,000
Excise	17,600,000
Stamps	9,000,000
Taxes	3,160,000
Income Tax	10,500,000
Post Office	3,800,000
Crown Land	300,000
Miscellaneous	2,500,000
China Indemnity	450,000
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	£71,490,000

This gives a surplus of 3,741,000*l.* By equalising the tax on chicory to that on coffee, by imposing the same licenses on clubs selling strong liquors as upon hotels and coffee-houses,—an intention afterwards abandoned,—by certain alterations in the licenses for selling beer, by commuting the present payment of 5 per cent upon railway-passenger traffic to 3½ per cent, without any exemption in favour of excursion trains, by assimilating the law as to duties on charitable legacies in Ireland to that of England, and by

removing the exemption from income-tax now granted to endowed charities and to the income of corporations expended in charity, Mr. Gladstone proposed to raise this to a total surplus of 3,874,000*l.* available for the remission of taxes. He was thus enabled to lower the income-tax from 9*d.* in the pound to 7*d.*, besides allowing an abatement of 60*l.* upon incomes between 100*l.* and 200*l.* a year; to reduce the duty on tea from 1*s.* 5*d.* per lb. to 1*s.*; and to abolish the penny stamp on goods entered inwards, and the charge of 1*s.* 6*d.* on bills of lading outwards. The total measure of relief to be thus afforded stood as follows :

Abolition of small charges on commerce	£143,000
Abatement on small incomes	300,000
Reduction of Tea Duty	1,300,000
Reduction of Income Tax	1,600,000
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	£3,343,000

The proposal to make the property of charities liable to income-tax met with all the opposition which an attack on interests so numerous and powerful was certain to excite; and the line of defence adopted by Mr. Gladstone was not calculated, perhaps was not intended, to quiet the storm. The chief objection urged against the scheme, in a political point of view, was that it would be injurious to deserving charities without securing the reform of those which are badly administered. Viewing the subject more generally, the arguments of those who regard Mr. Gladstone's proposal with disfavour would probably assume some such form as the following:—The great law of all poor-relief is, that the State should do the negative work of preventing the consequences of poverty by checking vagrancy and begging, through its police, and of diminishing its causes by promoting the public wealth and the demand for labour by its legislation; whilst the actual relief should be undertaken as much as possible by social agencies. As there is no security that these will be sufficient, the State must supply their deficiencies in the last resort; and the legislation even of the Middle Ages, when religious establishments abounded, provided against the shortcomings of voluntary charity. But the public interest demands that the support of the poor should fall as little as possible on the rates, and that the poor should be assisted before they become a profitless burden on the community. The poor-law can save only from starvation; charity may diminish temptation; and much of the crime of the country proceeds from a region of poverty which is short of pauperism. Relief privately administered does more good than that which is given by the law, to which the quality of mercy does not extend, and which is supplied by the instinct of self-preservation, not by the motive of true charity. Poverty is either hopeless or remediable. Paupers of the latter class can be aided only by a system which looks to the individual case and its surroundings; not by one that knows not how to dis-

criminate. Those of the former class, for whom there is no prospect in this world of better things, ought to receive as much comfort as can be extended to them ; for they are removed from comparison with a self-helping class, and the principle which reduces the measure of relief to the utmost does not apply to them. Yet that principle must govern the administration of public relief. These persons therefore must rely on other resources, and such resources it is the duty and interest of the State, not to provide, but to promote. Charitable foundations have the positive merit that they increase the resources of the day by adding the charity of past times to that of the present, and they have an advantage, in comparison with voluntary casual gifts, that they are organised, regulated, definitely known, can be counted upon like the rates, and yet admit of other tests than mere destitution. Therefore, in a well-ordered system, economical science inculcates, not that charities should be left entirely to testamentary disposition, but that they should be encouraged as a great public good, relieving the public burdens, and, if not contributing to taxation, diminishing its pressure. The error that has been committed in this country is that the poor-law has been supposed to be the primary essential means of supporting the poor, and private charity has been allowed to disport itself in the luxury and caprice of ostentatious benevolence. Thus it has fallen from its high province, the relative position of the two things has been inverted, and it has been laid open to the damaging attacks of economists. An under-estimate of charitable foundations generally is at the bottom of Mr. Gladstone's proposal. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to tax charities in a community where the public is not taxed for the support of the poor than in one where there is a poor-rate ; for in one case they relieve only the poor, in the other they relieve the rate-payers. Whatever the charities lose by the loss of their exemption must ultimately be made up in another way to the poor ; and that of which the income-tax deprives them will be taken from the ratepayers,—that is to say, from that body every additional burden on which contributes to the increase of pauperism. Moreover, the same sum paid from the rates does less to relieve society from the burden of pauperism than in a well-regulated charity. In one case it keeps alive so many persons as a dead-weight on the resources of the country ; in the other, it may enable them to pursue remunerative labour, and increase the public wealth. The exemption is not a gift simply because it is a price—a price paid by the public for the relief of the poor-rate. The only person who will be the poorer for its removal must be a poor man. The real owners of the property of these charities are not trustees or managers, but those for whose benefit they were founded,—namely, the poor who are exempted on principle from the income-tax. The principle of self-preservation, the basis of political economy, applied to taxation, militates against taxing an income in which no self-interest is concerned.

On the other hand, it would probably be replied as follows :— These arguments would have been more in point before 1834. Under the new poor-law relief is given on a principle known to, and capable of being tested by, the State—the principle, that is, of keeping the condition of those who are supported by legal charity considerably less desirable than that of those who are able to support themselves, and so leaving to every one a strong motive to do without it if he can. But private charity acts on no such principle, and the State has no means of knowing whether its effects are beneficial or injurious. “What the State may and should abandon to private charity,” says Mr. Mill, “is the task of distinguishing between one case of real necessity and another. Private charity can give more to the more deserving. The State must act by general rules. It cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving indigent. It owes no more than subsistence to the first, and can give no less to the last. Private charity can make these distinctions ; and, in bestowing its own money, is entitled to do so according to its own judgment. It should understand that this is its peculiar and appropriate province, and that it is commendable or the contrary as it exercises the function with more or with less discernment” (*Pol. Econ.* ii. 560). But if the State “cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving,” so neither can it undertake to test the discernment with which private charity has exercised that function. And, as a matter of fact, the very circumstance that charitable endowments are definitely known, and can be counted upon like the rates, is the cause of their being often so mischievous. They have the certainty of legal relief without its safeguards against abuse. Nor is it necessarily true that whatever the charities lose by the removal of the exemption is really taken from the rate-payers, because it must ultimately be made up in another way to the poor. That would only be the case if nothing was given in charity which would not otherwise be given in poor-relief. And if it is unjust to tax in the gross an income which, when divided among the ultimate recipients, would produce amounts so small as to be legally exempt from the tax, why not likewise exempt the father of a family whose income, divided between his wife, children, and servants yields less than 100*l.* per annum for each of them ? The parallel is exact. If the property was absolutely divided among the children, or among the poor, it would become theirs, and would fairly claim the exemption. So long as the father in the one case, and the founder in the other, retains, by himself or his representatives, the right of selection and distribution, the property, in the one case as much as in the other, should be regarded as remaining in his hands, and therefore as subject to taxation. From this point of view exemption is a gift ; and if the public money is to be given away at all, it should at least be given wisely. If there are no means open to the State for ascertaining whether it is so given, and an overwhelming

amount of evidence that in many instances it is not, it is best not to do an uncertain good at the cost of a certain evil. But even if the public money could be given wisely, the argument would prove too much. For it should also be given consistently. One town or parish should not be favoured over another; unendowed charities should share the privilege with endowed ones; and as there are other ways of spending money equally praiseworthy and equally beneficial to the community with almsgiving, the grants should be extended to all incomes or portions of incomes laid out in the maintenance of a family, the education and placing-out in life of children, the education of the ignorant, the raising of the condition of the labouring-classes, or any other benevolent object. And even if the wisdom and the consistency of the grants could be secured, the question of their justice would still remain. The State holds the money raised by taxation in trust for national purposes, and it has no right to spend it in other ways, however excellent in themselves, for the simple reason that it is not its own to spend. It is easy to be charitable with other people's money.

The opening sentences of Mr. Gladstone's speech on the 4th of May foreshadowed the fate of the measure; for though he described it as "a mild and temperate compromise, equitable and even lenient in a high degree, as respects the mass of charitable property," he admitted also that it was "not one which either can be, or ought to be, carried—if, indeed, it could be carried—without the deliberate sanction" of the House of Commons. That sanction the House of Commons was evidently not disposed to give; and later in the evening the clause was withdrawn.

On the 5th of May Mr. Walter moved two resolutions,—one declaring that the educational grant should be made applicable to all the poorer schools; the other declaring it to be inexpedient and unjust to require the employment of certificated teachers or pupil-teachers by school-managers, as an indispensable condition of their participation in the capitation grant. The first of these resolutions was withdrawn, and the second negatived by 152 to 117. In spite of the failure of this Mr. Walter's second attempt at bringing a lower class of schools within the sphere of government inspection, the proposition is in itself so reasonable, and follows so naturally from the adoption of the principle of payment for results, that the question cannot be regarded as finally disposed of. The essentials of primary education, as ascertained by inspection, are two,—the healthiness, cleanliness, and proper condition of the school buildings, together with a due amount of order and discipline in the scholars, and the attainment by the children of a certain standard in the prescribed subjects. Both of these requisites are capable of being directly tested by the inspector. His own observations convince him of the first; his examination of the pupil establishes the second. Supposing these results are not attained, or only partially attained, the government grant is either wholly or partially

withheld. If, therefore, the employment of certificated masters is found to make compliance with these conditions more certain, it is the obvious interest of school-managers to employ them. If that end is not furthered by their employment, there is no special reason why they should be required to do so. There are two intelligible systems of promoting primary education : one is to train teachers, and trust to their doing their work properly ; the other is to test the work done, in the confidence that if that is satisfactory the necessary training must have been acquired somehow. The first plan has been tried, and failed. It gave us highly-trained teachers, and badly-taught children. The second has now been substituted for it, and the need for a protected class of masters at once disappears. The conditions of the government grant, and the test of government inspection, provide all the safeguards that can be required against the misappropriation of public money ; and it may be safely left to the common sense of those interested in the school to discover what description of teachers will answer their purpose best.

By a new Minute of the Committee of Council the system of grants in aid of training-schools has been revised. At present these institutions are certainly too numerous, and, in some instances, extravagantly large. It would perhaps have been difficult to avoid making this mistake. The number of primary schools was ascertained by the Census of 1851. But for how many schools the services of trained teachers would be sought by voluntary managers, and for how many years trained teachers would remain in charge of schools, could not be ascertained *à priori* with any degree of certainty. Government was generous. Local and sectarian rivalries were excited. Forty-six institutions arose, with room for three thousand students. For the outlay upon buildings private subscriptions were chiefly relied on, yet the public purse contributed 130,000*l.* The maintenance of students fell more largely year by year upon the Government, until at length the whole cost of a well conducted training-school might have been covered by grants from the State. Meantime no guarantee was taken that the young men and women thus educated at the national charge should make a due return to the nation by service in elementary schools. Many exerted their freedom and followed other ways of life. The trained teachers pleaded in explanation that all of them could not find places in schools, and that, forced to earn their bread, some were driven to accept positions different from those for which they had been trained. It appeared, therefore, that the State was contributing enormously towards institutions which it did not manage, and was at the same time committing an injustice towards its own wards, in training more of them than could procure suitable employment. To meet these evils a new scheme has been devised, the basis of which is, that the State should not, under the most favourable circumstances, bear more than seventy-five per cent of the cost of maintaining a training-school ; and that it should pay nothing for students inadequately

trained, or for persons who on leaving the normal schools fail to become elementary teachers. The religious bodies, with whom rest the increase and the management of primary schools, and who at pleasure seek or spurn national assistance for them, can best investigate the extent of their own wants, and regulate the admission of students accordingly. If three out of four admitted receive due training and become teachers of schools, Government will reimburse to the normal schools the expense of training the three teachers. As long, therefore, as mistakes and losses can be kept down to one student in four, so long the government grants will suffer no reduction. If the fourth student, trained at the cost of his sect, become a teacher, in that case his community will acquire what they have paid for; but when this fourth student fails to become a teacher, still the public aid will not on that account be diminished, provided the other three students have taken charge of schools. Thus payment by results will be extended to normal schools. The proposal though intricate is not inequitable. Perhaps one of its best consequences will be to encourage religious bodies to cultivate sober introspection, to aim at a just estimate of their real numbers and true interests, to reform or suppress institutions ill conducted or not wanted, and to cultivate more consistent and intelligent views upon educational questions. Some minor changes have likewise been introduced. The inspection of pauper-schools, hitherto performed by the Privy Council, will be transferred to the Poor-Law Board; and inspectors' assistants are to be appointed for the particular examination of the children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. By another Minute, the Revised Code is to be extended to the whole of Great Britain; so that, unless parliamentary influence interfere, Scotch schools will, after February 1864, receive their share of public assistance upon the same terms as schools in England.

The condition of the cotton districts has been steadily improving throughout the summer. Work has been more abundant; and there has been a large decrease in the number of persons relieved both by the boards of guardians and the local committees. In the week ending on the 30th of May, the returns from the twenty-eight unions of the cotton districts proper gave the number of persons in receipt of out-door relief at 160,890, and the number relieved by the local committees only at 129,085, being in all 289,975. In the week ending on the 25th of April, the numbers had been, out-door relief, 184,172; local committees, 177,904; total, 362,076. There were 205,978 operatives working full time, and 191,199 entirely out of work. The corresponding numbers in the last week in April were 192,527, and 215,512. The prospects for the coming winter, however, are very gloomy. The savings of the people are entirely exhausted; the public subscriptions have nearly come to an end; the credit of the operatives with the shopkeepers is stopped. Some pro-

State of
the Cotton
Districts.

vision has been made for the future by the introduction of a Public Works Bill, which was read a second time in the House of Commons on the 18th of June, and passed through committee on the 26th. By this measure the Exchequer Loan Commissioners are authorised to make advances to the local authorities, not exceeding 1,200,000% in all, and bearing interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to be employed by them in public and sanitary improvements within their districts.

The election of the Irish Attorney-General for Tralee is an event which has excited, and from its circumstances deserved to excite, a considerable share of public attention in Ireland.

**The Tralee
Election.**

The want of an Irish law-officer in the House of Commons was undoubtedly an inconvenience, and had been pointedly made a reproach to the government. It was true that no general election had intervened since the present ministers came into office, to afford a decisive test of their popularity; but it was confidently asserted that no man tainted by connection with them would find acceptance with a single constituency in Ireland; and appearances were strongly in favour of this view. The Irish liberal party seemed rapidly dissolving into atoms. The blow given by the Durham letter, prodigious as it was, might by time and effort have been recovered; but all that has since occurred, the succession of fatalities and follies, things that could and things that could not be helped, seemed to have made the breach irreparable and complete between the government and its former allies in Ireland. Of this, the Longford election was held to afford a pregnant example: in which a member of a wealthy, popular, and respected liberal family, possessing deservedly immense influence in the county, was defeated through the efforts of the Catholic priests, on the avowed ground of his having accepted office under the present government. It was, however, thought, and, as it proved, correctly, that the great personal popularity of Mr. O'Hagan, and his remembered services to Catholic interests in Ireland, would outweigh the unpopularity of his official relations. In truth, there never was a man more entirely fitted for the task (if it were feasible at all) of knitting together anew the severed ties between the Catholics of Ireland and such of the statesmen and politicians of England as still kept their faces towards the policy of governing Ireland in an impartial spirit. And in this view it is perhaps much to be regretted that Mr. O'Hagan had not the opportunity of some years in the House of Commons as an independent member, free from official fetters. The course of a successful professional life ordered it otherwise; and he found himself Attorney-General without a seat in parliament, at a time when his party was in a position of great and increasing unpopularity with his countrymen. The experiment, however, had to be made; and upon Mr. O'Connell's vacating his seat for Tralee, the Attorney-General at once announced himself as a candidate. The character

of the violent but abortive opposition which was made to him illustrates, as nothing else has yet done, the anomaly and absurdity of the present position of Irish politics. The first opponent in the field was Captain Knox, the proprietor of a Tory journal in Dublin, who naturally looked to the support of the large Tory minority in the borough. He was followed by Mr. Vereker, the present lord-mayor of Dublin, who has always entertained and avowed the strong Tory views of his family. In all this there was nothing but what was perfectly right and natural. These gentlemen came, as adherents of the opposition, to oppose the law-officer of the government. Mr. Vereker had even, it was rumoured, the sanction of the Carlton Club. But here arises the strange feature of this election. Toryism in Ireland, as every Irishman knows, means the preservation of what relics and remnants of Protestant ascendancy are left, and the practical exclusion of Catholics from power and influence. Now in the wake of these Tory candidates, and supporting them with the utmost zeal, were Mr. A. M. Sullivan, editor of the *Nation* newspaper, and the well-known Father Lavelle,—both, we need hardly say, champions of the extreme national and Catholic party. Captain Knox, having declined to retire in favour of Mr. Vereker, remained the sole opposing candidate; and to him, as against the Attorney-General, both Mr. Sullivan and Father Lavelle gave their zealous and vehement support. Now this case was one differing diametrically from that of Longford. In Longford the Catholic clergy and people had given their preference to a Catholic gentleman of ability and distinction, whom they believed to represent their own opinions better than Colonel White; but in Tralee it would be idle to ask for the least point of junction between the Protestant candidate and his Catholic adherents. The Irish Tories assail the present government for being, as they say, too Catholic in tendency; many of the Irish Catholics assail the same government, and with much more reason, for its anti-Catholic spirit; but to make these opposite complaints the basis of joint action is strange political morality. It seemed so to the people of Tralee, to whom the invectives against a man like Mr. O'Hagan, solely because he was the law-officer of the government, appeared to savour of a subtlety beyond their comprehension; so that Captain Knox, finding the game hopeless, retired from the field, and after the rapid appearance and disappearance of a third candidate in the person of Mr. Denny, Mr. O'Hagan was at last left to be elected without opposition. His speech at the hustings was a vindication of himself and his principles, remarkable for its ability and eloquence. Amongst other incidents of his career, he avowed and boldly justified the course he had taken, in conjunction with Mr. Cardwell, in the reconstruction of the Board of National Education. This portion of his speech has given rise to much comment. It has elicited from the Archbishop of Dublin a long letter addressed to the Attorney-General, assailing the system of National education, and couched in no friendly spirit towards those Catholics who take part in its administration. To this letter Mr. O'Hagan's

speech in the House of Commons on the evening of the 18th of June, upon Major O'Reilly's motion with respect to the model schools, cannot be considered formally a reply, for the Archbishop's letter did not reach London in time for that to be possible; but the speech itself is the ablest vindication, from a Catholic point of view, of the National system, taken as a whole. The Attorney-General demonstrated, by figures which admit of no contradiction, what deep root the system had taken in Ireland, and what great and increasing confidence down to the present time it had succeeded in inspiring. This part of his speech is so remarkable that we shall extract it. "Its progress and expansion have been steady and unbroken; and noting them as they have appeared at the commencement of four successive decades, we have the most conclusive evidence of the general acceptance it has received: for in 1833 the schools were 789, and the pupils 107,042; in 1843 the schools were 21,912, and the pupils 355,320; in 1853 the schools were 5,023, and the pupils 550,631; and at the beginning of 1863 the schools were 6,010, and the pupils had reached the enormous number of 811,973. . . . And although in latter years there has been much agitation against the board growing greater, as it seems to me, in proportion to the removal of real grounds of objection to its principles and management, it has continued to attract still more the substantial support and confidence of all denominations. Since the 1st of January 1861, 520 new schools have been taken into connection with it, of which the patrons may be thus described,—clergymen and laymen of the Established Church, 106; clergymen and laymen of the Presbyterian Church, 91; Methodist clergymen, 32; clergymen and laymen of other Protestant communities, 4; Roman Catholic clergymen, 265; and Roman Catholic laymen, 22; in all, as I have said, 520. And during the same short period the applications for building-grants, which have been largely stimulated by one of the great improvements by my right honourable friend the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, have numbered 136; 29 of them having been made by members of the Established Church, 6 by Presbyterians, and 101 by Roman Catholics. In the face of these facts and figures, will honourable members persist in the assertion that the National system as a whole is distrusted, or disliked, or repudiated by the people of Ireland? But more than this: whilst during these thirty years the schools of the board have studded the island from the centre to the sea,—whilst its unchecked influence has penetrated to the remotest districts, and pervaded almost every hamlet and hovel in the land,—not a single case of proselytism has ever been established."

The dispute between the Chamber of Deputies and the Crown in Prussia was very seriously complicated by the outbreak of the Polish revolution. The menacing proximity of the
Prussia. conflagration drove the government of King William to take measures of security which seemed acts of defiance, and aggravated the odium of the resistance to the

popular claims. On the 24th of January, Count Bismarck Schönausen issued a circular against Austria, which was the last attempt to redeem the unpopularity of the administration by an aggressive policy abroad. At the same moment the portentous outrage committed by the Polish government against the Polish nation deprived him of this resource, and impelled him irretrievably into a course which rendered the foreign policy of Prussia even more hateful to the people, and more dangerous to the State, than the dealings with the army and the Budget. Thenceforward, instead of playing off the dignity of the external position of Prussia against the troubles and divisions at home, the government made conciliation utterly impossible by the management of foreign relations. As the Poles are disliked in Prussia on national, political, and religious grounds, the infatuation which could convert their cause into an instrument of opposition to the ministry which betrayed them is a wonderful retribution for the immorality of its previous acts.

At the time when the Prussian government entered into that convention with Russia against the insurgent Poles which led to such angry discussions and to such unexpected declarations in the chamber, the Polish insurrection was still in its primitive conservative stage. By the arbitrary and tyrannical measure of January the 22d, Russia had forfeited those rights of sovereignty which had been acknowledged by the Polish nobles even after the breach of many sacred engagements. No revolutionary act in modern times has ever called more loudly for just and speedy vengeance. Neither the rising of La Vendée in 1793, nor that of Tyrol in 1809, nor that of the Prussians in 1813, had deeper provocation or nobler motives, or appealed more strongly to the sympathy of mankind. Besides the degradation of subserviency, the convention was therefore fraught with the gravest consequences to a government professing to defend the lawful rights of the throne. It absolutely deprived Prussia of the credit of anti-revolutionary principles, and of the prestige which belongs to the defenders of established law even when it is obsolete or injurious. The position of the king was shifted from the defence of disputed rights to the maintenance of absolute power. He found himself in league with revolution in its most hideous form,—revolution pressed into the service of hereditary monarchy, and obeying, not the influence of an idea, but the compulsion of mere material force. The pedantic discussion of points of law, and rival interpretations of the constitutional system, became insolent hypocrisy in the presence of the broad clear issue on first principles. It was the sense of this hypocrisy that roused in every part of Europe a stronger indignation against the weaknesses of Prussia than the Russian tyranny excited.

The measure which affected so deeply the position of parties in Prussia wrought a change more fatal still in the nature of the Polish insurrection. At the beginning there was nothing in the

outbreak that really menaced the security of the neighbouring states. Although the aristocratic leaders held aloof while the Poles of the emigration flocked to arms, wisdom prevailed in the councils of the insurgents, and a tone was adopted which conciliated the respect and tacit support of other powers. The blow had been aimed at the middle-class in Poland. The resistance proceeded at first from them; and its aspirations were kept within bounds. But, from the want of coöperation between the noble and the peasant the insurrection in its earliest form could not succeed. Langiewicz had kept the revolutionary party at bay; but after his fall the movement had to seek aid in new quarters, and that proclamation was addressed to the Lithuanian peasantry which announced the reconstitution of ancient Poland in its integrity as the object of the struggle. Thenceforward the Poles relied more on a diversion to be effected by a social revolution in Russia than on the obligations of international law. For the emancipation of the serfs had taken place on the 3d of March; and local disturbances in many quarters portended a crisis before twenty-two millions of ignorant men, accustomed to the dependence of servitude, could understand the duties and responsibilities of freedom. By this act the Polish leaders renounced the support which was afforded by the energy of the national aversion for the Russian people. In seeking to enlarge the area of the movement, they necessarily enlarged its aims,—they threatened the powers that held Galicia and Posen; and the conduct of the Prussian ministers substituted the hatred of Germans for that of the Russians. For this was the strongest feeling in common between the Russian and the Pole; and in the Duchy of Posen the German settlers are hated as much as the German officials. The challenge of Count Bismarck converted the definite resistance to Russian oppression into a real danger for Prussia; the revolutionary element became supreme in Poland; and the government of Berlin had to provide against the disaffection of a whole province in the midst of a great constitutional struggle.

When Prussia undertook to stand by her neighbour through the consequences of the man-hunting raid, she became responsible not only for an act of tyranny, but for a crime committed with the deliberate purpose of provoking an insurrection. The Russian government had seen no escape but by force from a false position, and it sought to precipitate a conflict. This was the policy Count Bismarck made his own. The resources of his statesmanship were exhausted; and he attempted to drive the opposition from its constitutional ground into some act of violence which should enable him to restore by force the waning authority of the king, and to throw the blame of a breach of the law on his adversaries. He was supported in this design by the character of the parties opposed to him. In the opposition not only is there a considerable number of democrats who were involved in the troubles of 1848, and who may be presumed to be impatient of legal restraints, but the liberal

party itself is utterly destitute of that moral dignity which is supplied by a noble cause, and by the sacrifices of a courageous and unselfish patriotism. Very many of the deputies hold offices in the State, of which they cannot be deprived for their political conduct. Consequently they run no risk by opposition, and may obtain some advantage if their party attains to power. No bureaucratic functionary can be really a friend to liberty ; for the system of which he is a minister is a barrier against its realisation under every form of government alike, and makes the difference between constitutional and absolute monarchy inappreciable in many essential things. Bureaucracy accords well with constitutionalism, but it consists in the exclusion of self-government. An assembly of men without independent fortune cannot seriously entertain the question of condemning the system by which they live. Many of them have also shared the schemes of the Gotha party, or sympathise with Italian unity. For most of these men the appeal to the constitution, the care for the rights and liberties of the people, is nothing but an ignoble pretence, a transparent artifice of parliamentary tactics, or a childish play upon words. The canting profession of the *Kreuzzeitung* party to uphold the majesty of the crown against the revolution, while they praise the Marquis Wielopolski, is not more contemptible than the mask of liberality and constitutionalism assumed by men who would curb the king but not the central power, who long for their neighbours' dominions, or who desire the suppression of religious freedom. Count Bismarck may deem his adversaries not more righteous than himself, and judge their love for the constitution to be on a level with his own care for the monarchy. Contests in which the ends of both parties are wrong or deceitful must be judged by the means, and naturally turn on technicalities. The balance may be struck by a point of order ; and the decision may depend on a question of form which, in a cause involving great rights and interests, would be overlooked in the magnitude of surrounding objects. In Prussia the government was legally in the wrong, and all its efforts were aimed at preparing snares for the opposition. As many points of the constitution have remained unsettled, this seemed comparatively easy.

The convention with Russia was attacked in the House of Deputies, and the government resisted the demand for papers. On the 26th of February Count Bismarck Schönhausen denounced the Polish insurrection as a phase of the European revolution and the result of Mazzinist conspiracies. Two days later the Chamber carried, by 246 to 57, a vote in favour of neutrality. In this debate the question of the disciplinary authority of the President over the ministers, who are not members of the Chamber, was raised, and the right denied by the minister. On the 18th of April, Her von Twesten having affirmed that no active measures could be taken in the affair of Schleswig, in consequence of the want of confidence in the ministry, Count Bismarck declared that the confidence and even assent of parliament was not necessary.

and that the government, if disposed to make war, would do it even without the consent of the Chamber. The recklessness of such a statement proves the determination to exasperate the opposition. In this desire a part of the Chamber concurred ; but among the ministers as well as in the majority there were voices raised in favour of conciliation. The expedient of conceding a shortened term of military service might have been adopted ; but the king would have preferred to abdicate rather than surrender what he considered an element of national strength, or, by yielding to the majority, displace the centre of power in the State. The hostile attitude of France in the Polish question awakened for a moment the hope of a war which would put an end to the dispute by obliging the parliament to grant supplies for an efficient army. This idea found favour with the officers of the army. As the prospect of a conflict with the people became alarming, the military organ was inspired to give utterance to the raving language which follows : "It is utterly unintelligible, at least to a soldier, what chance of victory France could have in the event of an attack on Prussia, unless we reckon in her favour all those elements which escape calculation : the favour of fortune, greater energy and constancy in the conduct of war, better combination and agreement among the officers, superior valour in the troops, &c. Otherwise all chances are against her : the geographical position, the number of soldiers, superiority of arms, in short, all tangible things. At present it is far more likely that the Prussian eagle will flap his mighty wings over Paris than that the Gallic cock will crow victory on the palace of Berlin."

Towards the end of April the inevitable crisis was approaching. Last year a military school, for which parliament had refused supplies, was nevertheless established by the government. On the 28th of April, Herr Forckenbeck moved in committee of finance that the act was unconstitutional, and that the college should be closed, and the money refunded. The ministry did not defend the legality of their conduct : but it was argued that the whole situation was beside the law, and that it was useless to advert to particular transgressions. On the 27th, the inhabitants of the frontier-town of Inowraslaw were ordered to prepare for the arrival of a body of Russian troops who had fled into Prussian territory. The town protested that it could not lawfully be compelled to support foreign soldiers in time of peace. In reply, it was told that an order of February the 13th directed that Russian troops should be received like Prussian. On the following day 457 Russian soldiers were quartered on the German inhabitants of the town. Three Polish prisoners were brought after them by Prussian troops. In this case, a law had been arbitrarily made, of the existence of which the people whom it affected were not informed. Two days later the committee on the Convention decided unanimously against it. Meantime the discontent in the Polish provinces was becoming very formidable, and rumours of divisions in the royal

family gained in strength. The Queen of Prussia visited Baden ; and immediately after an interview between her and the Grand Duke the official journal of the grand ducal government commenced a series of bitter articles against the government of King William. About the same time Prince William of Baden resigned his commission in the Prussian army. These events made some sensation ; for Baden is the spoilt child of the Gotha party, and has obeyed the influence of the Prussian government often with abject servility.

On the 11th of May, Professor Sybel declared in the house that it was absurd for ministers to speak of patriotism who disregarded the constitution. The Minister for War denounced these words as an act of unjustifiable presumption, and added a sneer at the sincerity of the defenders of the constitution. Although General von Roon was not out of order, the President interposed to say that if Herr von Sybel had used unjustifiable language it would have been his office to rebuke him, but that there had been no occasion. The minister resented the interruption, and went on speaking in defiance of the President, upon which the sitting was suspended. The committee of standing orders approved the conduct of the President, but the ministry wrote a letter denying that they could be called to order. On the 15th of May it was resolved to require their presence in the Chamber. On the 18th they refused to appear unless the claim of the President was abandoned. The Chamber then determined that the debate on the military organisation should not be resumed until they should appear. On the 20th the Upper House passed a vote of confidence in the government. The Lower House carried, by 239 to 61, an address to the king, who refused to receive the deputation ; and, on the 22d of May, parliament was prorogued, and the constitution suspended.

Throughout this struggle a small minority of the Chamber, generally composed of Catholics, has attempted to prevent a crisis by resisting all extreme measures. Their aversion for the common run of pseudo-liberals, and their knowledge that the majority were actuated by factious intentions, inclined them to stand aloof when they could. Even the Polish question, on which, if any where, Catholics and extreme liberals may be expected to combine, found them opposed to the common sentiment. On the 3d of May one of their number, Herr Mallinckrodt, said, almost borrowing the words of Count Bismarck on the 26th of February : " When I see the revolution making progress, the whole revolutionary party in Europe hastening to assist, and the master of the revolution helping it from his throne, in order to obtain his prey, I see no reason to oppose the policy of the government." On the 15th of May twenty Catholic deputies voted against summoning the ministers to appear in the house. They thought the Vice-President, Bockum Dölfs, in the right, but they believed that the ministers would probably give way. Their speeches display no approbation of the government, but a dread of the supremacy of a victorious majority.

Nevertheless, where there is a wrong, however small, on one side, and a peril, however great, on the other, there is no room for hesitation.

Herr von Vincke alone, among the other parliamentary leaders, has trimmed between the ministry, whose policy he could not defend, and the majority, whose ultimate intentions and occasional imprudence were repugnant to the aristocratic haughtiness of his mind. There was that in the situation of things which might tempt the ambition of a man conscious of great abilities and long in the enjoyment of a vast popularity. The country would not tolerate an unconstitutional ministry; and the king, there was reason to believe, would abdicate rather than forfeit his prerogative by accepting an administration imposed by parliament. One alternative remained,—that the king should place himself in the hands of a leader who had taken care to separate himself from the ranks of the opposition, but who had not lost his influence by his isolation. A Vincke administration might be formed of moderate liberals, who perhaps could no longer rescue the scheme of military reform, but who would uphold the power of Prussia abroad, with the assured support of the German liberals, and who could not justly be suspected of democratic principles. One of the foremost of these men, and one of the first probably whom Herr von Vincke would call to his councils, Professor Gneist, has published, in the midst of the parliamentary conflict in which he took a distinguished part, a very remarkable volume on the *History of Self-Government in England*. The judgment which he pronounces on the Reform Act and its consequences is assuredly not conceived in the spirit of an exaggerated liberalism. Our social, ecclesiastical, and local institutions, he says, which preserved so long the equipoise with the motives of private advantage, and compelled men to discharge their public duties even in opposition to the natural tendency of their interest, are deemed needful no more; moral and patriotic feeling is supposed to be assured by free competition; and he fears that we are following the same paths by which constitutional government became impossible in France. In the last paragraph of his history, he says: "The thousand years of English history which have passed before us testify that liberty is an acquired good, the creature of severe enduring labour and of stormy times. They prove that by passing through the conflict of passions, through sanguinary violence and grievous wrong, the right at length prevails."

And yet, in spite of the ardour of the contest and the bitterness of excited feeling, the people of Prussia, unmindful of this description of the normal growth of freedom, appear apprehensive of no real danger. The parliament had hardly been prorogued when the press was gagged, and even the subservient *Kreuzzeitung* was obliged to condemn its party. Six Berlin journals that protested received a first warning, and precautions were taken to prevent demonstrations of public opinion. There was one voice that could

not be silenced, and that obtained at such a moment an attentive hearing and an unforeseen importance. The Crown Prince, on a tour of inspection, visited Dantzic, where, on the 5th of June, the authorities in receiving him deplored the conduct of the government. He replied by declaring that he had not been consulted, and distinctly disavowing the policy of his father. This act was treated by the king as scarcely short of treason, and was respectfully but firmly vindicated by the prince in letters which amounted to a complete protest against the conduct of the ministers, and against his father's notion of his duty to the country. Hitherto Prince Frederick William has sought no political influence, and has surrounded himself with no circle of immediate advisers. The Prussians relate that he has no secretary but his wife, and that the only influence that has sustained them in their constitutional sentiments is that of the Queen of Prussia and of the Queen of England. The general confidence in the Crown Prince has consequently been strengthened; people view with little alarm the contingency of abdication, and hope that it may lead to the recovery of the position which Prussia has lost in Germany. For there is division in the party of Gotha. The duke himself has carried his superficial zeal and impaired influence over to Austria; and those *Kleindeutsch* patriots in whose dreams of unity freedom has a large place incline to a coalition with the *Grossdeutsch* party. But there is a specifically Prussian, and a Protestant, and a revolutionary element in the *Nationalverein*, which will set its hopes on the Prussian chambers; and it is tolerably certain that the value of the Duke of Coburg's visit was not overrated at Vienna.

The French Electoral Law of 1848 assigned one representative to every 47,000 inhabitants. That of 1852, still nominally founding the representation on the population, assigned one representative to every 35,000 electors; every Frenchman of twenty-one years, enjoying all his civil rights, having resided six months in the same place, and being inscribed on the list, was an elector. Now as the indifference of persons may prevent their claiming to be inscribed, it was proved possible, and really happened in Paris, that while the population increased, the numbers of electors diminished, and the capital incurred the risk of losing some of its representatives. To avoid this scandal M. Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine, admonished the mayors of his department last December that it was their duty officially to inscribe the names of every person having the right of suffrage, whether he claimed to be inscribed or not. The late elections have given an unexpected rebuff to this anxiety of the government to set bounds to the political indifference of the Parisians.

In the *Corps Législatif*, which was elected in 1857, and came to its constitutional end on the 7th of May 1863, the opposition was represented by only five deputies. This was partly due to the

reserve of the "old parties," the partisans of the previous régimes, men who had not forgiven the crime of the 2d of December, who had no confidence in the stability of the government, and were not willing to take the oath of allegiance to the imperial constitution. The Roman question, however, and, later on, questions of finance, called forth a secondary opposition, a Roman party among the Imperialists, which caused serious annoyance to the ministers, who had to defend the administration in the Chambers. It is true that after the Italian campaign the Emperor had authorised and invited discussion in the Chamber by his decree of the 24th of November 1860; and that on the occasion of M. Fould's return to office, in order to restore a balance in the finances, in December 1861, he said, "My government wants control; it is unfortunate for a sovereign to be without surveillance." The control, however, was not to be one that should issue in destroying the imperial constitution. The aid of the "old parties" was refused, because their endeavours would be directed to restore either the expelled dynasties or the Republic, or at least to give back the ascendancy which the old aristocracy had enjoyed under the Restoration, or the middle classes under the monarchy of July, or the urban lower classes under the Republic. The Empire pretended to be based on the whole nation, to represent every class, and to preserve to each its due place in the social and political scale. But this was only a pretence. The electoral circumscriptions had been carefully arranged so that each urban population might be lost in a preponderating mass of peasants; and thus, after universal suffrage had overpowered the aristocracy by the votes of the middle classes, and the middle classes by the lower, the only distinction left, that of town and country, was as far as possible obliterated by the new electoral arrangements, which were to ensure the return of a homogeneous chamber by a docile peasantry. M. de Persigny, in his circular of the 10th of May on the elections, had the simplicity to put forth this theory in its naked offensiveness. He proclaimed that the Empire was cradled in the hovel of the peasant—*c'est dans la chaumière du peuple qu'il a été enfanté*—and founded on the masses; and that all former governments were "*le régime des rhéteurs*," founded, that is, on classes sufficiently educated to hear appeals of reason, and to judge of arguments; while by implication the Empire was acknowledged to be a régime of administrators, founded on classes too ignorant to hear political reason, but either led by a priesthood grateful to the protector of the Pope, and by a utilitarian bureaucracy, or driven by policemen and soldiers.

According to M. de Persigny, the ascendancy of peasants who have delegated their power into the hands of an imperial dictator is the keystone of the present system. Every one who wishes to gain a certain constitutional position and control for other classes is, in his eyes, a member of one of the old parties, and therefore an enemy of the Empire. Nay, every one who, still remaining faithful

to the dynasty, opposes the principle of any portion of its policy—foreign or domestic—is a dangerous person, because he sets an example of refractoriness and rebellion against the system of tutelage upon which the peasant-imperialism is founded.

This pretence of M. de Persigny, by its equal offensiveness to every section of the opposition, made possible the coalition between all the old parties, which has resulted in increasing the opposition nearly sevenfold, and in manifesting the imposing numbers of the minority which throughout all France abjures the tutelage of the delegates of the peasants. The democratic republicans had already taken part in the elections, and THE FIVE belonged to their party. Their electoral committees were busy by March ; and their central committee, which met at M. Carnot's, showed a disposition to quarrel and to dispute on first principles, which promised little practical success, but rather threatened to diminish the little band of five by intestine divisions, and by setting up two opposition candidates against one recommended by the government. Afraid to call upon the workmen to nominate their own delegates, who would have disgusted the bourgeoisie, it was obliged to have recourse to the editors of the daily papers, and to form a coalition with them. It gave the Carnot candidates the benefit of the publicity of the press, in return for the respectability which they lent to the editors of the *Siècle* and *Opinion Nationale*. But this again only led to protests from the other journals, such as the *Temps* and the *Courrier du Dimanche*, which at one time threatened to compromise the whole candidature of the opposition in Paris.

The committee of the Liberal opposition met at the house of the Duke de Broglie, and was occupied with more important questions. Hitherto the sections represented by it had abstained from taking part in the elections, either because they refused to take the oath of submission to the constitution, and fidelity to the Emperor, required of every candidate, or because they considered doing nothing to be the most efficacious protest against a government which they disapproved. They had to protest against the system of official candidates—a system founded on no constitutional law, but simply on the two circulars of M. de Morny and M. de Persigny, of the 20th of January and the 13th of February 1852. Under this system, the prefect and mayors of each department recommend to the electors the “candidate of the government.” It is a logical part of the system of tutelage. The opposition candidate, on the contrary, issues his circulars and placards, makes speeches, writes letters, argues, gets abused by the official paper, or by the prefect himself, offends the fanatics by the forced moderation of his language, disgusts the prudent electors by urging them to emerge from their retirement, and forces the local interest to choose between a man who has the ear of the government and another who can do them no service but the unprofitable one of representing a principle for which they care but little.

But protests of this kind, in spite of the adhesion of a dozen

mayors of the *Charente Inferieure*, were of little use; the great questions were, whether the old parties were to vote, and whether the old parliamentary leaders were to stand. The former was finally resolved by a joint letter of three archbishops and three bishops, to which a seventh prelate afterwards gave in his adhesion, published on the 27th of May. Power, the prelates say, must be controlled as well as respected, otherwise it soon loses respect for right. The only means of controlling power in France is by the elections; abstinence from voting, therefore, is a treason to the country. "Dans quelque rang et à quelque poste qu'on se trouve placé, le droit, l'intérêt, le devoir, c'est d'accepter et d'exercer sérieusement l'action politique, que les institutions et les lois donnent; et pour cela il faut étudier le pays, interroger ses vœux légitimes et s'en faire les fermes interprètes, se mêler avec les hommes, nouer des rapprochements, s'unir à la nation, se pénétrer de sa vie, de ses désirs, être toujours et partout les premiers à prendre en main les droits et les intérêts chers à la France." This is the duty of all, especially of Christians; "Et par conséquent se tenir à l'écart, se croire d'autant plus fort qu'on demeurera plus isolé; laisser là le mouvement et la conciliation des idées pour ne s'occuper que des détails de personnes, ce serait évidemment une grande faute et un grand malheur." While the writers honour the delicacy of those who remain faithful to the old dynasties, and so refuse to take part in the new government, they "deplore poor reasons, and condemn bad excuses." "Si on tombe à l'eau, il n'est pas sûr qu'on se sauve en nageant, mais il est sûr qu'on se noiera en ne nageant pas. Donc il faut nager, donc il faut voter." The government asks for control, your country for reforms, religion for defence.

This excellent letter, after all, went no farther than M. de Persigny's circular to the prefects of the 6th of December 1860,— "Beaucoup d'hommes honorables et distingués des anciens gouvernements, tout en rendant hommage à l'empereur pour les grandes choses qu'il a accomplies, se tiennent encore à l'écart par un sentiment de dignité personnelle. Témoignez-leur les égards qu'ils méritent, ne négligez aucune occasion de les engager à faire profiter le pays de leurs lumières et de leur expérience." But it was not at all to the taste of several of the other prelates, notably of the Bishop of Soissons who published a significant letter about the gratitude due by the clergy to the saviour of Rome, whilst another prelate with his clergy is said to have opposed the candidature of M. de Montalembert. It was, moreover, answered on the 31st of May by a circular of M. Rouland, minister of public instruction and worship, who declared it illegal, and sneered at its "affectation in not naming the Emperor, and in not recognising any other fidelity but that which turns to the past;" as if the Bishops had to answer any except those who had consulted them, and who were precisely members of the old parties. This was noticed by the Archbishop of Tours, in his reply, which con-

cluded, "Je déclare que je ne reconnais qu'un souverain pontife et aux conciles le droit d'enseigner aux évêques *leurs obligations*, et que je regarde comme un droit naturel et imprescriptible, pour les évêques comme pour les autres hommes, de s'écrire, de se demander des conseils, et de faire connaître, quand il y a lieu, les autorités dont ils s'appuient en répondant à une consultation."

The other question, whether the chiefs of the old parties should offer themselves as candidates, remained undecided till May the 15th, when M. Thiers and M. Berryer announced themselves as candidates. The reasons which determined them were such as these: Time is progressing, yet the Empire still stands, while the old parliamentary leaders are losing some of their vigour every day. If they are to do any thing before they die, they cannot afford to waste six years till the next election; and if nothing is done till then, the next generation will not have the same power in the assembly as the men of old. And opposition, to be efficient, must begin with those who have the great old traditions. As soon as M. Thiers' candidature became known, M. de Persigny placarded Paris with a letter to the prefect, declaring that government must oppose him, because he had consented to stand at a meeting composed of the old parties exclusively, and because he desired the reëstablishment of a *régime* "which removes authority from its natural basis" (the *mutum pecus* of the masses) "to throw it as food for the passions of the tribune, and replaces the fruitful movement of action by the sterile agitation of harangues." It was this determination of the minister to admit none but passive Placebos into the chamber, and to exact the promise that nothing should be broken before he would consent to commit the constitution to the hands of any of the careless schoolboys whom he guided, that rendered it possible for parties so opposed as the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Republicans, to coalesce on the simple basis of "liberty."

The elections took place under adverse circumstances for the government. The long-delayed success in Mexico had prevented the Emperor braving war in behalf of Poland,—a war which is desired by nearly all France, and is a tradition of Bonapartism. The ministers, however, except Count Walewski, who was Polish agent in London in 1831, cared nothing for Poland, and the knowledge that this was the case added to M. de Persigny's unpopularity. The Emperor himself, however, seems to have been strongly tempted to interfere; and the opportunity given by the confusion in Prussia was almost too much for his prudence. A pamphlet, published at Brussels, *La Belgique jusqu'au Rhin*, advocating the restoration of old Burgundy, probably at the expense of Prussia, and of course in the ultimate interest of France, seems to have been one of those *ballons d'essai* which were so common at the time of the Italian war.

But during the elections the people knew nothing of this; and the opposition succeeded in all the nine districts of Paris, in most

of them by very large majorities, amounting in some cases almost to two to one. Not quite three-quarters of the electors voted. Almost throughout France the town populations gave a majority to the opposition candidates; but every where except in the great centres of population—Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Rouen, and the north—the rural votes neutralised those of the towns, as at Bordeaux, where the government candidate narrowly escaped defeat. The new opposition is reckoned to comprise thirty-four members: THE FIVE of the late chamber, and five more old deputies whom M. de Persigny wished to exclude because of their independent votes on the Roman and other questions. The rest are new men in the imperial chamber; though veterans like M. Berryer, M. Thiers, and M. Marie, possess more parliamentary experience and address than all the other 240 members of the chamber combined. It may be said that the opposition “has the majority in every thing but numbers”—in talent, in experience, and especially in the variety and importance of the persecuted interests and parties which it represents.

The change in the ministry which has followed upon the elections is in appearance the most constitutional act that the Emperor has yet performed. It is true that the *Moniteur*, in announcing the change, declared that the ministers were still responsible to the Emperor alone; but the sequence of events is sufficient to prove that M. de Persigny has been overthrown by the votes of Paris and the great towns; while M. Walewski has probably been removed to prevent Russia drawing a natural conclusion as to the intention with which the Emperor has ordered his field-artillery to be put on a war footing.

The prevalent opinions in England with respect to Algeria, formed partly upon a state of things now passed away, and partly based on national jealousy and the desire to believe that which is most gratifying to popular prejudice, are generally far from the truth. It has been hitherto supposed, and but a very few years ago it was the fact, that this dependency was very burdensome to France; it then required an army of from seventy to eighty thousand men; for a long time even forage had to be sent from Marseilles; and enormous sums were spent without any return for this outlay of men and money. Caricatures of the day used to represent a few colonists working under the protection of a much larger number of troops; and as late as the end of Louis Philippe's reign, Arab cavalry scoured the whole plain of the Metijah, despatches from Blidah to Algiers were escorted by cannon, and the French were nowhere safe out of the towns. Now there is perfect security throughout the Regency, and the French army is reduced to about sixty thousand men. In Germany, public opinion on the subject is still more behind-hand than in England; for very lately a mayor of a German town wrote to Algiers to enquire if any of the German emigrants

had been sold as slaves. Still, though the country is pacified and secure, colonisation has not much advanced, neither is there much prospect of its doing so; and whilst Englishmen, following their natural instincts, either blame the routine and centralisation of the civil government, or the arbitrary rule of the military, or else lay down broadly that the French are unfit for colonisation, the real grounds for the small advance made are more rightly to be sought for in the climate and nature of the soil.

In round numbers the statistical tables give 200,000 as the total of the European immigration; of these, 110,000 are French, 40,000 Spaniards, 20,000 Italians, 10,000 Maltese, and the rest of different nations. The greater number of the French are in the towns; Algiers alone contains 14,580 of this number. Very few French are, properly speaking, cultivators; and those that live in country places are chiefly tavern-keepers, wagoners, and such-like. The Spaniards are nearly all husbandmen and gardeners, and are better able than the other colonists to resist the climate; but even they, sober as they are, suffer greatly from the fevers. They live almost invariably upon the most excellent terms with the inhabitants. The Germans and French from the north-east of France sicken and die the most readily. The doctors may with justice vaunt the climate of Algiers during the winter, although, from the constant and heavy rains, it is far inferior to that of Egypt. But the climate of Algiers with its sea-breeze is not that of Algeria, nor of the plain of the Metijah; and the summer-heats and African fever will always prevent any great increase of European population. It is not only the human body, but also the crops, that are affected by the variableness of the climate. A year of drought is enough to ruin the European colonist; he is less able than the Arab to live upon the little which the weather may have left him, and his mode of cultivation—expending more labour upon a smaller space of ground—leaves fewer chances of success to him than to the Arab. It was long the habit among the French colonial writers on agriculture to decry the Arab traditions of cultivation, as stationary and barbarous routine; it is now beginning to be acknowledged that local customs have experience in their favour, and that before innovating it may be as well to find out the reasons for the local and antiquated ways of proceeding. The seed-corn used by the Arabs is admitted to be the kind best adapted to the African soil and climate. The number of the journal of the Société Agricole for the last quarter of 1862 recommends the method used by the Arabs for bringing up sheep, and their habit of changing their pasturage at different seasons of the year; it acknowledges that the number of sheep in Algeria has very much diminished since the French have occupied themselves with breeding sheep, and this whilst they have been buying rams at enormous prices—as much as 1500 francs—in England. Some of the efforts made by the French remind one of the doings of Laputa. For instance, the newspapers have lately been full of the

success of some tallow-trees in various gardens of acclimatisation; and whilst dates will not ripen at Algiers, nor in the Metijah, it is not to be expected that much benefit will be derived from tropical productions, such as the tallow-tree, cochineal, &c. &c. Much has been said of Algerian cotton; but the mass of the colonists have been wise enough not to risk their money in a cultivation which is liable to be entirely lost if the October rains fall when they are due, that is, just about the time when the cotton-pods ripen and open. It has also long been the custom to rail at the Arab plough, which costs three francs; the French plough, which costs fifteen francs, is no doubt an improvement, but it is thriftless to pay 150 francs for a patent plough, with double coulter and shares revolving on an axis, made with the object of reversing the plough at the end of the furrow. Such things are ingenious; but are they necessary, and will they pay? Sugar is another of the commodities that the colony is expected to produce. The Arabs seem to have shown some sense in not plunging into all the innovations that have been recommended to them; they do not believe in the possibility of Europeans thriving or perpetuating themselves upon the African soil, and there is much to justify their belief. In most countries a railway-terminus adds to the prosperity and population of a town; in Algeria on the contrary, since the railway has been opened to Blidah, many of the French inhabitants, being able to remove their property at a small expense, have left Blidah for Algiers. They all maintain that Blidah as a town is dead, and that nothing is to be done there since the troops have been reduced; and last winter the municipal council of Blidah petitioned the government to restore to their town the general and headquarters of the division. The trade and industry of a town cannot be very healthy when they are thus entirely dependent upon the quantity of the garrison. At present Blidah contains 4000 Arabs, 5000 colonists, and 2000 soldiers, which are quite enough in proportion to the colonists. In other small towns removed from the coast, the proportion of troops to the European inhabitants is more equal, and in some the troops are in excess of the colonists.

The number of taverns and wine-shops in Algiers and the country is very striking. Every second house in the French quarters is devoted to the sale of spirituous liquors. Absinthe added to the climate is enough to check any increase amongst the colonists. The importation of wine and spirits from France into Algeria goes a long way to swell the amount of the imports which the French papers are fond of pointing to as a proof of the improvement of trade, and of the increase of commercial transactions since their occupation of the country. But the increase is more apparent than real; for the greater portion of the imports is for the consumption of the army, and a very small part remains to be set down to trade with the Arab inhabitants of the regency. Two successive years of bad harvests nearly completed the ruin of the colonists, who at no time had been very prosperous. The French

colonists are mostly men who have arrived in Algeria without any property whatsoever, drawn thither by the offer of a piece of land. A few others were furnished by the insurgents drafted off from Paris in 1848 and 1851; but these have mostly died off, or returned to France since they have been no longer proscribed.

A large portion of the land owned by Frenchmen belongs to absentee landlords, civil functionaries, and others, who, having obtained estates as grants, or at a low price, leave them uncultivated whilst they are waiting for an opportunity to sell them with advantage. This they can easily do, since the European landowners have hitherto been exempt from land-tax; and owing to this, uncultivated abandoned tracts of land may be seen round Algiers, and all along the railway to Blidah. Whilst so much land lies idle in the hands of the colonists, it is unnecessary for them to clamour for more; and the pamphlet *Indigènes et Immigrants* observes with great truth that the present cry for more land proceeds more from speculators and land-jobbers than from any really existing want. Another proof that a sufficient quantity of land is already available for the colonists is to be found in the fact that the Arabs are constantly buying land from the colonists; and at the village of Delhy Ibrahim, one of the first French villages established in Africa, many of the original proprietors bought back their lands from those to whom grants had been made. The law of expropriation for reasons of public utility is still more active in Algeria than in France. There it is necessary to drive a road or a street in a certain direction in order to take away a man's property from him legally; in Algeria, under this law, the Government has turned out whole villages of Arabs in the plain of the Metijah and elsewhere, in order to establish French villages, and to create what are called *centres of population*. The recent discussion in the Algerine press on what is called *constitution of Arab property* has had no other object than to dispossess the tribes of a large part of their land, so as to leave it at the disposal of the Government, for distribution amongst the colonists. This project has been put forward by the colonists and by the civil functionaries, and has been consistently opposed by the military as spoliation. The supporters of the project began by the assertion that the tribes possessed more land than they needed, and that they had no right of property in the lands they occupied. The Algerine press also alleged falsely that, under the Ottoman government, the proprietary rights to these lands belonged to the government. This was making a wilful confusion between the crown property, which was of small amount, and the lands belonging collectively to the tribe. During the Turkish rule, whenever any dispute took place between two tribes as to their lands, the Turkish government did not decide the matter itself, but used to send the litigants to the courts of law. French writers have often put forward the erroneous theory that all the land in Turkey belongs to the crown, and that there is no property in the soil; and they have pro-

ceeded thereupon to make all sorts of objections against a state of things which is simply of their own imagining. They now put forward the same theory in Algeria, with the object of profiting by it; and they assert that, by dividing the lands of the tribes, and giving to each individual an equal plot of land for his own private property, they would be benefiting all the members of the tribe. The Arabs do not see it in this light, since they would enjoy a much smaller portion of land for tillage and pasturage, and would not benefit by the difference in the title. The present tenure constitutes an entail for the benefit of the tribe; and if each member of the tribe possessed a separate plot of land with (as is proposed) the power to sell it, the Arabs, impoverished as they are by heavy taxation, would soon be obliged to sell their patrimony. This has been the case in the civil territory round the towns, where the Arabs are not divided into tribes; here most of them have sold their gardens, and the number of mendicants has increased enormously. Another cause makes it impossible for the Arabs to live side by side with the French; the colonists are continually bringing the Arabs into court for trespass and damage. Many colonists, indeed, may be said to live upon the fines imposed for trespass; and these they frequently impose themselves, without the intervention of any magistrate, and for trifling pretexts, as in the case of a horse which had been impounded for trespass in a thicket or jungle forming part of a property.

The colonists and their organs at last made such an outcry that the Emperor examined into the question himself; and after the visit of the Arab chiefs to Compiègne, it became known that he set his face against these projects. A little later it was announced that the *Cantonement des Arabes* was shelved. The *Moniteur* of the 7th of February contained a letter from the Emperor to the Governor-General of Algeria, calculated to reassure the Arabs as to the intention of the government to protect their rights and property. The French newspapers have in general supported the Emperor's views, which may be said to have been sketched in a pamphlet by Baron David.

The Arabs are now safe in the enjoyment of their property for a time; for, as Baron David observes, they have no advocates, whilst the colonists are able to weary the government by their petitions and newspaper-articles. Some are likely to go further, in talk; for there were not wanting those who in their disappointment talked of separating from France. The French inhabitants of Algiers, many of whom have been exiled from Paris during the revolutionary disturbances, are not very scrupulous in their language with respect to the government. There are some who accuse the military authorities of getting up a disturbance occasionally, in order to show that they are necessary, and that the governing power must remain in their hands; and even the *Courrier de l'Algérie* has lately alleged this as the reason for the maintenance of the tribes by the government. The *Bureaux Arabes* have cer-

tainly not been always very pure, or very careful to seek out the rights of the causes that have come before them ; but it is incontestable that whatever good has been done in Algeria has been the work of the military, and not of civilians. Not to speak of roads, bridges, and public works, even at present what little is done for the education and improvement of the Arabs and Kabyles proceeds from the military ; and whatever kindly feeling may exist between Arabs and Frenchmen is to be found amongst the military, and is called forth by them, and not by or amongst the colonists. The French officers bring nothing with them into Algeria but their epaulettes, which are all that they possess, and all that they bring away from Africa. The comments in the English press upon the Emperor's letter to Marshal Pelissier, representing the French soldier as anxious to take possession of the fields of the Arabs, were mere rhetorical flourishes, the reverse of the facts.

The Emperor's letter, announcing that "Algeria is not, properly speaking, a colony, but an Arab kingdom," that "the inhabitants have an equal right with the colonists to his protection," and that "he is as much Emperor of the Arabs as Emperor of the French," is not only a clear exposition of the rights which international law gives to the inhabitants of Algeria, but also a state-paper of profound policy, which will have the effect of preventing any general insurrectionary movement on the part of the Arabs. They will now feel relieved from the fear of the encroachments on their property and institutions with which they have been lately threatened by the colonists, whose proximity and dissolute habits are much greater causes of irritation than the pressure of a foreign government.

There can be little doubt that if the views of the colonists and doctrinaire civilians had carried the day against the military and the minister of war, himself an ex-governor-general of Algeria, a general feeling of discontent and disquietude would have been produced throughout the regency ; and when the proposed measures came to be carried out, the misery and indigence now general throughout the Arab population would have increased so as to become starvation in many districts ; and famine, producing despair, would soon have brought on a general insurrection. Such a rising would doubtless be suppressed ; but its cost to France may be judged of from the history of the insurrection and subsequent capture of the small town of Zaatcha, in 1849, which cost a French army of 7000 men fifty-one days' siege, and a loss of thirty officers killed and fifty wounded, and 1500 men killed and wounded, besides great numbers who died of cholera. This insurrection was not caused by the weight of taxation, nor by fanaticism. Its cause, well known in Algeria, though not acknowledged by the government, was the forcible abduction of the daughter of Bon Zian, the head of a tribe, by a French officer of the Bureau Arabe. Bon Zian went to the Bureau Arabe to ask for justice and redress, and was laughed at. He replied that if a sheep was stolen by one of

his tribe, he and his people were made responsible, and was his daughter of less value than a sheep? He and his tribe then refused to pay any more taxes, and retired to Zaatcha in the desert, in the southern part of the province of Constantine, where they defended themselves to the last man.

One of the measures of the administration which is most vexatious, and which presses most severely upon the Algerians, proceeds from the civil authorities. The regulations for the conservation of the forests are very necessary, but they are so framed as greatly to interfere with the development of the colony. The state has claimed all the forests throughout the province as belonging to the domain, and this equally with regard to trees upon the mountains that are not private property, and woods belonging to individuals who may have got written titles to support their ownership. All trees, even olive-trees, come under the management and jurisdiction of the *Inspecteur des Forêts*; and a land-owner cannot cut down any of his own trees without the permission and supervision of the inspector. To obtain this, it is necessary to write to the prefect in civil territory, and to the general in military territory, stating that the applicant wishes to cut down a certain number of trees; after some correspondence, and usually a delay of some months, the inspector sends a deputy—when he can find time for it—to see if there are enough trees on the spot to allow of the required number being felled, since there is a proportion established by law between the number of trees in a forest and those which may be cut down annually. The consequence of this measure is, that land-owners such as Kabyles, who do not know how to make their application, either forego making use of their wood, or cut it down by stealth; the price of wood is materially increased; and, owing to the above-mentioned delay, it is sometimes not to be got at all.

We have described the small progress made by the French as colonists or cultivators, properly so called. The 40,000 Spaniards in Algeria thrive better, and from their semi-Moorish customs and sobriety are, if not prosperous, at least less discontented than the French. They are, however, very much burdened by taxation, and are nearly all of the poorest class. In the year 1861-62, out of 469 students at the *Lycée Impérial* at Algiers, 396 were French, 42 Israelites, 17 Mussulmans, and 14 of different nationalities; no Spaniards appear amongst these students. The greater part of the Spanish immigrants left the south-east coasts of Spain in a year of drought and famine; others have left in order to avoid the conscription. If they were not too poor to undertake the journey, many would doubtless gladly return to their country; and now that railway-works are being carried on with some activity in Spain, they could do so with advantage to themselves and to the Spanish railway-contractors.

With respect to the Arab population, the French occupation and civilisation has been most disastrous. Almost all the respect-

able inhabitants of Algiers and the towns have emigrated. Those who can read and write are very few, and their number decreases every year ; whilst those who have learned French to any degree of perfection may be counted on the fingers. With the Arabs, and apparently often with the French also, the progress of civilisation means progress in vice. In the towns and in the civil territory the Arab population is dead, for all literature has disappeared : there are no longer any men of note able to help or instruct their poorer countrymen. The number of poor and mendicants has increased beyond all proportion to what formerly existed ; whilst out of eight hundred thousand francs, the annual proceeds of *vakf* property, dedicated to charitable purposes, the French government allots one hundred thousand francs a year to the "*bureau de bienfaisance Musulman*" at Algiers, and puts the rest into the government treasury. Of nineteen large mosques formerly existing in Algiers, only four have been left by the French ; and the municipality intend to make the public baths pay for the water which belongs to them, which will be tantamount to depriving them of their supplies, since baths are charitable institutions, and are supported by foundations and donations, and not by the small payments made by those who frequent them. The guide-book for Algeria states that at Laghouat the mosque has been converted into a church, and that the administration is making plans for the construction of a mosque. It is rather long since 1852, to be thinking of this now ; and the 2100 inhabitants of Laghouat had a prior right, and a greater necessity for a place of worship than the 700 soldiers of the garrison, and the 160 sutlers and camp-followers in attendance upon them. The same guide-book mentions many other places in which only a few of the old mosques have been left to the inhabitants. This does not well accord with the French programme, and the proclamation of General Bourmont of June 1830, of respect for the religion and property of the Arabs. At the same time it must be remembered that many Catholic churches in France, desecrated by the Revolution, remain unrestored to public worship ; and the Arabs ought not to exact more for their religion than the French give to their own.

Every winter a *fête* or representation takes place at the theatre, under French direction and management, for the benefit of the "*bureau de bienfaisance Musulman*." The programme contains performances by the howling dervishes, and dances by Negroes and Negresses, the latter of the most dissolute kind. No Arabs above the lower classes approve or encourage this representation, the whole of which is equally objectionable, and which seems to have for its motive to cast ridicule upon the Arab population. If the French administration wishes to civilise the Algerians, it might set about it in some better way than by tolerating and encouraging licentiousness ; but similar dances are performed upon the Paris stage, and it is possible that the French in Algiers have been actuated by no other motive than that of reflecting the progress and

civilisation of the metropolis. The theatre at Algiers is a very fine building, and much above the average of French theatres for its internal arrangements; it was completed many years since. A cathedral is now being built on the site of an old mosque. The new building belongs to no particular style of architecture, and is more like a mosque than any thing else. The dome is supported by four columns of dark marble, the work of the Romans, which have been brought from the ruins at Cherchett.

Whilst the Arab population is materially and morally deteriorated by contact with the French, the European population introduced into Africa is not one of which a government can be proud, or which deserves the sacrifices that have been made for it. The French may point to the new breakwater forming the port of Algiers, the railway to Blidah, and the many roads they have made throughout the country, and justly claim to have improved the province. The improvements, however, are entirely material. The genius of the French nation, which seeks change for the sake of change, has led them to attempt to upset the patriarchal authority of the Sheikhs of the Arab tribes, by putting new men in authority instead of those who held the chieftainship of the tribes by hereditary right. These experiments have generally failed where they have been tried; and the Kabyles have been equally disgusted by the introduction of universal suffrage amongst them, and the giving to the young and poor an equal vote in their assemblies with the aged and respected members of the tribe. The Kabyles, it is said, illustrate the theory of universal suffrage by a comparison with the meat and the offal of a sheep, which, though of equal weight, are not of equal value.

The French administration has lately shown an active desire to extend French trade and influence into central Africa; and its projects seem to aim at nothing less than bringing the whole of the Soudan and the Sahra, from Senegal to Algiers, under French domination. A commercial embassy has just returned from Ghadames, which, it is announced, has effected a convention for the safe conduct of French caravans from Algeria through that part of the great desert; and the newspapers profess to expect much from this new outlet for trade. These hopes, however, appear to be rather exaggerated, for no goods coming from Algiers could sustain a competition with those going by the shorter route of Tripoli; and moreover, French goods have not a good reputation in the Sahra either for durability or exactness in the measures which the packages profess to contain. Expeditions have been sent from Algiers to Senegal, and from Senegal to Algiers, in order to establish communications; but they have not succeeded hitherto. The French arms are, however, steadily advancing into the interior from Senegal; and Captain Magnan, who took some of the flat-bottomed Rhone steamers to the Danube, has announced his intention of repeating his experiment on the Niger, and thereby making himself master of the commerce of the Soudan.

At the same time some French papers, and especially those of Algiers, have raised a great outcry at some recent proceedings of the British squadron on the Gold Coast.

Although the revenues of Algeria may be far from sufficient to cover the expenses of the administration, and of the French and Arab troops which now hold the country, yet the increase of railway communication will allow a reduction of the army so far as to balance the receipts and expenditure of the province; and however low an estimate may be formed of the progress of the colony, or of its advantages as such to France, yet France derives other benefits sufficient to compensate for the present deficiencies. The author of *Indigènes et Immigrants* describes the benefits as social and military, and lays great stress upon them. France possesses in Algeria a harbour of refuge in the south of the Mediterranean, and an arsenal for refitting ships of war. Algeria has been a school not only for the army, but also for generals and administrators. The "Numidian Generals," as they were called in 1848, were able to assume a position in France at that time for which their career in Algeria had fitted them. Besides this, France now draws from Africa a large number of Arab soldiers, who, under French officers, are superior to the generality of French troops. They distinguished themselves in Italy against the Austrians, and they now accompany the French armies in Mexico, in Cochin China, and, in short, wherever the French are at war. The number of these troops may be increased indefinitely.

The Emperor's letter of the 6th of February involved a recognition of failure and a confession of wrong; and it announced a change of policy founded on the discovery that the condition of Algeria did not justify the iniquity to which the Arabs had been subjected for the sake of the colonists. After the law of 1851 had declared the proprietary rights of the natives inviolable, the system of *Cantonnements* was invented by French cupidity as a substitute for the lawless spoliation of the previous years. Assuming that the fee-simple of the greater part of the soil had belonged, according to the Koran, to the Turks, and had consequently been transferred to the French government, it was determined to surrender a portion of it absolutely to the Arabs. It was argued that they would be fully compensated for that portion which they lost by the increased security of the title. In the course of six years sixteen tribes, consisting of 57,000 souls, and occupying a territory of above 700,000 acres, underwent this process. About one-fifth of the lands was taken away, leaving to the Arabs about twelve acres per head, and transferring the remainder to the French colonists. But it was found that the Arabs clung to the lands which they had owned, and refused to recognise the clemency of the treatment they received. Those who had the means, tried to buy back the confiscated part; and those who were too poor to bargain, begged to be permitted to remain as tenants on the soil of

which they had ever believed themselves the legitimate owners. At length it was ascertained that the *arsh* really belonged to the Arab tribes, and the government reflected that the expansion of the colony was not such as to require this mode of appropriation ; that the increase of immigrants during the last few years had not exceeded 4000 ; that scarcely one-fourth of the whole European population was engaged in the tillage of the soil ; and that out of more than a million of acres, distributed in 22,000 grants to the colonists, less than one-seventh was cultivated. It was found moreover that, by tampering with the rights of the native proprietor, who alone bears the burden of taxation, the resources of the State as well as the value of the property were diminished. Some change was therefore needed to check the profitless drain on the wealth of France.

A law was accordingly submitted to the Senate on the 9th of March, by which the Imperial Government attempted for the first time honestly to meet that difficulty which was never understood by the English rulers of Ireland, and formed the curse of their dominion. The majority of the tribes of the *Tell*, with the exception of the Kabyles, who retain some remnants of an ancient civilisation, are unacquainted with private property in land. As in all countries which are thinly peopled by uncivilised men, and where pasturage prevails over tillage, the soil is the collective property of the tribe, or of some fraction of a tribe. The new law not only recognises the inviolability of the title, but consecrates the principle of collective ownership, by surrounding the proprietor of land, whether an individual, a family, or a tribe, with the same safeguards. The system of individual ownership, the real and necessary foundation of future progress, is graduated according to the custom of the several tribes. It is to be imposed on none that are not prepared for it, but will be introduced gradually as it may be solicited. That this process may be encouraged, the sale of land is facilitated ; and the settlement of colonists, which was hitherto forbidden in certain districts, will be no longer dependent on the local chiefs, who are moreover appointed by the government. At the same time it is hoped that the whole system of the authority and proprietorship of the tribe, now transitorily recognised, will be disintegrated and undermined by contact with the French. Meanwhile confidence will be restored among the Arabs ; their lands will increase in value, and will be thrown open to commerce by the same act which protects them from expropriation. Among the colonists themselves, and among superficial liberals who shrink from this adaptation to the conditions of an inferior civilisation, and denounce a revival of feudalism, a violent agitation was excited by the Emperor's letter. Marshal Pelissier threatened the Algerine press with severe measures on the 2d of March ; and 17,853 colonists petitioned against the law. But it passed the Senate, without serious opposition, on the 13th of April.

During the last three months there have been three principal centres of military interest in America—Charleston, the Rappahannock, and Vicksburg. The city of Charleston stands at the end of a narrow bay, some five or six miles long, and not more than a mile broad at the mouth, where the opposite islands—Sullivan's Island on the north, and Morris Island on the south—approach nearest to each other. Both these points are strongly fortified; and on an artificial island midway between them stands Fort Sumter, from which to Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, the Confederates stretched a hawser, floating on casks, and hung with nets, seines, cables, and torpedoes. The Federal expedition, consisting of nine iron-clads and five gun-boats, left North Edisto inlet, on the South Carolina coast, on Sunday the 5th of April, and crossed the bar of Charleston harbour on Monday morning. About noon on Tuesday the 7th, the signal was given for the attack. The fleet, led by the *Weehauken*, with a raft for raising torpedoes, was allowed to round Morris Island without opposition; Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie then opened fire. The *Weehauken* got entangled with the hawser, and was unable to move, and the fleet then attempted to pass between Fort Sumter and Morris Island. This channel, however, was blocked up with three rows of piles, rising a hundred feet above the water, with only a narrow opening in the centre, supposed to be guarded with torpedoes, behind which appeared three Confederate iron-clads. The flag-ship, the *Ironsides*, while steaming past Fort Sumter, was caught by the tide-way, and became unmanageable, in which state she ran foul of two other vessels. For half an hour the fleet sustained the combined fire of five powerful batteries, mounted with about 300 guns of the largest calibre. At the end of that time, one of the iron-clads being in a sinking state, and several others severely damaged, Admiral Dupont gave the signal to retire.

On the 27th of April the army of the Potomac, which had remained inactive since its defeat at Fredericksburg, in the previous December, began its long-delayed advance. General Hooker's object was to turn General Lee's left flank, and cut off his communications with Richmond. With this view he formed his troops in two divisions. With the larger division, consisting of four corps, he crossed the Rappahannock by various fords, from ten to twenty miles above Fredericksburg, and after detaching a cavalry force, under General Stoneman, to destroy the bridges in the rear of the Confederates, marched towards the town. The Confederates, under Generals Lee and Jackson, moved out of their intrenchments and advanced slowly westward, until, about half-way between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, General Lee threw up earthworks, and arrested the Federal advance. General Hooker then fell back to Chancellorsville, a solitary brick house at the junction of two roads. Here the Federals had thrown up strong intrenchments with felled trees in front and artillery behind. On the 2d of May General Lee detached Jackson to turn the Federal right, and about

four in the afternoon opened fire along his whole line. Two hours later, Jackson had attacked the extreme right of Hooker's army in the rear, and entirely routed one corps; but a wound in the arm, received from the shots of his own men, prevented him from completing his victory. On the following day General Lee attacked the Federals in front, carried their works, and drove them back behind the house. Meanwhile General Sedgewick, with the smaller division of the Federal army, had crossed the Rappahannock a little below Fredericksburg, captured Marye's Heights, and then advanced along the road towards Chancellorsville, where he was met by a Confederate division detached by General Lee, was completely defeated, and was compelled to recross the river. During Monday the 4th the Federals declined to renew the engagement. Heavy rains prevented Lee from attacking them on the 5th; and on the morning of the 6th it was discovered that Hooker had retreated, and succeeded, covered by the rain and darkness, in reaching the left bank of the Rappahannock with the remains of his army. The wound of General Jackson had crippled the Confederate attack; his loss saddened their triumph. It had been found necessary to amputate the arm; and under the effects of the operation, aggravated by pneumonia, he gradually sank, and died on the 9th of May, just one week after his last and perhaps his greatest victory.

The siege of Vicksburg has at length presented a partial exception to the long series of Federal disasters. After the failure of repeated attempts to burn the rear of the town by expeditions down the Yazoo River, General Grant concentrated his forces at Milliken's Bend on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi, some miles above Vicksburg. From thence he set out on the 24th of April, and marched along the right bank of the stream until he came opposite to Grand Gulf. The Confederate batteries at this point were captured on the 29th of April by the Federal gun-boats, which had succeeded in passing Vicksburg during the night; and on the 30th the troops crossed the river. On the 1st of May Grant defeated a portion of the Confederate army under General Bowen at Port Gibson, and then advanced up the line of the Big Black River with 50,000 men divided into three columns, commanded by Generals Sherman, McPherson, and McClernand. General Pemberton marched out from Vicksburg with the view of joining General Johnston; but, before he could effect this, a portion of his force was attacked and defeated by McPherson at Raymond, on the 12th of April; while Sherman advanced on Jackson, where Johnston was stationed with only 9000 men, and forced him to retreat to Canton, twenty-five miles to the north. The Federal army then took the direction of the Jackson and Vicksburg railway. On the 16th they came up with Pemberton at Edward's Station, halfway between Jackson and Vicksburg, where they again defeated him, and forced part of his army to retreat to the southward. On the 17th Pemberton burnt the bridge across the Big Black River, and succeeded in effecting his retreat into Vicksburg. On the 18th

the gun-boats, under Admiral Porter, took the batteries on Haines Bluff on the Yazoo, in rear of Vicksburg; and on the same day the town was closely invested—the right of the Federal army, under General Sherman, resting on the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers, which now formed its base of operations. The defences on this side, where a chain of forts, connected by deep intrenchments, extended for seven miles, proved to be extremely strong; but Johnston had promised relief if Pemberton could hold out for fifteen days, and Grant was determined to try the chances of an immediate assault. On the 20th, and again on the 22d, the batteries were stormed; on both days the assailants were repulsed with tremendous loss; and Grant was driven to intrench his army both in front and rear, in the hope of reducing the place by regular siege operations—a dangerous undertaking with the enemy gathering strength in his rear.

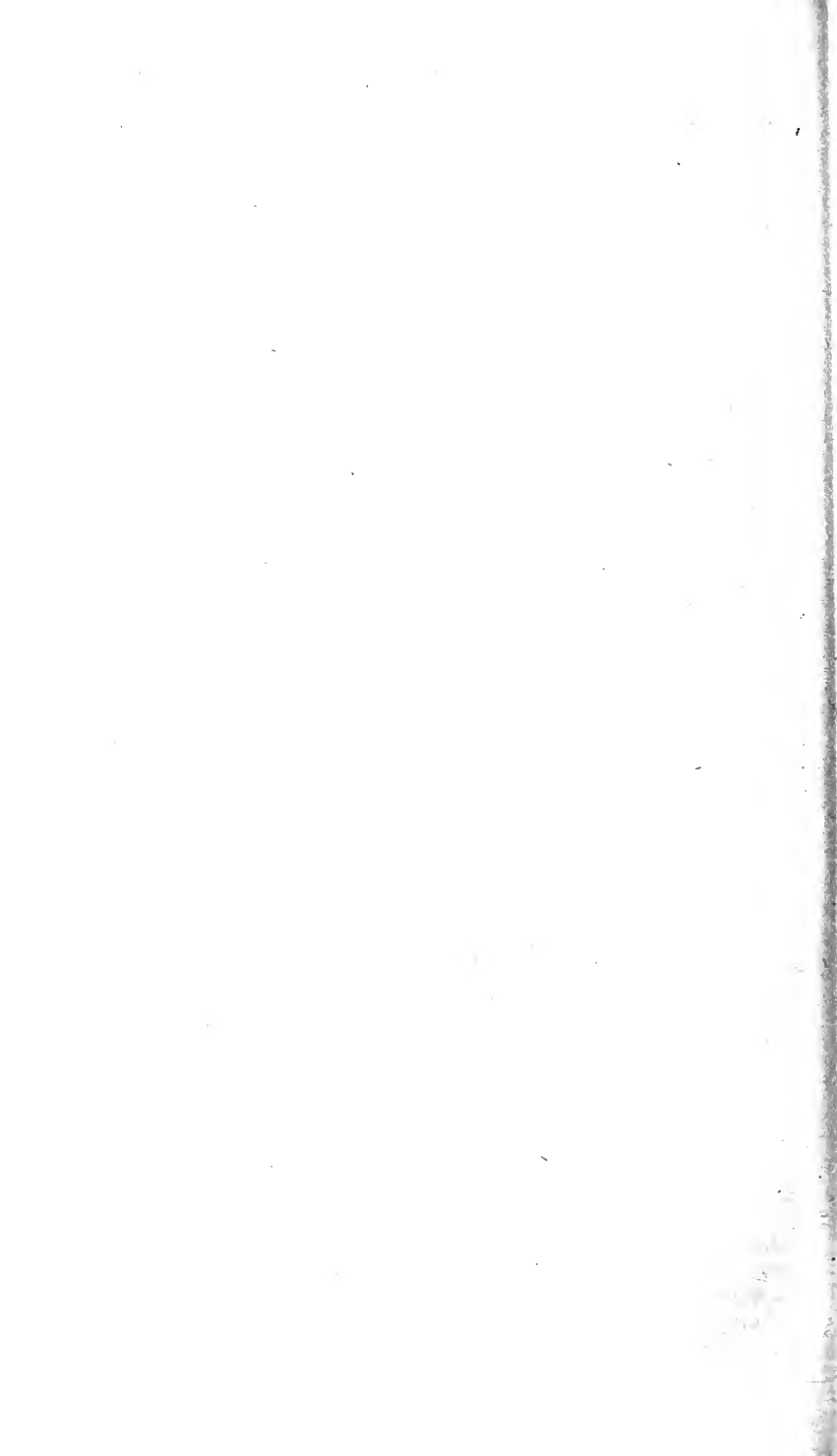
The general dissatisfaction caused by the anti-slavery policy of President Lincoln, and the consequent successes of the Democrats in the autumn elections, drove the Republicans to attempt the reconstruction of their party upon a new and less obnoxious basis. Loyal and union leagues have accordingly been set on foot in most of the northern towns, by the terms of which all reference to principles, whether constitutional or abolitionist, is excluded, and the unconditional restoration of the Union—with or without slavery, with or without constitutional freedom—is proclaimed as the object at which patriots must aim. The formation of these societies was to some extent a success. By adopting the maintenance of the “power, glory, and integrity” of the nation as the rallying-cry of the party, many of the war Democrats were gained over to the new organisation; while, as the subjugation of the South is understood to include the emancipation of the slaves by the simplest of all methods, the extermination of the slaveholders, the leading Abolitionists were enabled to retain their position in the party. At the meetings of some of these leagues speeches of extraordinary violence were made, especially by the Abolitionist clergy. The attitude of the government towards the new movement was evidenced by the troops being allowed, and probably encouraged, to hold regimental assemblies and to pass political resolutions. Even General Halleck did not scruple to predict that, after the South had been conquered, the Federal armies would “place their heels upon the heads of sneaking traitors in the North;” and General Milroy, who commands in Western Virginia, threatened to exterminate treason at the North “by force of arms if need be,” and to seal the restoration of peace and freedom “by the blood of traitors, wherever found.”

In the face of this opposition, the Democratic party took a bolder tone. In a series of resolutions passed on the 18th of March, the New-Jersey legislature protested against a partisan warfare waged for the “subjugation of the insurgent States; against the plea of military necessity when urged beyond the military

lines ; against arbitrary arrests ; against the unconstitutional creation of new States ; against the power of Negro emancipation assumed by the President ; and generally against any and every exercise of power upon the part of the Federal Government that is not clearly given and expressed in the Federal Constitution,—reasserting that ‘the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, not prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.’” At a meeting of the General Democratic Committee of New York, held a few days later, still more outspoken language was employed. Resolutions were adopted, declaring the United States to be a “Union of original, indestructible, and sovereign political communities called States ;” asserting that the liberties of the people are “endangered by Federal usurpations, and can only be preserved by the energetic action of State authority ;” stigmatising the war as “the most unnecessary, most ineffectual, most devastating, and most cruel of modern times,” and as “emphatically condemned by the awakened judgment of a Christian and civilised people.” The Committee then proceed to demand the calling of a convention, as provided by the Constitution, to which all States in the Union, on the 1st of November 1860, should be invited to send delegates, to devise means for “a reconstruction of the American Union, and the restoration of peace ;” and to denounce as unconstitutional the Conscription Bill, the new banking system, and the Act empowering the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. The former of these measures especially is described as being in “direct violation of those express conditions and reservations as to the control of her militia under which the sovereign State of New York entered into the Union, subversive of the rights of State governments, and designed to make them mere dependencies and provinces, to be ruled by military satraps, under a great consolidated, usurping, central despotism. The Committee end by assuring the Democratic party throughout the Union “that the New-Yorkers are not mere maniacs, ready to annihilate white men, women, and children, to liberate Negroes ; that they are not wanton shedders of blood, but believers in the God of peace and the Gospel of peace ; hoping for peace, praying for peace, longing for peace, and whenever the polls are opened they will be found emphatically voting for peace.”

At a meeting of the Democratic Central Committee at Philadelphia, on the 28th of March, Mr. Reed, formerly minister to China, delivered an address, in which he urged the necessity of peace, “even if the bond of sympathy be, as I fear it is, irreparably broken ;” and proclaimed the sanctity of State rights with a boldness hardly to be surpassed in the Southern Confederacy. In his opinion, the next political contest in Pennsylvania will “turn mainly upon the great question of local sovereignty and national consolidation.” The only safeguard against the increasing tide of Federal aggressions will then be found in the “sovereignty and power of the several States ;” and when, he added, “if I have to choose between

union without states and states without union, I have no difficulty in saying, I cling to my state." The contrast between this outspoken language and the cautious tone of the Democratic leaders in their private interviews with Lord Lyons, in November 1862, is very remarkable. At that time no word was spoken of peace, except in combination with the restoration of the Union, and any hint to the contrary was so ill received that a solemn disclaimer of any such view was put forth by the party on the eve of the autumn elections. The Republican tactics, however, carried for their party the elections in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In Rhode Island their triumph was absolutely complete. In Connecticut they elected the governor, three out of four members of Congress, and a majority of the State legislature. In this latter State both parties put forth all their strength; but the Republicans had the advantage of government influence, a secret-service fund, and the votes of the Republican soldiers in the army of the Potomac, who were allowed to come home to vote. It was left to General Burnside to put the patience of the Democratic party to the strongest test. In a general order, No. 38, published at Cincinnati, he declared his intention of banishing to the South all persons who should show or express any sympathy with the rebellion. At a public meeting held shortly afterwards at Mount Vernon in Ohio, Mr. Vallandigham, late member of Congress, and a candidate for the governorship of the State, spoke strongly against the continuance of the war. His words were reported to General Burnside by two officers of the 150th Ohio Volunteers, who, at his special request, had attended the meeting "in citizens' clothes;" and Mr. Vallandigham was arrested at his house in the middle of the night by a company of soldiers, carried prisoner to Cincinnati, tried by a court-martial sitting with closed doors, found guilty of disloyal practices, and condemned to imprisonment in Fort Warren during the war. The sentence was approved by General Burnside. Mr. Vallandigham then applied to the Circuit Court at Cincinnati for a writ of *habeas corpus*. General Burnside protested against the interference of the court, on the ground that it was his duty to stop intemperate discussions which tended to weaken the authority of the government and the army; and the judge refused to issue the writ. Mr. Lincoln afterwards commuted the sentence to banishment to the Confederate States, and Mr. Vallandigham was sent under a flag of truce to the Confederate lines. He has since been allowed by President Davis to proceed to the coast, with the intention of making his way, if possible, to Nassau. Numerous Democratic meetings have been held in all parts of the Northern States to protest against these arbitrary acts; and Mr. Vallandigham has been unanimously nominated as the Democratic candidate for the governorship of his State. If he is elected, the conflict between State rights and Federal usurpations will probably be brought to a speedy issue.



THE
HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1863.

GAOL DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.¹

AN expenditure of more than half a million of money, and a daily average of 16,000 prisoners—these are the statistics of the county and borough gaols in England and Wales for the year 1861. The figures are large enough to justify some anxiety. Here is a standing army of criminals, and the outlay for keeping it on foot. We cannot reduce the estimates, for these are men who would cost the country more if they were left to support themselves; but we can and ought to consider whether we are spending the money to the best advantage. Are we treating our prisoners in such a way as to lessen the chance of their coming upon our hands again? Will they give such a report of prison life that others will be less likely to make trial of it for themselves? These are questions we can and ought to ask; and the recently published Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords will give us the means of answering them for ourselves.

It may be well, before going further, to distinguish the particular subject of which we propose to treat from the question of transportation and penal servitude, which occupied so large a share of public attention last year. With the discipline of convict prisons—of the government prisons, that is to say, in which those criminals are confined who would formerly have been transported, and are now sentenced to long terms of penal labour—we have at present nothing to do. We are concerned only with the county and

¹ *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the present state of Discipline in Gaols and Houses of Correction.* 1863.

borough prisons, in which are confined all criminals sentenced either at the assizes, quarter or petty sessions, or the police-courts, to imprisonment, strictly so called, for terms varying from three days to two years. Their treatment is a question of less obvious interest than that of the inmates of convict prisons; it is of equal if not greater importance.

Perhaps there is no characteristic we should more naturally look for in any well-devised system of prison discipline than a substantial uniformity of treatment in the gaols throughout the country. Certainly, however, there is none we shall find so absolutely wanting. The proportion of punishment awarded to any given crime is very often quite an accident of place; it is determined solely by the fact of the offence having been committed in this or that county. Thus in one gaol the prisoner is altogether separated from his companions in guilt; in another, he enjoys their improving society by day and night. In one, he is given nothing harder to do than to work at the trade to which he has been brought up, or, if that part of his education has been omitted, to be taught a new one; in another, he spends the larger part of his day on the treadmill or at the crank. In one, he gets just food enough to keep him in health; in another, his dietary is very far superior to that of a pauper, and not at all inferior to that of an agricultural labourer with rather more than average wages. In one, his sleep is limited to eight hours; in another, the proportion of work and rest is almost reversed, and he is allowed to lie in bed for fifteen. No argument can be needed to show the absurdity of such a state of things as this. Men of all shades of opinion may unite in deprecating its continuance. Whatever be the end of punishment, it cannot be equally well attained by exactly opposite means. If any one of the systems now in operation be right, some, at least, of the others must be wrong. However anxiously we may mete out different degrees of punishment to different degrees of crime, it cannot be desirable to make the relation between crime and punishment dependent on topographical considerations. If shoemaking, varied with instructive and entertaining reading, be the true remedy for thieving in the south-west, the treadmill, relieved by stone-breaking and oakum-picking, can hardly be the true remedy in the midland counties. It will be well, therefore, in the first instance, to examine the methods of treatment actually in course of application to criminals. A knowledge of these facts may help us to some inferences, which are not the less important because they are obvious.

The want of uniformity in the discipline of different

goals may be explained in three ways,—by difference of class, difference of construction, and difference of system.

As to the first of these—difference of class—every county contains one or more gaols and one or more houses of correction, the two characters being usually united. Besides these, all boroughs, and certain exceptional jurisdictions called “liberties,” provide other buildings of the same kind, in which the criminals committed from their respective districts are confined. “Many of these minor prisons are but little used; for it appears by the judicial statistics of 1862, that out of 193 prisons in England and Wales there were sixty-three which, during the entire year, gave admittance to less than twenty-five prisoners; and that of these there were twenty-two prisons which received between eleven and twenty-five prisoners; fourteen prisons which received less than eleven, and more than six; and twenty-seven prisons which received less than six prisoners, or in some instances were absolutely tenantless.”²

These smaller prisons are generally “altogether unfit for the custody and penal discipline of prisoners.” The governor of Falmouth Gaol states that, though the number of prisoners during the year is only about seventy, the prison has been sometimes so crowded that they have slept four or five in a cell, with scarcely any attempt at classification. They associate in the airing-yards without any officer being present; and as one side of the prison is overlooked by houses, the only way of checking communications from outside is to put the best-behaved criminals in that part. When there is oakum to pick, the prisoners pick it; when there is not, they are employed in painting and lime-washing the prison; and when this occupation fails, they do nothing, as there is neither treadwheel nor crank in the building, and stone-breaking had to be given up because the prisoners broke the bars of the gaol-windows with their hammers. There is no chaplain, but “the rector and some members of the Society of Friends occasionally visit them, and afford them religious instruction.” There is a surgeon, who is paid 5*l.* a year, out of which he has to provide medicines; and one warder, who is not paid at all, as the town council refused to confirm the order of the justices appointing him, and the justices have no power to raise money. Fortunately, however, he is the governor’s son; and he therefore continues to look after the prisoners when his father is away. Otherwise, as the governor is also the superintendent of the borough police, they would be left for a great part of their time to look

² Report, p. xv.

after themselves.³ In the liberty prison at St. Alban's the average number of prisoners is about fifty. They sleep together in the larger cells, from five to ten in a cell. There is a night-warder, who sleeps in the prison; but his duty is described by the governor as "simply to hear what noises may be taking place." He cannot venture to go into a room where ten men are confined. The male prisoners sleep on the floor, as it was found that they broke up their bedsteads and used them to effect their escape.⁴ In Worcester City Gaol the prisoners may lie in bed from four in the evening till seven in the morning, which the governor "considers is the penal part of the prison;" they are associated during the day; they can see the people in the top rooms of the adjoining houses, interchange signs, and have things thrown over to them. And all this with the county gaol situated in the same town.⁵

In these and many other cases the defective discipline is attributable to the smallness of the prison, the want of necessary accommodations, and the absence of a proper official staff. These evils have been pointed out again and again by the prison inspectors. That they have not been remedied is due to the fact that in boroughs the visiting magistrates, who have the control of the prison arrangements, have not the control of the corporate purse; and their recommendations to the town council are, almost invariably, either passed over in silence or directly negatived. The whole question is one of expense.

Of the second class of differences—differences of construction—the most important is the degree in which the existing prison-buildings allow of the separation of one prisoner from another. "In some gaols, such as Wakefield, the cells are constructed on the separate system; in many, as at Leicester and Stafford, a portion only of the cells is certified, though all prisoners are separated; and in others, such as Maidstone and Coldbath Fields, the associated system still prevails extensively."⁶ The last-named prison is

³ Evidence of Mr. G. Julyan; *ibid.* pp. 458-466.

⁴ Evidence of Mr. J. Dayton; *ibid.* pp. 423-431.

⁵ Evidence of Mr. W. Griffiths; *ibid.* pp. 450-457. There is one statement of this witness which is worth quoting as a contribution to the history of prison discipline: "I am the only governor in England who was a governor in the time of George III. When I first remember the prison, we had two or three large rooms, and we turned all the men into these rooms without washing or any thing in the world; they were allowed a pound and a half of bread per day, and water; but there was not even a piece of soap allowed at first. I remember the county gaol having only one officer besides the governor."

⁶ *Ibid.* p. iii.

one of the worst offenders in this respect: "the whole of the floor is coated over in one room with mattresses, on which the prisoners lie as close as they can be packed, about 140 in one room lying on the floor; and they have been so now for a considerable time."⁷ As to the evil effects of association, even in less flagrant forms than this, there is no difference of opinion. All the witnesses examined before the Lords Committee agree that separation is the basis of all prison discipline. Conflicting theories as to the object of punishment do not affect their unanimity upon this point. Those who have the largest faith in individual reformation, regard isolation from evil companions as an indispensable preliminary. Those who look only, or mainly, to deterring criminals, find that solitude is, in almost every case, one of the punishments most dreaded. In this class of differences, therefore, as in the first, the question of uniformity resolves itself into the question of expense.

For both these defects in our prison system there are obvious remedies. The smaller prisons should be united to the larger ones. This is already to some extent provided for by the Act 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 43, which gives certain powers both of amalgamating the prisons and of contracting for the keep and maintenance of prisoners. The latter course has been occasionally adopted, and would be adopted more generally if it were not for the unwillingness of the borough authorities, in many cases, to pay the cost of the proper custody of a prisoner in the county gaol, when they can keep him more cheaply in a prison such as we have described. The Lords Committee recommend, therefore, "that further powers should be conferred upon the Secretary of State to require the coöperation of any borough, or the governing body of any borough gaol, where such gaol is of too limited a size to admit of satisfactory arrangements being made for the custody and discipline of the prisoners, to contract with the county gaol upon such terms as the Secretary of State shall approve. The same principle of amalgamation might also be perhaps beneficially adopted in some of the small county gaols."⁸

The evils of the association of prisoners are of course most completely put an end to by the provision of separate cells, so constructed that a prisoner may be confined in them both by day and night without injury to health. The ex-

⁷ Evidence of T. H. Colvill, Esq.; *ibid.* p. 441.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. xv.

pense, however, of this alteration would be in many cases so great, that it is very desirable to attain the same end, if possible, by other means. Sir Walter Crofton suggests an expedient which might be at once adopted in all prisons where the associated system prevails, and, at a later stage, in those prisons where the number of prisoners exceeds the number of separate cells: "There are many persons who, I think very naturally, are not inclined to incur the great expenditure that is involved in separate prisons. They adopt a plan in the Irish convict prisons from economy, which I think could be very satisfactorily adopted in county prisons where they do not wish to incur the expense of mere separate cells, or where they have no means, without a fresh building, of having them. I have brought with me a rough plan, showing how to divide large rooms into cells, which is very cheap, and answers the purpose, more especially if used for those prisoners who are long periods in the county prisons, so that after they have been in the ordinary cells for a certain time they could be removed to this sort of cells. They are used on the Continent in some of the prisons, and are very economical. The cells are made of wood and wire; the wire in front and at the top; the partitions to be either of wood or of corrugated iron, and to be made removable."⁹ The disadvantages of this scheme are, that in a large room arranged with cells of this description at each side and a passage in the middle, the prisoners in the adjoining cells could hear one another, and those in the opposite cells could also see one another. But this might be in a great measure remedied by keeping an officer constantly walking up and down in the passage; and the cost of the alteration is so very small, being for the material only 3*l.* 15*s.* a cell, that it might at once be made compulsory upon all associated prisons to effect it. That it would, as a temporary measure, be an immense improvement in many cases can hardly be doubted. In those prisons where there are already separate cells for every prisoner, which still cannot be certified for separate confinement owing to their being too small, much, if not every thing, may be done by proper arrangements on the part of the prison authorities. "I know of one prison," says Sir Joshua Jebb, "which is on the old construction (I speak now of the prison at Bristol), where a most effective discipline is well kept up by the governor, with very inadequate means as regards construction. He has small cells which are only fit for sleeping in,

⁹ Evidence, *ib.* p. 302.

and cannot be certified for separate confinement; but by dividing his treadmill into close compartments, and letting out the prisoners from their cells at certain distances from each other, and shutting them up in the compartments of the treadmill, and marching them back again to their cells the same way, no two prisoners can ever see each other, and you really obtain the advantages of separate confinement without the expense which is entailed by the construction of a prison.”¹⁰

While, therefore, we agree with the recommendation of the Committee, “that legislative measures be taken as speedily as possible to render the adoption of separation obligatory upon all gaols and houses of correction in England and Wales, and that the payment of the proportion of the charge now issued from the public revenues in aid of the county and borough prisons be made contingent in each case on the adoption of the separate system,” we think that the discharge of the obligation may be postponed indefinitely in the case of prisons in which it appears by the report of the inspector that the object is substantially attained with imperfect machinery, and for a certain time in the case of prisons which have adopted some such plan as that suggested by Sir Walter Crofton.

The exceptions to a uniform prison discipline with which we have hitherto dealt are of a wholly practical character. No competent person advocates the continued existence of small prisons, or of the associated system of confinement. At best they are viewed as unavoidable evils. But even if we assume that a complete uniformity has been attained on both these points, there remains a class of differences with which it is not so easy to deal. In prisons of the same character, built on the same plan, and provided with the same appliances, the system may be administered on radically divergent principles. This is especially the case in two most important respects—food and labour.

A scale of diet for county and borough gaols was issued by the Home Office in the year 1843. Its adoption was left optional with the local authorities; but the precise scale decided upon in any prison has to be submitted to the Secretary of State, and approved by him, before it can be legally used. Within the limits allowed by the Home Secretary—and these, as we shall see, are very wide—the matter is in the hands of the visiting justices of the different prisons. The official scale is as follows :

¹⁰ Evidence, *ib.* p. 107.

CLASS No. 1.

Convicted prisoners confined for any term not exceeding seven days.

Per Day.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Breakfast and supper	1 pint of oatmeal gruel.	1 pint of oatmeal gruel.
Dinner	1 lb. of bread.	1 lb. of bread.

Per Week.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Bread	7 lbs.	7 lbs.
Oatmeal gruel . . .	14 pints.	14 pints.
Weekly total of solid food	112 oz.	112 oz.

CLASS No. 2.

Convicted prisoners for any term exceeding seven days, and not exceeding twenty-one days.

Per Day.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Breakfast and supper	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 6 ounces of bread.	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 6 oz. of bread.
Dinner	{ 12 ounces of bread. 1 pint soup per week, if at hard labour.	{ 6 oz. of bread. 1 pint soup per week, if at hard labour.

Per Week.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Bread	10½ lbs.	7½ lbs.
Oatmeal gruel . . .	14 pints.	14 pints.
Weekly total of solid food	168 ounces.	126 oz.

CLASS No. 3.

Convicted prisoners employed at hard labour for terms exceeding twenty-one days, but not more than six weeks ; and convicted prisoners not employed at hard labour for terms exceeding twenty-one days, but not more than four months.

Per Day.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Breakfast and supper	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 6 oz. of bread.	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 6 oz. of bread.
Dinner :		
Sunday	{ 1 pint of soup, 8 oz. of bread.	1 pint of soup, 6 oz. of bread.
Thursday	{ 3 oz. cooked meat with- out bone, 8 oz. bread, and ½ lb. potatoes.	3 oz. cooked meat with- out bone, 6 oz. bread, and ½ lb. potatoes.
Tuesday	{ 8 oz. of bread, 1 lb. of potatoes.	6 oz. of bread, 1 lb. of potatoes.
Saturday		
Monday		
Wednesday		
Friday		

Per Week.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Bread	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ lbs.
Oatmeal gruel. . . .	14 pints.	14 pints.
Potatoes	4 lbs.	4 lbs.
Meat	6 oz.	6 oz.
Soup	2 pints.	2 pints.
Weekly total of solid food	210 oz.	196 oz.

CLASS No. 4.

Convicted prisoners employed at hard labour for terms exceeding six weeks, but not more than four months, and convicted prisoners not employed at hard labour for terms exceeding four months. No. 6, prisoners sentenced by court to solitary confinement. No. 7, prisoners for examination before trial, and misdemeanants of the first division, who do not maintain themselves. No. 8, destitute debtors.

Per Day.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Breakfast and supper	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 8 oz. of bread.	{ 1 pint of oatmeal gruel, 6 oz. of bread.
Dinner:		
Sunday	{ 3 oz. of cooked meat without bone.	3 oz. of cooked meat without bone.
Thursday	{ 3 oz. of cooked meat without bone.	3 oz. of cooked meat without bone.
Tuesday	{ $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of potatoes, and 8 oz. of bread.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of potatoes, and 6 oz. of bread.
Saturday	{ $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of potatoes, and 8 oz. of bread.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of potatoes, and 6 oz. of bread.
Monday	{ 1 pint soup, 8 oz. bread.	1 pint soup, 6 oz. bread.
Wednesday	{ 1 pint soup, 8 oz. bread.	1 pint soup, 6 oz. bread.
Friday	{ 1 pint soup, 8 oz. bread.	1 pint soup, 6 oz. bread.

Per Week.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Bread	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ lbs.
Oatmeal gruel. . . .	14 pints.	14 pints.
Potatoes	2 lbs.	2 lbs.
Meat	12 oz.	12 oz.
Soup	3 pints.	3 pints.
Weekly total of solid food	212 oz.	170 oz.

CLASS No. 5.

Convicted prisoners employed at hard labour for terms exceeding 4 months.

Per Day.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Sunday	{ Breakfast,—1 pint oat- meal gruel, 8 oz. bread.	Breakfast,—1 pint of oat- meal gruel, 6 oz. bread.
Tuesday	{ Dinner,—4 oz. cooked meat without bone, 1 lb potatoes, 6 oz. bread.	Dinner,—3 oz. of cooked meat without bone, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, 6 oz. bread.
Thursday	{ Breakfast,—1 pint of cocoa, 8 oz. of bread.	Breakfast,—1 pint cocoa, 6 oz. of bread.
Saturday	{ Dinner,—1 pint soup, 1 lb. potatoes, 8 oz. bread.	Dinner,—1 pint soup, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. potatoes, 6 oz. bread.
Monday	{ Dinner,—1 pint soup, 1 lb. potatoes, 8 oz. bread.	Supper, the week, 1 pint gruel, 6 oz. bread.
Wednesday	{ Supper, the week, 1 pint gruel, 8 oz. bread.	
Friday	{ Supper, the week, 1 pint gruel, 8 oz. bread.	

Per Week.

	MALE.	FEMALE.
Bread	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	7 $\frac{7}{8}$ lbs.
Oatmeal gruel . . .	14 pints.	14 pints.
Potatoes	7 lbs.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Meat	1 lb.	12 oz.
Soup	3 pints.	3 pints.
Weekly total of solid food	282 oz.	194 oz.

NOTE.—The soup to contain per pint 3 ounces of cooked meat without bone, 3 ounces of potatoes, 1 ounce of barley, rice, or oatmeal, and 1 ounce of onions or leeks, with pepper and salt. The gruel to contain 2 ounces of oatmeal per pint, and seasoned with salt. In seasons when the potato crop has failed, four ounces of split-peas made into a pudding may be occasionally substituted; but the change must not be made more than *twice* in each week. Boys under 14 years of age to be placed on the same diet as females.

The scale thus laid down has been adopted by about half the county prisons; but in the dietaries of the remaining half the differences both from the Home-Office scale and from each other are very considerable. Of the prisons the officials of which were examined before the Lords Committee, the Leeds prison gives the third class of prisoners 13 ounces of meat per week instead of 6; the fourth class, 16 ounces instead of 12; and the fifth class, 27 ounces instead of 16: the amount of vegetables being less in all the classes. In Cold Bath Fields prison the prisoners are only divided into three classes. The following is the weekly dietary:

1st Class (imprisonment up to 14 days):

Bread	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.
Gruel	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ pints.

2d Class (up to 2 months):

Bread	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.
Gruel	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ pints.
Meat	12 ozs.
Potatoes	1 lb.
Soup	2 pints.

3d Class (over 2 months):

Bread	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.
Gruel	14 pints.
Meat	24 ozs.
Potatoes	2 lbs.
Soup	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pints.

From a statement of the weekly dietary for male prisoners of the highest class given in by one of the witnesses before the Committee, it appears that out of fifty county gaols twenty-five use the government scale without alteration; thirteen give less, and three give more, solid food of all kinds; four give more solid food, but less meat; three give less solid food, and the same quantity of meat; one

gives less solid food, but more meat; and six give no meat at all.¹¹ "If we take the element of bread," says Dr. Guy, speaking of the food of the highest class of prisoners in those gaols which have not adopted the recommendations of the Home Office, "those dietaries are found to vary from the minimum of thirty ounces per week to the maximum of 224 ounces, exhibiting all sorts of figures: thirty, thirty-six, sixty-eight, and so on. If we take the element of meat, it is found to vary from no meat at all, through six ounces, eight ounces, twelve ounces, eighteen ounces, and such numbers, up to twenty-five ounces in a week. If we take the element of potatoes, it varies from twenty-four ounces,—the least quantity in any prison,—through thirty-two ounces, fifty-six ounces, and other numbers up to 112 ounces, that is one pound per day. The total of the solid elements of bread, meat, and potatoes, taken together, varies from a minimum of 100 ounces to a maximum of 340."¹² So again, in Class 1, prisoners sentenced to less than one week, in which only bread and gruel is prescribed, "fifty-eight prisons conform to the suggestions of the Home Office, and the other prisons give very various quantities of bread; for instance, 112 ounces, 126 ounces, 140 ounces, 168 ounces, 224 ounces, and 280 ounces. In the gaol at Hertford they give 168 ounces of bread, and also gruel and soup; and in Pembroke, for all classes of prisoners without exception, they give two pounds and a half of bread per diem."¹³

These extraordinary variations in the amount of food are, in reality, equivalent to so many different sentences. Confinement for seven days on two pounds and a half of bread per day is not the same punishment as confinement for seven days on one pound of bread per day. A year's imprisonment with a pound and a half of meat per week is a very different thing from a year's imprisonment with no meat at all. And yet these varying sentences are inflicted every day for exactly the same offence. The magnitude of the crime is determined by the county in which it happens to be committed. It is no wonder that criminals, when they have the opportunity, carefully pick out, as the scene of an intended violation of the law, the county which has the best-dieted gaol.¹⁴ "So closely," says Mr. Merry, the chairman of the visiting justices at Reading, "do prisoners follow the amount of food given, that I recollect a young man being in Reading gaol for the seventh time. I asked him how that was; and he said, 'I like your victuals best;' which was an

¹¹ Papers delivered in by William Oakley, Esq.; *ibid.* Appendix F.

¹² Evidence; *ibid.* p. 361.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 370.

Dr. Guy's evidence; *ibid.* p. 362.

honest answer. They know the diet to an ounce; and wherever the food is best, that is the gaol they would go to.”¹⁵

The obvious way of introducing a substantial uniformity into the dietary of the county and borough prisons is to make the adoption of the scale put out by the Home Office imperative, within certain limits, upon the visiting justices of the respective gaols. Before, however, such a change can be recommended, it is necessary to have some stronger assurance than we yet possess that the official dietary is framed upon sound principles. A prisoner must be kept in health, otherwise we should be subjecting him to a process of slow torture,—a punishment which we no longer inflict even on the worst criminals,—as well as lessening the chance of his gaining an honest living after he has left prison. But, subject to this condition, his food should be as cheap and as uninviting as possible; as cheap, because “the prisoner is being maintained at the cost of those very persons who have already sustained injuries, more or less severe, at his hands;” as uninviting, because unattractive food is an element of punishment, and the infliction of punishment is the object for which he is in prison. And besides these general considerations, which ought always to be kept in view, there is another arising from the fact that prisoners are not the only class of persons whose food is regulated by the community, without any voice in the matter being given to themselves. We have also to feed our paupers; and as in their case the rule rightly laid down by the Poor-Law Commissioners is that the dietary of the workhouse “must on no account be superior, or equal to, the ordinary mode of subsistence of the labouring classes of the neighbourhood subsisting by their own honest industry, thereby lessening the stimulus to exertion, and holding out an inducement to idle and improvident habits,” so neither should the dietary of the prison be superior to that of the pauper, thereby removing one of the safeguards, already too few, which keep poverty from degenerating into crime.

From all these points of view grave objections have been urged against the existing official scale. As regards the comparison with paupers, while the weekly total of solid food for the fifth class of prisoners under the Home-Office scale is 282 ounces, including 16 ounces of meat; the five dietaries issued by the Poor-Law Board in 1835 for the choice of the boards of guardians show a weekly total of solid food amounting to 178, 176½, 159½, 152, and 145 ounces respectively, the largest allowance of meat in any one of them being 16 ounces. Since that time the dietaries of many workhouses have been increased at the suggestion of the

¹⁵ Evidence; *ibid.* p. 251.

guardians; but it appears from a comparative statement of the allowance for adult males in forty-five union workhouses in the counties of Somerset, Devon, Dorset, Wilts, and Middlesex, that the weekly average of solid food is only 202 ounces, while in twenty cases it is below 200 ounces, and in the highest only 274 ounces. The proportion of meat varies from 5 ounces to 15. Of the fifty county prisons referred to above, only two give less solid food than the average workhouse dietary, while thirty-six give more than the highest. Such a superiority can only be justified by showing that the peculiar sanitary conditions of prison-life require a larger quantity or a better quality of food to keep men in ordinary health. To some extent this is probably the case; but when the difference between the diet of the pauper and the criminal is so remarkable, it is hardly possible not to suspect that the difference between their conditions has been exaggerated.

There are great anomalies also in the official dietary itself. It does not "seem to recognise," says Dr. Guy, one of the medical witnesses examined before the Lords Committee, "any fixed relation between the quantity to be given to a man and to a woman. With regard to Class 3, which is for sentences of more than twenty-one days and less than six weeks, with hard labour, the women who have more than twenty-one days' and less than six weeks' imprisonment have 196 ounces of solid food; but when they come to a longer term, more than six weeks and less than four months, they have only 170 ounces; and all that they get in return, as a counterbalance to that, is a single pint of soup extra per week, and an exchange of six ounces of meat for two pounds of potatoes. Again, while in Class 1 a woman has as much bread for dinner as a man, in Class 2 she has just half as much; and while in Class 3 she has for dinner six ounces of bread in place of eight, in Class 4 the same difference is made for every meal. In Class 5 she has six ounces of bread for eight ounces at breakfast and supper, but the same quantity at dinner; while the allowance of meat is reduced from four ounces to three, and of potatoes from a pound to half a pound. This table, in my judgment, requires to be very carefully considered and amended."¹⁶ Again, as to the diet of the male prisoners, both Dr. Guy and the other medical witness, Dr. Edward Smith, consider that in Class 3, Class 4, and Class 5 there is more meat given than is necessary. Both, too, believe it possible to leave out meat altogether without any injury to the health of the prisoner; and Dr. Guy laid before the Committee the following "proposed dietary," framed upon this view.

¹⁶ Evidence; *ibid.* p. 371.

		Per day.	Per week.	
1.				
Convicted prisoners; any term not exceeding 7 days	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ One pound of bread per diem is the common allowance for prison offences.
	Weekly total of solid food		112 oz.	
2.				
Exceeding 7 days; not exceeding 21 days; or after 7 days, and up to 21 days . . .	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ The early introduction of the potato is recommended on account of its anti-scorbutic properties.
	Potatoes . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	
	Weekly total of solid food		168 oz.	
3.				
Exceeding 21 days; not exceeding 6 weeks; or after 21 days, and up to 6 weeks . . .	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ The addition of 2 pints of oatmeal gruel is deemed sufficient for this short term. It should be salted and sweetened as in the recommended diet.
	Potatoes . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	
	Gruel (oatmeal) . .	{ 2 pts. }		{ 14 pts. }
	Weekly total of solid food		168 oz.	
4.				
Exceeding 6 weeks; not exceeding 4 months; or after 6 weeks, and up to 4 months . . .	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ In this dietary the bread is in excess of the military allowance up to 56 days, by half a pound a day; the half pound of potatoes does not exist in the military diet. As a set-off to this excess, the Indian meal of the military diet is reduced from 9 to 6 ounces, and the milk from $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints to 1 pint per diem.
	Potatoes . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	
	Oatmeal . .	8 oz.	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.	{ This dietary is in excess of the penal class diet of Millbank by 4 ounces of bread and 8 ounces of potatoes per diem; but it falls short of it by 2 ounces of oatmeal and 2 ounces of Indian meal per diem, and by half a pint of milk per diem. It would probably prove equally wholesome and nutritious.
	Indian meal . .	6 oz.	42 oz.	
	Milk . . .	1 pt.	7 pts.	
	Weekly total of solid food		266 oz.	
5.				
Exceeding 4 months; not exceeding 1 year; or after 4 months, and up to 1 year . . .	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ This diet is in excess of the penal class diet of Millbank by 4 ounces of bread and 8 ounces of potatoes, and it reaches the full allowances of that diet in oatmeal, Indian meal, and milk. It is believed to be a wholesome and nutritious diet for men undergoing hard labour.
	Potatoes . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	
	Oatmeal . .	8 oz.	56 oz.	
	Indian meal . .	8 oz.	56 oz.	
	Milk . . .	1 pt.	7 pts.	
	Weekly total of solid food		336 oz.	
6.				
Exceeding 1 year; not exceeding 3 years; or after 1 year, till the expiration of sentence in county and borough prisons	Bread . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	{ This diet is in excess of the penal class diet of Millbank by 4 ounces of bread and 8 ounces of potatoes, and it reaches the full allowances of that diet in oatmeal, Indian meal, and milk. It is believed to be a wholesome and nutritious diet for men undergoing hard labour.
	Potatoes . .	1 lb.	7 lbs.	
	Oatmeal . .	10 oz.	70 oz.	
	Indian meal . .	10 oz.	70 oz.	
	Milk . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$ pt.	$10\frac{1}{2}$ pts.	
	Weekly total of solid food		364 oz.	

There are other points, however, on which these two authorities differ widely. It will be seen that Dr. Guy proposes to reduce the present government scale for Class I by the omission of the oatmeal gruel. He justifies this change by the fact that one pound of bread per diem is the ordinary punishment-diet for prison offences both in military and convict prisons, and that prisoners are kept on it for three days, and sometimes for a week or ten days, without any apparent suffering.¹⁷ On the other hand, in Dr. Smith's opinion, even the government allowance is decidedly too low. He considers that the amount of daily nutriment which he has recommended for the Lancashire operatives, namely 4300 grains of carbon and 200 grains of nitrogen, is "only that which is necessary for the wants of the system." The total nutriment in one pound of bread and two pints of oatmeal gruel is only 2791 grains of carbon and 124 grains of nitrogen. "Question 889. 'Do you consider Class I of the Secretary of State's dietary sufficient?' 'I think it totally insufficient.' 890. 'Do you think that it is totally insufficient even for a small man?' 'It is totally insufficient for any man.' 891. 'Then, for a large man it is almost starvation?' 'It is starvation.'"¹⁸

When there is so marked a contrast of opinion, on an elementary question, between two highly competent persons, it is not wonderful to find them both admitting that in the present state of our knowledge of the subject it is impossible to draw up a really satisfactory scheme of prison dietary without further experiments. "The points," says Dr. Smith, "upon which we are at present deficient in knowledge are these: we want to determine precisely the effect of mere confinement upon the system; we only know, in a general way, that it does depress the system; but it must be determined precisely. Then we want to determine precisely the effect of meat; whether meat is necessary in any quantity, and in what quantity it is necessary. Then, whether fat, which is a dearer food than starch, with which it is analogous in composition, can be supplanted by starch, or in what proportion it must be given. We must also know what is the precise effect upon the system of those various punishments which are to be recommended; and having, first of all, decided upon punishments of a definite kind, we must then know what would be the amount of food necessary to meet that particular case; so that we have many subjects, about which we are at present ignorant, and which are absolutely necessary to be understood before we can

¹⁷ Evidence; *ibid.* p. 469.¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 84.

form a new scheme of dietary, but on all of which information can be obtained by proper experiments in prisons.”¹⁹ Dr. Guy, on the other hand, admitting that “in a scientific point of view it would be desirable to have such experiments made,” thinks that for practical purposes it would be sufficient to take one pound of bread and one pound of potatoes per diem as a basis, and then make experiments with varying quantities of other kinds of food upon prisoners variously employed. Whether this, or the more elaborate course suggested by Dr. Smith, is to be followed, we agree with Dr. Guy that it would be better for the Secretary of State to “put the experiments into the hands of some one man; if a committee were formed, the committee would become as one man if it were of any value at all; as a general rule, it is never of more value than the best man in it, and especially if it is to conduct experiments.”²⁰ It would probably, however, be necessary to give the Secretary of State temporary powers of suspending the legal dietary in any prison during the time the experiments were being carried on.

In the other great element of the administration of our prison discipline,—labour,—the want of uniformity is even more apparent than in food. Of “hard labour,” though it forms so important a feature in the majority of sentences, no authoritative definition exists. How variously it is interpreted we may learn from looking at the system in actual operation. At Leicester the instrument of penal labour is the crank. Every prisoner sentenced to hard labour “is called upon to perform a certain number of revolutions per day; he commences upon eight hours a day, one hour being devoted to another kind of labour of a lighter description. After a period, which is set forth in a printed form in his cell, his labour is reduced to seven hours, six hours, and so forth, depending altogether upon the length of his sentence. A short-sentenced prisoner will work the whole time; a man sentenced to twenty-one days’ hard labour would work twelve days upon the crank; a man sentenced to one month would work eighteen days; and a man sentenced to six weeks would work twenty-four days.” The rest of the working-day of nine hours is filled up with industrial labour. At Norwich Castle Gaol every prisoner is put upon the treadmill; at first for nine hours a day, half an hour on and ten minutes off; and afterwards removed to different kinds of industrial labour, at the discretion of the governor. At Reading the hardest labour is grinding corn and

¹⁹ Evidence; *ibid.* p. 86.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 259.

pumping water for the use of the prison; next comes mat-making and oakum-picking; and then other industrial labour. At Wakefield the only labour is shoe-making, tailoring, mat-making, and weaving. Taking the country through, these same elements are combined in almost every possible combination. In 1858, out of sixty-four gaols the treadwheel was used as the sole punishment in eight, and in combination with other punishments in thirty-five; the crank was used alone in three, with the treadwheel in twenty, and with other labour in fourteen; stone-breaking was found in eleven; oakum-picking in twenty-seven; industrial labour was adopted exclusively in six, and in combination with penal labour in forty. Thus the same sentence carries with it the same punishment in hardly any two prisons; and the character of the work is as well known to the criminal population as that of the food.

But though the disadvantage of these discrepancies can be seen at a glance, the cure for them is not so apparent. The Lords Committee recommend that the use either of the treadwheel or the crank should be prescribed by Act of Parliament as the principal means of carrying out a sentence of hard labour. But as the administration of discipline in county prisons rests mainly with the local authorities, this seems hardly a prudent course. The variety of labour is not caused, as we have seen the variety of diet to be, by the want of scientific knowledge; it results from a conflict of theory. The persons most interested in, and most conversant with, the details of prison discipline, hold quite opposite views both of the object of punishment and of the degree in which it is to be attained by this or that species of labour. No body of men will work a system well which they believe to be radically wrong. At present, in many counties the visiting justices are thoroughly imbued with the conviction that these forms of labour are altogether mischievous; and there must be a more general agreement upon the falsehood of this view before it can be authoritatively condemned by an act of the legislature. At the same time we cannot say that the objections commonly urged against penal labour are very forcible. It is difficult to attach much weight to the argument that the prisoner's consciousness of working for no material result is found to degrade him; since men who are imprisoned for living on what they have stolen from other people are hardly likely to be very sensitive to the fact that no one profits by their exertions. That labour on the treadwheel or at the crank presses unequally on the persons condemned to it, is of

course true. Men of sedentary habits find it more fatiguing than men who have been accustomed to bodily exertion; and, as custom makes it easier, old offenders suffer less from it than those who make trial of it for the first time. But inequality is the necessary accompaniment of forced labour. Provide all persons with industrial occupations, and you have only reversed the conditions of the treadmill. A man of vagrant and outdoor habits will find a day passed in mat-making a serious punishment; a man accustomed to some sedentary trade accepts it as a mere reproduction of the ordinary circumstances of his life. Nor, again, does it seem that penal labour is, in any of its forms, necessarily unhealthy. The medical evidence given before the Lords Committee tells quite in the opposite direction. Both Dr. Smith and Dr. Guy consider that, except in the case of persons medically declared unfit, some hours a day on the treadmill improves the health of a prisoner, increases his power of assimilating food, and proportionately lessens the necessity for feeding him on a highly nitrogenous diet, such as meat.

A more serious objection than any of these is to be found in the fact that penal labour is usually unproductive; while by putting the prisoners to industrial employment the magistrates are enabled to get out of them some, though in most cases a very inadequate, return for the cost of their keep. Certainly any waste of productive power is a thing to be avoided if possible; and if penal labour, strictly so called, can be made productive, if the treadmill and the crank can be turned to grinding corn or pumping water, by all means let it be done. So, too, if more directly productive labour can be made equally distasteful to the criminal, there is every reason for its substitution. If it cannot be made equally distasteful, we can only say, in the words of Sir Joshua Jebb, "the labour that is the most productive, as far as the county rates are concerned, is that which will keep a man out of prison;" and if nine hours a day at the treadmill makes the inside of a gaol more dreaded than nine hours' mat-making, the county will probably gain, even in mere money value, considerably more than the price of the mats.

At the same time we cannot say that there is much satisfactory evidence of the superiority of penal over industrial labour in this respect. The arguments derived from the alleged diminution of committals or re-committals in certain counties are based on a false generalisation. The fallacy *post hoc ergo propter hoc* vitiates them all. "The social and moral condition

of the poorer classes, the demand for labour, the price of food, the prevalence of pauperism, or the prosperous condition of the country, are circumstances which have so large an influence in determining the amount of crime at any particular period, that it becomes extremely difficult to ascertain the degree in which the punishment inflicted on offenders may or may not have been efficacious in the repression of crime.”²¹ And even if it were ascertained that the system of this or that gaol is more efficacious for the purpose than that of others, it is a further and more difficult question to which part of the entire system this result is to be attributed. Reading and Leicester gaols, which represent the two extremes of penal and individual labour, are both considered by their own authorities to be especially deterrent to criminals. When the present code of discipline was introduced into the former, a deputation of magistrates came over from the adjoining county of Buckingham to examine into it, as they found that it was necessary “to build a new gaol in Buckinghamshire, for that the scamps were going there because they did not like the system at Reading.” “I do not believe,” adds Mr. Merry, “that there is any thing which vagrants or tramps, who I consider are the very worst class of all criminals (they are living lies), dread more than the separate cell.”²² As to Leicester, the governor says: “The vagrants, I am happy to say, we have nearly got rid of altogether; occasionally they do commit offences, but those who do do not know what Leicester gaol is. It used to be a red-letter gaol; it is a black one now.”²³ But when he is asked what it is that makes the discipline so deterrent, he evidently thinks the most formidable feature in it is the strictness with which the separate system is carried out. And this view is confirmed by the fact that the government side of the prison, where penal labour is not enforced though the system is in other respects the same, seems to be dreaded equally with the county side. At least Major Fulford, the governor of Stafford gaol, in answer to a question whether it might not be desirable to remove prisoners at a certain stage of their sentence from the county gaol to a government prison, says: “It would be very agreeable for the prisoner; he would like it. Any change, I apprehend, would be agreeable to him, unless he were sent to Leicester. I believe that no prisoner in England would like to go there if he

²¹ Memorandum by the Lord Chief Justice. Report of the Commissioners on Transportation and Penal Servitude, i. p. 77.

²² Evidence, *ibid.* p. 241.

²³ Mr. Musson's evidence, *ibid.* p. 171.

could help it. I sent some government convicts there the other day, and one man told me it was hell upon earth.”²⁴ So far, then, as it is safe to draw any conclusion from only two instances, it would seem to follow that neither industrial nor penal labour much affects the character of a gaol. Separation is equally deterrent whether combined with the one or the other.

The whole question, however, might, it seems to us, be advantageously disposed of by applying to county prisons a method suggested for convict prisons by a writer in the *Cornhill Magazine* for February 1863. Let every criminal sentenced to hard labour—except perhaps for very short periods, when solitary confinement on bread and water would be the best punishment—be told on his arrival: “Prison clothing and prison lodging will be found for you, but you must get your own food by your own labour. If you can work at a trade, you will have a certain amount of work given out to you every day; if you do not know any trade, there is an industrial school in the prison, and you may learn one, though the time spent in learning it will not count as part of your imprisonment; if you do not know a trade and do not wish to learn one, you will be put on the treadmill. By doing so much work of either kind,—making so many mats or shoes, breaking so many stones, or staying on the treadmill so many hours,—you can earn, say, sixpence a day; with that you can buy in the prison just food enough to keep you in good health. If you do not choose to earn that, your stomach must suffer for it.” By this plan the relations of food and work would be assimilated to those of ordinary life. The criminal would have to work as hard as the lowest class of labourers, and for lower wages; while all the primitive elements of prison-life would be retained in addition. He would be deprived of all companionship, and restricted to a diet which though sufficient would be uninviting; for he would only be able to obtain certain prescribed kinds of food, such as bread, potatoes, and oatmeal, cooked in a certain way and combined in a certain proportion, and his only choice would lie between buying whole rations or half rations, enough or less than enough. In every respect but one his condition would admit of no comparison with that of the ordinary labourer, and even in that one he would be decidedly worse off. It is difficult to imagine any discipline more distasteful, and therefore more deterrent to the criminal class, than a life of perfect monotony, in which the prisoner would be debarred from every

²⁴ Evidence, *ibid.* p. 159.

kind of indulgence, and just able by the hardest toil to earn the barest subsistence.

It appears, therefore, that of these four great improvements in our prison system, two—the abolition of the smaller gaols, and the entire separation of the prisoners from one another—may be effected by immediate legislation; the third—the revision of the dietary—requires, as a preliminary, more accurate scientific investigation; and the last—the introduction of a uniform system of labour—depends for success on a nearer approach to agreement, on the part of the authorities, as to the nature and objects of punishment.

For some time back the avowed tendency of most of the changes in prison discipline has been to give increased and increasing importance to the reformation of the individual offender. If you cannot achieve this, it is said, in effect, by some of the persons most competent to speak with authority on the subject, you may as well give up imprisonment altogether. Punish a man as severely as you will, and if he goes out unreformed, the chances are that he will come back again. In a measure no doubt this is a true statement; but those who use it as a triumphant argument against severity, mistake altogether the sphere within which deterrent punishments are intended to act. It is not so much the confirmed criminal as the incipient criminal whom they are designed to warn. Their real use is to create among the class from which our gaols are recruited a feeling analogous to that which does, to some extent, exist among the class from which our workhouses are recruited. Thirty years of wholesome severity has made short work with the gigantic pauperism and wholesale demoralisation which had been generated by a kindly but mistaken compassion. It has often borne hardly on individuals, but as a whole it is justified by its results. The poor man who will submit to almost any deprivation sooner than go into the union, is the creation of the New Poor Law. We have yet to try what an equally stringent remedy will do for a more dangerous disease. If we can but deal with our criminals as we have dealt with our paupers, we shall have achieved a greater success than if we had reformed every prisoner—we shall have reformed the possible prisoners.

“The purposes for which the punishment of offenders takes place,” says Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, “are twofold: the first, that of deterring others exposed to similar temptations from the commission of crime; the second, the reformation of the criminal himself. The first is the primary and more important object; for though society has,

doubtless, a strong interest in the reformation of the criminal and his consequent indisposition to crime, yet the result is here confined to the individual offender; while the effect of punishment as deterring from crime extends not only to the party suffering the punishment, but to all who may be in the habit of committing crime, or who may be tempted to fall into it. Moreover the reformation of the offender is in the highest degree speculative and uncertain, and its permanency, in the face of renewed temptation, exceedingly precarious. On the other hand, the impression produced by suffering inflicted as the punishment of crime, and the fear of its repetition, are far more likely to be lasting, and much more calculated to counteract the tendency to the renewal of criminal habits. The experience of mankind has shown that though crime will always exist to a certain extent, it may be kept within given bounds by the example of punishment. This result it is the business of the lawgiver to accomplish, by annexing to each offence the degree of punishment calculated to repress it. More than this would be a waste of so much human suffering; but to apply less out of consideration for the criminal, is to sacrifice the interests of society to a misplaced tenderness towards those who offend against its laws. Wisdom and humanity, no doubt, alike suggest that if, consistently with this primary purpose, the reformation of the criminal can be brought about, no means should be omitted by which so desirable an end can be achieved. But this, the subsidiary purpose, should be kept in due subordination to the primary and principal one. And it may well be doubted whether, in recent times, the humane and praiseworthy desire to reform and restore the fallen criminal may not have produced too great a tendency to forget that the protection of society should be the first consideration of the lawgiver.²⁵

Again, if reformation is the chief end of punishment, the recognition of the fact must, in mere consistency, involve an entire change in the principle of its application. We are now trying to reform the very persons with whom the chance of success is smallest. We shut up for a lengthened period the old and hardened criminal, while we suffer the young offender, with whom crime has not become a habit, and who is still open to good impressions, to escape with an imprisonment of a few days or weeks, and then let him loose upon the streets to qualify himself by deeper guilt for more complete purification. But if our prisons are all to be turned into adult reformatories, this whole process must be reversed.

²⁵ Report of Commissioners on Transportation and Penal Servitude, i. 87.

Our object must be to select the most promising subjects to try our hands upon. Repeated convictions must be taken as evidence of a character which is proof against human punishments, and the gaol reserved for those who have but just strayed from the paths of virtue. It is an absurd idea, but it is nevertheless only the legitimate consequence of that temper of mind which insists on ignoring altogether the primary ends of punishment, or at least on subordinating them to a minor one. Those who cherish it see neither the injury they would inflict on society, nor the danger to which they would expose the criminal. No advance of civilisation will enable us to dispense with fear as a motive to self-restraint. The more the sanctions of the world to come retire behind the clouds, and the notion of an avenging Deity dies out of the popular belief, the more necessary is it to invest the sanctions of society with more awful accompaniments, and to create for human justice the dread which men once felt for the Divine. If we surround crime with no terrors, we leave innocence without a safeguard. And it is not the good only that we are protecting. The state has to perform a double duty—to defend the community from the criminal, and the criminal from the community. It can only reconcile these conflicting claims by giving to each their just due. By denying impunity to the one it can forbid Lynch law to the other. Severity to the few is not only tenderness to the many, it is tenderness to the few also. There can be no love without justice; and if we made of every gaol “a hell upon earth,” we might still, in our degree, write up over it, with a good conscience, the words which Dante saw above the Infernal Gate :

“Giustizia mosse il mio alto Fattore :
Fecemi la divina Potestate,
La somma Sapienza e il primo Amore.”

But although the primary object of punishment ought never to be left out of sight, it by no means follows that we are to give no place at all to any other. If there is any opportunity of subjecting the criminal to a process of improvement, any possibility of so acting on his mind as to restrain him from a repetition of his crime, not merely by the fear of future pain, but by the alteration of his disposition, it is obviously both the duty and interest of the state to avail itself of the chance thus presented to it. It is its duty, because the offender is still a member of the community, for whose welfare the state is bound to take care when the welfare of others possessed of greater claims does not conflict with it; it is its interest, because the reformation of

every prisoner is so much contributed, both in his own person and in the person of those under his influence, to the ultimate diminution of crime. Such an opportunity is afforded by the substitution of imprisonment for the ruder forms of punishment,—for flogging at the cart's tail, for branding on the cheek, for standing in the pillory. At first sight the wisdom of the change thus effected is somewhat doubtful. We take a man from his family, and they are very likely ruined; we charge ourselves with the expense of boarding, lodging, and clothing him; and we remove the spectacle of his sufferings from the eyes of the very persons whom they are meant to deter. In part, no doubt, this seemingly more humane policy is justified by the change of public feeling. It is of no use to have laws more severe than the temper of society demands. What is gained in the terror they inspire, is lost in the uncertainty which attaches to their administration. But the most complete justification is to be found in the opportunity which the new system gives to combine reforming with deterring agencies. If we can make imprisonment formidable enough to inspire a proper terror in criminals outside, it is at any rate an additional advantage to have the chance of bringing to a better life the criminal within.

But the state, acting for itself, can only deter from crime by the fear of punishment. It cannot usurp functions which do not belong to it in the gaol any more than in the streets. If it wishes to subject the prisoner to any direct moral influence, it must call in the aid of an independent authority. It must appeal to religion, acting through its ministers. Hence it rightly appoints chaplains in every gaol, in the hope that they may find means of turning to good account the enforced seclusion from evil companions, and the long hours of solitary reflection to which every prisoner is necessarily condemned. But as the object of the state is moral and not dogmatic, it must for its own sake provide for them that species of teaching which is most likely to exercise the desired influence. It must send to the criminal the minister of the religion in which he was brought up, the religion which had a hold on him in the days when he was still innocent, the religion which will speak to him from the vantage ground of association and memory. The first condition, therefore, of any attempt at the reformation of prisoners must be to provide them with chaplains of their own form of belief.

We may arrive at the same result from other premisses. When people fall out of society into the power of the state,

they necessarily lose their freedom of action ; and the state has to provide that this loss of freedom shall not work a moral as well as a social forfeiture. In the community at large all classes of persons are living under a system governed by the principle of liberty and self-help. The state leaves them to consult their own tastes and to supply their own wants. It does not find them work, or pay, or food, or medicine, or education, or religion ; it leaves all these matters to the agency of private enterprise. And as it does not attempt to provide, so neither does it pretend to regulate. But in the exceptional communities created by the state for its own ends, a different system necessarily prevails. Soldiers and sailors, paupers and prisoners, are supplied by the state with all the necessaries of life, and they have the same claim on the government for religious aid that they have for board and lodging. They cannot obtain it for themselves, and the duty of providing it must rest on the same shoulders that have to bear the burden of all their other wants. But in a country like England there arises another obligation. A state which acknowledges liberty of conscience is bound not only to respect it in civil society, but to provide securities for its enjoyment by those who have forfeited, or temporarily surrendered, a portion of their civil rights. Special regulations are necessary, in order that those who, as soldiers or sailors, as paupers or prisoners, are deprived of the entire fruition of the liberties which the constitution secures, may not be subjected to positive religious disabilities. For the spirit of a government is manifested most distinctly in its conduct towards those who are removed from the ordinary conditions of private life, and brought more directly under its own control. The mere indifference of the state to the presence of varieties of faith among its subjects does not constitute religious freedom ; for the principle of unity may still prevail in the government. Religion is free only when an impartial tolerance penetrates the administration itself, and governs the relations of authority with the people ; when those who do not conform to the faith of the crown or the majority are on equal terms with those who do, not only in the exercise of political power, but in the manner in which they feel its administrative action. The principle of liberty, where it is accepted, requires that the consolations of their own religion should be accessible to those who do not profess that of the state. If the religious instruction of prisoners were merely a social right, this permission would be all that could be demanded ; but by the appointment of Protestant chaplains the state

acknowledges that it is an object of public interest. In the words of Mr. Disraeli, "On what possible ground, after having adopted those principles with regard to the treatment of criminals which have been confirmed by a long series of legislation, can you justify that legislation, if you say that there shall be in the gaols of the country a considerable portion of the penal population whom you will take no care to reform, and whom you are prepared periodically to let loose again on the country, unreformed by the influence of religion?" For the purposes of the state it is just as necessary that the Catholic prisoner should be attended by the priest, as that the Protestant should be visited by the chaplain; and where the state requires from the one the same service as from the other, it is bound to confer a recognised official status upon both alike.

Reasonable as these conclusions are, it was only in 1863 that their soundness was recognised by the English legislature. Up to the present year, although there are between 3000 and 4000 Catholic prisoners in the county and borough gaols,—although in sixteen prisons there was on an average upwards of 130, and in one actually a majority of the whole number confined,—no opportunity was provided for their being visited by a priest except at their own special request. How this special request clause worked may easily be imagined. Criminals are not more likely than other people to think about religion if there is no one to remind them of it; and this consideration alone makes it perfectly natural that in one gaol, out of 485 Catholic prisoners, only 36 asked to see a priest, and in another only 2 out of 76. But there are other motives at work besides simple indifference. A prisoner may not care to see the Protestant chaplain, as such; but when a man is confined in a separate cell he is glad to see any human being who will come to visit him; and, considered merely as a means of passing the time, the occasional interview with a priest, brought in from outside, is a very poor substitute for the daily visits of the appointed official. It is the special advantage of the separate system that it disposes the prisoner to welcome with delight any break in the monotony of his life; and, even without any thought of proselytism on the chaplain's part, it is easy to see how willing a listener, and possibly how apt a convert, he will have in a man who has no one else to talk to. There is a curious instance of the religious influence of separate confinement given in Mr. Merry's evidence before the Lords Committee: "You cannot force men to read, or to do any thing; but such is

the irksomeness of the cells that they insensibly do it of their own accord. I had a remarkable case of a Jew who was committed for a year; and all we did in that case was to put a Hebrew Bible in his cell, in order that he might read it. He could not help himself; he did read it; and after a while he asked me whether he was at liberty to read our New Testament. I said, 'By all means; it is open to every one here.' He read it, and it broke him down. He had never seen his own Bible; he had only read in the synagogue what they call the Talmud; and when he came to read the Old Testament, and compared the prophecies in the Old Testament with their fulfilment in the New, he became a Christian and was baptised, and he begged to be allowed to receive the Sacrament. That was the result of the separate cell. All the argument and all the persuasion upon earth would have had no weight with that man; but the irksomeness of his cell compelled him to do something. If we had put him upon the treadmill, he would have been a Jew now."²⁶ We question whether, when the Jewish rate-payers of Berkshire are next called upon to contribute to the enlargement of Reading gaol, they may not say with Mr. Merry, though in a very different spirit, "That was the result of the separate system!"

It was to meet this state of things, and to fulfil a pledge given last year in opposing Mr. Henessey's Bill on the same subject, that Sir George Grey introduced his measure for the appointment of Catholic chaplains in gaols. It empowers the visiting justices to nominate a chaplain whenever the number of Catholic or Dissenting prisoners appears to them to require it. If they think fit, they may also pay him a salary out of the general prison fund. Where the number of Catholic or Dissenting prisoners is small, the justices are enabled to allow the visits of a priest or Dissenting minister to the members of his communion, under such restrictions as they may think fit to impose, without any special request being made by individual prisoners; and lists are to be kept, distinguishing the prisoners according to the form of their religious belief, which are to be open to the inspection of the ministers of the different denominations. It will no longer be the duty of the ordinary chaplain to visit any of the prisoners whose names appear in these lists. If the Home Secretary's Bill had been opposed on Catholic grounds, there would have been no cause for surprise. Where the visiting justices are disposed to carry out the spirit of the Act, it may work very fairly; where they are not so disposed, it is

²⁶ Report of Lords Committee, p. 241.

hard to see what is to prevent it from remaining a dead letter. To leave the appointment to the discretion of the magistrates was certainly the very way to make it so; for it was admitted that in many cases where a chaplain is wanted they will not avail themselves of the permission. The act gives "novel and extraordinary powers to a body of persons who, with all respect, are incompetent to exercise them, and who moreover are averse to being vested with them. We shall have one law in one county, and another in another, and even a different law in the same county, according as a majority of the magistrates at quarter sessions may from time to time determine. Already there exist sufficient grounds of dispute and discussion with respect to the appointment of justices; but this measure will introduce an element of religious controversy, and so make things worse than ever."²⁷ Again, to leave the selection of a chaplain entirely in the hands of the magistrates, was only to provide them with a further opportunity of displaying intolerance. It is quite conceivable that men who would not venture to disregard the law altogether might choose a priest incapacitated by some canonical irregularity for the discharge of the duty. Whatever points a new contrast between local and central authorities, to the disadvantage of the former, and impels great interests to seek protection, not in the fair administration of the law, but in the immediate action of the government, creates a new danger to the constitution, undermines the respect for self-government, and supplies Catholics with a fresh inducement to lean to the central power.

If by making the Act merely permissive the Home Secretary expected to conciliate ultra-Protestant intolerance, he was disappointed. The Bill was warmly opposed at every stage. That Mr. Newdegate or Mr. Whalley should object to it on the score that it "discouraged those Roman Catholics who desired to emancipate themselves from priestly intolerance," was perhaps only natural; though it is strange that even these gentlemen do not see that, if such reasoning means any thing, it tends irresistibly to the conclusion that a man does not think of becoming a Protestant until he has already become a criminal. But it is surprising to find a man of Mr. Selwyn's mark gravely justifying his vote against the Bill, not merely on those weighty grounds which we quoted from him just now, but because it "will take away the right of exercising their individual will and conscience from prisoners, and enable the visiting justices to appoint,

²⁷ Speech of Mr. Selwyn; *Times*, April 21, 1863.

if they think fit, a minister to attend them whether they request or desire it or not." If he were objecting to the appointment of chaplains in gaols at all, such language would be at least consistent; when it is used in support of a law which imposed upon the Protestant chaplain of a prison the duty of holding personal intercourse with all prisoners, of whatever creed, who might happen to be confined there, it is only impudent. But the reception which such a measure as the Prison Ministers Bill is sure to meet with from a section of the House of Commons is but the natural consequence of the manner in which the victory of 1829 was won. "It was the first time a measure had been forced upon a hostile court and reluctant Parliament, a dominant party and an unwilling people, by the pressure of a political organisation. The abolition of the slave-trade was due to the conviction which had been wrought by facts, arguments, and appeals to the moral and religious feelings of the people. But the Catholic cause owed its triumph to no such moral conversion."²³ And the result of this has been, that each following step in the same course, and every reform which has tended to complete the realisation of the principle of religious freedom, has provoked the same opposition as the original measure, and has had to be fought for with almost equal vehemence. While the triumph of Free Trade has been admitted, with all its results, by those who had opposed it, the vanquished party in the Catholic struggle have disputed the trophies of victory, and attempted to preserve a compromise between liberty and intolerance. The defeated interests have yielded with good grace; but passion has not ceased to rage because it has ceased to command. Though the principles from which they sprang has been renounced, the penal legislation and the persecuting spirit of the past live on in nooks and corners; and disabilities which Parliament would no longer think of imposing are still but slowly and reluctantly repealed.

²³ May's *Constitutional History*, ii. 213.

THE IRISH CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

THE Paladin Astolfo, returning from the East, was a spectator of, and afterwards an actor in, a singular combat. He found on the sands of Egypt two Christian knights engaged in deadly conflict with a magician. Victors by all ordinary tests of victory, their progress towards the extinction of their adversary was not encouraging. They pierced him through, clove him to the saddle, sliced off successive limbs, in vain. Every wound healed as soon as it was made, and each severed member returned to its place and was pieced to again with admirable art. Once, even, when they succeeded in cutting off his head and flinging it into the Nile, the body, with much unconcern, descended, searched, found the head, and fixed it on, and renewed the battle as fresh as ever. The secret of this vexatious vitality, says Ariosto, lay in a single enchanted hair; and it was only when the Cavalier of England, who took the place of his overwearied friends, seized the necromancer by the nose, and with a sword of unearthly temper shaved off every hair, that the foul old trunk at length collapsed and gave up the ghost. The story affords a type of the war against inveterate abuses. It teaches us what assaults they manage to survive, and how often are they literally hewn piecemeal, so far as the power of thought and language can do it, before the weapon charged with their destruction is found.

Of such abuses, perhaps the most impressive instance that exists is the Irish Church Establishment. A little work¹ on that subject has been lately published in Dublin, which, within the compass of a pamphlet, presents a startling array of facts and authorities. It is scarcely possible to lay it down without one conviction at least, namely, that whatever is to be done, there remains absolutely nothing more to be said. Sentence has been pronounced, not by writers and speculators alone, but by the foremost statesmen of England of the present and past generations. While they differ as to the practical measures to be adopted, there is no controversy as to the utter viciousness of the actual condition of things. And if strength of reasoning, statesmanlike forethought, eloquence, invective, ridicule, and the expression of just and humane feeling, were sufficient to ensure its abolition, it would not be necessary now for the thousand and first time to insist on truisms, and appeal

¹ *The Church Establishment in Ireland, past and present.* Illustrated exclusively by Protestant authorities. With Appendices showing the revenues of the Established Church, the religious census of the population of Ireland, and other returns bearing on the subject. Dublin: Warren, 1863.

to the very elements of political philosophy. After all, is not the case stated in a dozen words? The name and attributes of a national Establishment, and close on three-quarters of a million of money drawn annually from the soil of Ireland and bestowed upon a Church which numbers less than one-ninth of the population. What more is to be said? It is, indeed, a striking tribute to the force of the anti-Catholic passions of England, on which, and which alone, this enormous injustice depends for a single year of life.

Perhaps the most striking testimony amongst the entire collection to which we have referred is that of Mr. Disraeli. We will do that gentleman the justice to believe that it is the expression of his sincere and deliberate opinion; and it puts the case so forcibly and pithily that we cannot forbear from extracting it: "That dense population, in extreme distress, inhabited an island where there was an established Church which was not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy the richest of whom lived in distant capitals. Thus they had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church, and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world. That was the Irish question. Well, then, what would honourable gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, the remedy is revolution. But the Irish could not have a revolution. And why? Because Ireland was connected with another and more powerful country. Then what was the consequence? The connection with England has become the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution were the only remedy, England was logically in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would effect by force. That was the Irish question in its integrity. . . . The moment they had a strong executive, a just administration, and ecclesiastical equality, they would have order in Ireland, and the improvement of the physical condition of the people would follow."² This bold and plain language, which is no more, indeed, than the verdict which all the world outside the limits of England has agreed to pronounce, may serve to explain at least, if it does not excuse, the wild thoughts of those Irishmen whose own passions are deeply engaged, and who, from long despair of English justice, embrace the alternative which Mr. Disraeli indicates, and look for its advent to every wind that blows.

For the Irish Protestants, on the other hand, there is every excuse; and it is difficult to speak of them with severity. It is

² Hansard, vol. lxxii. p. 1016.

bitter to part with any possession, most of all to surrender even the last shadow and vestige of that dearest of all possessions,—ascendancy over our fellow-men. But, for forming a complete judgment on the case, it is instructive to read the pleas which they put forward on their own behalf. They make every effort to withdraw the issue from the domain of present justice and policy, and to remove it back to remote antiquarian controversies and the very realm of shadows. Since the late revival of the question we find all these visionary subtleties marshalled forth afresh. We, say their propounders, are the true and ancient Church of Ireland, the lawful representatives and inheritors of Patrick and Columba and Bride. We protest against the domination of Rome, and so did that ancient Church in the days of the Venerable Bede, when it differed from Rome on the subject of the tonsure and the time of Easter. True, this independent Church in after ages sadly degenerated from its ancient glory, and fell into all the corruptions and idolatries which defaced the Christianity of the middle age. Its apostasy was consummated when a Pope of English birth bestowed the island on an English king, and when the synod of Cashel, a synod convened under English auspices, decreed that thenceforth the discipline of the Church of Ireland should resemble that of England. Then for four centuries the Roman yoke pressed on the neck of the Irish Church ; but she nobly redeemed herself in the sixteenth century. Then, emulating the example of England, the Irish Church and nation flung off the fetters of Rome, and reverted to the purity of the Gospel. That pure Church are we. The Pope, embittered at the loss of so bright a jewel in his crown, never ceased his intrigues for the restoration of his power. He sent over his priests and missionaries, and unhappily succeeded in founding a new and usurping Church, which seduced but too many of the faithful from their spiritual allegiance. This melancholy defection the Church of Ireland has never ceased to deplore. She has never relaxed her efforts to win back her erring children ; and though the powers of darkness be strong against her, is that a reason why the Protestant state of England, for whom she has done and suffered so much, should now consummate her destruction ?

This is the story spread with much unction over Dr. Mant's two volumes of the history of the Irish Church, condensed into little works like Dr. King's primer, presented to the House of Commons clothed in Mr. Whiteside's rhetoric, and repeated even with a show of something like conviction in letters from rural deans and vicars in all the newspapers of their party. There are in Ireland two hundred parishes, or thereabouts, it is computed, in which there is not a single Protestant ; something the same

number, in which the Protestants average about a score. There are eleven dioceses in which the whole aggregate of Protestants is less than that of a single Catholic parish ; and the sum-total of the members of this ancient Church of Ireland are one-tenth of the whole population. And to feed these pastors without a flock there comes from the land of Ireland seven hundred thousand pounds a year, cut and dug for them by the spade and scythe of the Catholic millions, who have to maintain their own Church out of poverty as great as is known amongst men ; and this they uphold, before beings endowed with reason, by arguments such as we have quoted. If the whole tale were as true as gospel, it would not touch the question ; but in reality it is a fable, compared with which the legend of Pope Joan and the story of Merlin are harmless and respectable.

Bede accuses the Church of Ireland in his day of differing from the rest of the Western Church as to the time for the celebration of Easter. Could there, to any candid mind, be a clearer proof of her conformity in all other points ? Are we to believe that the host of Irish saints who, as apostles and missionaries, poured over Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, and whose names are recorded as patrons of so many Continental cities, believed and taught a faith different from that of the Church which ranks them amongst its luminaries ? Whatever questions may have arisen as to ceremonial or jurisdiction, there is no Irish antiquarian who does not know that the Irish, so far back as Christianity can be traced amongst them, had essentially the same faith and observances—call them superstitions if you will—as at this hour. If Mass, confession, saint-worship, prayers for the dead, and devotion to the Blessed Virgin, be indicative of a cultus very different from that of the Church by law established, we may with tolerable security conclude that the sixteenth century was the earliest in which the teachings of that favoured institution were made to ring in Irish ears. The great body of the Irish people, instead of undergoing that marvellous process of oscillation which the Protestant fiction ascribes to them, of being first Protestants and then Papists, then Protestants again and then Papists again, have simply adhered to their traditional faith in the teeth of barbarous persecution, and have been, as they are perhaps, the most Catholic people in Europe.

It must be owned, however, that this fidelity of the Irish to their religion did not prevent some of their princes from manifesting a good deal of that convenient pliancy, for the sake of temporal interest, which marked so strongly the epoch of the Reformation. Henry VIII., who, with all his faults, is almost a solitary instance among English sovereigns of a prince conceiving and trying to carry out a large, definite, and generous

policy towards Ireland, endeavoured, as is well known, to reconcile thoroughly the chiefs of the Irish septs with the crown, conferring upon them English titles of nobility, offering them their due place in the Parliament, which was to be thenceforth not of the Pale but of the kingdom, and giving them an earnest of his royal bounty. This policy, like every instance of just dealing on the part of England towards Ireland, had its success; but it needs little knowledge of the character and history of Henry to be assured that the recognition of his claim to be supreme head of the Church was an indispensable condition of his favour. Truth to say, the Irish princes made small scruple on the point. We might cite, as applicable to their case, the thoroughly characteristic saying of James I. to some of their successors,—that it would be time for them to stipulate for religion when it appeared by their life and conversation that they had any. They recognised Henry's new title of supreme head, just as they recognised his new title of King of Ireland, quite content with the fact that after this form of words, as before it, their own mode of life and all its arrangements, civil and spiritual, remained the same.

The Parliament of the Pale, as obsequious as the Parliament at Westminster, established the supremacy of the king by law; but that also was really a mere form. Within the Pale and without it the whole religious life and observances of the people were unchanged. It was with Elizabeth that innovation came in a real and perilous form. In her mind and that of her ministers it was a rooted and almost elementary principle that, so far as the power of the State could make itself felt, no religion should be suffered but the religion of the sovereign. This was not so much sectarian intolerance as a strong sense of the political necessity of religious conformity. Contemporary with the Reformation, of independent growth, yet both influencing that event and undergoing its influence, it is manifest that the ideal of the State as a complete, harmonious, and concordant whole, had taken great possession of the minds of men. We discern this almost as clearly in Shakespeare as in Machiavelli. It is observable that, fairly as Shakespeare on the whole deals with the Catholic religion in what may be called its personal aspects and effects, he never approaches the conception of the Church as an independent and self-governing whole; while, on the other hand, the State is idealised by him into something mystic and divine. And this idea of the majestic unity of the State explains to us why the sovereigns and statesmen of that age, however personally dissolute or irreligious, were so remorseless towards religious dissent, and placed religious conformity amongst the foremost tests of loyal obedience.

Elizabeth unhesitatingly set herself to dragoon Ireland into an acceptance of her own religion. Her Pale Parliament re-enacted the royal supremacy, and abolished Catholicism as far as a statute could do so. In order to secure acquiescence, penalties were imposed on those who should fail to attend their parish church; and in this enactment seventeen bishops in the Upper House concurred. If this fact amount to an acceptance of the Established Church by the nation of Ireland, we give our adversaries the full benefit of it. The people, they say, did for a time acquiesce, and went to church under the new dispensation. Consider for a moment the state of the case. Outside the Pale, until Mountjoy had laid Munster in ashes, and the long resistance of O'Neill was quelled, the Act of Parliament was a dead letter. The Irish population, not one in a hundred of whom knew a word of the English language, kept their priests and friars, who said Mass, shrived and anointed them, with no more idea of adopting any other religion than they had had for four hundred years before. Inside the Pale it was a somewhat more mixed case. The population did not exactly apprehend the difference between old and new; and the state of things has been not inaptly paralleled with the spectacle presented by St. Paul's Cathedral in the opening of the reign of Edward VI., when Mass was said at one altar and the reformed service read at another. But when the matter became clear, it was astonishing with what unanimity the people, even within the Pale, clung to the old faith.

The later apologists of the Establishment are fond of charging their failure upon the English jealousy of the Irish language,—a jealousy which prohibited all use of the service in that tongue, preferring even the continuance of Latin where English was not understood. Certainly such a policy would be absurd in the extreme, supposing the government to have had any real care for the souls of the Irish; but they looked to the extinction of that tongue as a step in the subjugation of Ireland, not less necessary, if not more so, than the extirpation of Popery itself.

But how does the ban laid upon the Irish language account for the failure of the Reformation in counties such as Dublin, and Meath, and Wexford, and Kilkenny, English in language and in manners for three centuries? Or did it succeed better in later times, when its advocates took to Irish Bibles and Irish Bible-readers? Or of what avail is it to the present question to account one way or the other for the failure, when the fact is admitted?

The Protestant interest in Ireland has been made up solely of the English and Scottish Protestants, whom the government

transplanted and settled on the lands of the expelled natives. To some insignificant extent, a change of religion took place among the Irish gentry, by sheer force of penal laws on the one hand, and the highest human inducements on the other. But of conversion in the true sense, by preaching and conviction, there has been absolutely none. And all this while the State-Church had appropriated the revenues, the fabrics, and the titles of the ancient clergy, and had been backed by penalties for nonconformity, and the strong arm and omnipresent influence of government and law. It is this history, the most disgraceful, perhaps, to be found in the dealings of one country towards another, which modern pastors without a flock venture to designate as the lawful succession to the ancient Irish Church.

Under James II. the Catholics enjoyed a brief era of power; and it has become the fashion, especially since the publication of Lord Macaulay's History, to denounce their use of such power as a tyranny exceeding even that which had been inflicted upon them. The fact is that, coming into power after so much suffering, not only did they enact no persecuting law, but they did not even declare the Catholic Church to be the established Church of the country. They did, indeed, pass a law with respect to the revenues of the Establishment, and it is worth while to contrast the Act itself with Lord Macaulay's description of it:—"When lay property," he says, "was thus invaded, it was not likely that the endowments which had been, in contravention of every sound principle, lavished on the Church of the minority would be spared. To reduce those endowments without prejudice to existing interests, would have been a reform worthy of a good prince and of a good parliament. But no such reform would satisfy the vindictive bigots who sat at the King's Inns. By one sweeping Act the greater part of the tithe was transferred from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy, and the existing incumbents were left, without one farthing of compensation, to die of hunger."³ It must strike any reader as extraordinary that in this passage Lord Macaulay does not venture to state what the law was which he thus denounces. It was not a *lex talionis*. It was not a law that Protestants should thenceforth pay tithes to Catholic priests, as Catholics had been forced to pay them to Protestant rectors. It was simply an enactment that Catholics should thenceforth pay tithes to their own pastors.

Amongst the high authorities cited in the little pamphlet to which we before referred on the subject of the Church Establishment, none approaches Lord Macaulay, either in splendour of eloquence or in the transparent clearness of reasoning with

³ *History of England*, iv. 216.

which he demonstrates the iniquity as well as the peril of appropriating the fund for religious instruction, the patrimony of the poor, to the benefit of the few and the rich. If, when he wrote his History, he had not been blinded by his inveterate antipathy to the Stuarts and all who adhered to them, he would probably have spoken in very different terms of this Act of the Irish Parliament. It is true that in our days Parliament, in making the change, would provide compensation for existing interests; but of such compensation there was then no example. The Act should be judged in another light—judged as a law for the future; and as such no more simple, just, and healing measure was ever devised. If it had remained the law from that hour to this, what a different history of Ireland should we have had to record! How perfectly would it have solved the religious difficulty! The pastors of each religion entitled by law to the tithes of their own flocks; no man putting his sickle in another's harvest; and the numbers of the clergy of each sect adapting themselves naturally in proportion to the extent of their congregations;—this is what Ireland would have exhibited, in place of the misery and bloodshed, the savage oppression and fierce resentment, of which this question has been the occasion.

Again, Protestant apologists complain bitterly of the class of ecclesiastics whom the English government sent to guard or spread the Protestant religion in Ireland. It must be owned, indeed, that men of the stamp of Ussher and Bedell and Berkeley shine as rare and distant lights in the annals of Irish Protestantism. Every one knows Swift's indignant denunciation of the Hanoverian bishops:

“Of whom there are but four at most
Who know there is a Holy Ghost,
Or ever own a Power Divine
Save Mammon and the German line;”

and his ironical explanation that the men of learning and virtue whom the government had really appointed were all stopped and plundered on Hounslow Heath, and the highwaymen, having secured their rochets and credentials, came over and were consecrated in their stead. Indeed, during the whole period of the penal laws, and down to the commencement of the present century, the clergy of the Irish Establishment were zealous mainly in the exaction of tithe. Tithes were levied in kind, for in Ireland there were few moduses. The peasant had annually to submit to having every tenth blade and ear, every tenth pig and potato, seized and carried off by one whose face he never saw at the altar or in the pulpit, and whom he looked on merely as one of the agents in that graduated hierarchy of oppression which weighed upon him in the name of English law. The resentment against

the payment of tithes was accordingly fierce, and gave rise to the very earliest of those agrarian combinations which afterwards assumed the form almost of an institution. In the period between 1760 and 1767 outrages arising from resistance to tithes were frequent in the south of Ireland. As we may well fancy, no thought of alleviating the causes of these disturbances entered into the heads of the legislators of that epoch. They dealt with them as planters with the disaffection of slaves, terming the mere cry of oppressed nature "a popish conspiracy," and exercising the utmost savageness in repression. Similar disturbances from the same cause broke out some twenty years later, when the Irish Parliament contained at least some elements of true political philosophy; and Grattan, in one of the most magnificent of his harangues, dealt with the whole subject of tithe in a manner almost worthy of Burke.

The total abolition of tithes was amongst the chief boons held out to the people by the United Irishmen; and it occupies a foremost place amongst the articles of the paper constitutions which they drew up. After 1830 the resistance was renewed upon a wider scale, as part of a national movement, and supported for the first time by energetic appeals to public opinion. This was what has been called the "Tithe War," the basis of which was an almost universal resistance on the part of Irish Catholics to the payment of tithes—a resistance which was intended to be merely passive, but which unhappily had its bloody episodes; amongst them was the dreadful scene at Carrickshock, where a troop of police, escorting a tithe-proctor, were set upon and slain almost to a man by the peasantry. It was O'Connell's horror of bloodshed, we believe, which, more than any other cause, led to his acquiescence in the arrangement which, with a slight diminution, preserved the tithes to the Protestant clergy, transformed into tithe-rent charge, and with the payment thrown on the landlord instead of the tenant. This change has no doubt put an end to the distressing scenes of the past. The tithe-proctor no longer makes his annual raid upon the little harvest of the poor. It is still the peasant's toil which produces the tithe, just as before; but he pays it in the form of rent to his landlord, and thus is not practically conscious of its separate existence. The Act has been so far successful that the personal animosity of the peasant against tithe has disappeared, and there is, therefore, far less material for an appeal to popular feelings. The evil remains in its essence what it always was, but it is far more subtly disguised, and comes home to the perception of the statesman rather than to the passions of the multitude. We doubt much whether, in the present condition of Ireland, a successful agitation on the subject is likely; but we have no doubt

whatever that any English minister desirous of really pacifying and conciliating Ireland should make the solution of this question his foremost endeavour.

The subject is generally dealt with as one of revenue. The respective numbers within and without the Establishment are counted ; the figures are given of that immense fund, the original and proper destination of which is the spiritual instruction and comfort of the people ; the injustice of diverting that fund into a channel from which the people receive no particle of benefit is demonstrated ; the plea of property beyond the present holders—that is to say, the plea of a perpetual property in a corporation which has no functions to perform—is summarily set aside ; and the State is called upon, in the exercise of a clear right, and in the performance of an absolute duty, to limit the future revenue of the Protestant Church in Ireland to an amount adequate to provide religious instruction for its own members, and to appropriate the surplus to some use really beneficial to the Irish people. All this is forcible and unanswerable, but it falls short of the vital point. The great mischief of the present Establishment lies in the consequences which it entails, first in the practical outlawry, by the State, of the Church of the people, and again in the absence of the due relations which should subsist between the landlord and the priests, the temporal and spiritual leaders of the people.

The Catholic Church in Ireland is a body possessing vast moral and political power. The political power arises from the moral, and therefore defies every attempt to fetter or diminish it by law. Is it according to any canon of political wisdom that the State should be in a position of having no possible relations except hostile ones with a power such as this ? Who, for example, is Bishop of Tuam ? We do not mean in point of doctrine, but in fact, and in the eyes of statesmen. He manifestly whom the people of Tuam accept and revere as such ; who ordains their priests, confirms their children, is obeyed by them as their spiritual lord. There is the fact for State policy to deal with. How does the State deal with it ? It not only refuses to know him, but absolutely shakes the lash over him, and threatens him with fine and imprisonment if he ventures to call himself what he is. It erects a chimera whom it calls Bishop of Tuam, who has neither flock, nor functions, nor power save what the State bestows upon him. To him the State accords some thousands per annum of Irish money. Him alone it consents to receive and recognise. This is the story spread over the bishoprics of Ireland, and in a smaller degree in every parish. As long as men are men, what sentiments can the State expect on the part of the Catholic ecclesiastics ? We do not speak of civil obedience, for that they

yield through religious motives, but of that full, cordial, and ungrudging coöperation which a priesthood can give so effectually to all the righteous objects of the State.

The indirect effect upon the landlord and tenant question is still more grave. Surely the very best, because the simplest and most natural, solution of that difficulty, the intricacies of which baffle legislation, would be that Irish landlords should become in all respects like English ones in the management of their tenantry; living amongst them, dealing fairly by them, and looking only to that fair dealing in return which they would be certain in time to reap. Towards the production of such a result, one essential element is a good understanding between the landlord and the priest. We have in our mind at this moment certain estates in Ireland owned by men English by birth and Protestant in religion, men who were always sincerely attached to that religion, but who were early convinced, and acted on the conviction, that to raise and improve the backward people whom God had given to them in charge was at once the path of duty and of their highest happiness. They cast from them at the beginning all idle notions of proselytism; they knew what help the religion of the people might be made to give to the progress of social improvement; and they resolved to take the priest frankly by the hand. They had wisdom enough to perceive that rapid results were not to be expected, that time and much forbearance were necessary, and that they must make the nature and habits and traditional life of the people the basis from which all hope of advancement must spring. Upon these lands there has been no whisper of agrarian disturbance. The people have suffered like their neighbours in the hard seasons; but the distress has engendered no bad blood. Perhaps there may be less there than elsewhere of those signs of external improvement which are afforded by levelled cabins and an expatriated people; but the tenantry have always paid their rents to the best of their ability, and for their landlords they have no word but blessing. That numbers of the gentry of Ireland desire to do their duty by their tenantry, we are convinced; but too many of them are unhappily possessed with the idea that their first endeavour should be, if not to make the adults Protestants, yet to make them give over their children to be taught in Protestant schools. Wherever that fatal notion has existed, it has acted literally like poison. Its inevitable result is either slavery and hypocrisy, or defiance and outrage. Of course the priest protects the faith of his flock, and denounces from the altar this insidious proselytism; and the landlord again violently resents priestly interference with his acts. Nine-tenths of all this miserable religious war is due to the State fiction of a Church Establishment. By law the

people are the flock of the Protestant clergyman ; and it is naturally a torment to him that the fact is so very far from coinciding with the law. Naturally, therefore, all his influence is exerted to induce the landlord, by one agency or another, to protestantise his people ; and in this endeavour he has no more active fellow-labourers than the ladies of his own family and the landlord's. If the State fiction were done away with,—if the law once frankly regarded the Protestant rector as the pastor of his own people only, be they few or many, and the Catholic priest as the true guardian of his own flock,—a great deal of this would disappear. At present men who have an opportunity of knowing how priests are spoken of at the tables of landlords, and how landlords are spoken of at the tables of priests, cannot forbear a strong desire that these classes should come together, and that the Catholic priest should be found in his place of honour at the squire's board, with large advantages to both.

In a new Conservative periodical lately started in Ireland, the suggestion has been made that Protestant landlords should boldly use their power to evict Catholic tenants upon system, and plant Protestants in their stead. This proposition is by no means new ; but one might have thought that, however congenial to the fierce No-Popery spirit of some thirty years ago, it would not be broached in public in our day. We will hope the writer did not realise all the detestable cruelty involved in his proposal. But what is material to our present purpose is, that the suggestion was made in an article devoted to a defence of the Church Establishment, and was put forward as one means of bringing sheep to the empty folds. It is thus that political falsehoods are pregnant with moral evil. What would be thought of any Catholic writer who should advise the systematic removal of Protestant tenants from the estates of Catholic landlords in England ? The whole press would open with one voice of righteous execration. The proposed plan, besides, has been tried many times and on various scales, and still with the same result of utter failure. The transplanted Protestants had certain notions of their own importance ; they considered that they conferred a favour by coming there at all, and were by no means so amenable in the article of rent as the Papists whom they had displaced. So these colonies, one after the other, withered away to nothing, as a scheme projected in violation of natural laws must necessarily do.

Upon what reasoning, then, is the maintenance of the Establishment advocated ? Really upon one argument alone,—upon what may be termed the garrison principle, namely, that the Protestant Church is an essential portion of the Protestant interest in Ireland, and that the Protestant interest is the English interest

Why, it is said, offend the Protestants who are your friends and allies, and give increased power to Irish Popery, which is your irreconcilable enemy? This reasoning clearly admits of but one answer. It is simply the argument of the sword, and justifies the disloyalty which it presumes.

But when those who use it go further, and in support of their views assert that what has been already done in the direction of justice to Irish Catholics has been wholly without fruit, and that the insurrectionary spirit is as strong amongst them as ever, we meet the statement with a flat denial. We say, on the contrary, that it would be difficult to name any measure which has been so fruitful of all the beneficial results expected from it as Catholic Emancipation. Whom did that Act relieve? The middle and upper classes of the laity, by far the most important classes for any political end not depending on mere numbers. What has become of them since emancipation? They have filled the professions, worked their way to the Bench, entered the Legislature, seized every advantage that was thrown open to them. The spirit of revolt, which at the end of the last century and during the first quarter of this was nowhere more prevalent, has become so absolutely dead amongst them that they are far more open to the reproach of being politically too inert, and too much engrossed by their personal hopes and interests. If it be otherwise with the clergy and the mass of the people, we should remember that these are precisely the classes whom the State has never, or never heartily, sought to conciliate.

The idea of giving the Catholic clergy pensions out of the Consolidated Fund, preserving the *status quo* in other respects—an idea which was Mr. Pitt's, which obtained the assent of the House of Commons in 1825, and which is so often reverted to by Sydney Smith as the great means to be chosen for the pacification of Ireland—is, and we believe always will be, heartily rejected by the Catholic clergy. And in so rejecting it they are no doubt wise, both for their own interest and ultimately for the interests of all. It would be an arrangement so unsatisfactory, and intrinsically so degrading to the Catholic Church in Ireland, that nothing but evil could come of it. To accept it would be to accept for ever the position of mere sectaries and dissenters living on the bounty of the State; while the Church of the minority would retain its domination, and be confirmed in all its titles and prerogatives. No settlement, in short, should be proposed that does not establish what Mr. Disraeli terms ecclesiastical equality.

That may be done, of course, in one of two ways,—either by an utter abrogation of all Church establishments in Ireland, or by establishing the Catholic Church on an equality with the Protest-

ant. To do the former, that is to say, to enforce the voluntary principle upon those who dislike it and believe it injurious to their religious interests, could hardly be considered just. The fairest course manifestly is, to reduce the revenues of the Protestant Establishment to an amount sufficient to provide merely for the spiritual wants of its own members, and to make the residue a fund for payment of the Catholic clergy and of the other denominations in Ireland, according to their numbers. If this were done, without any attempt whatever on the part of the State to obtain undue control over the Church, and if the titles and succession of the Catholic Bishops and parish-priests were as fully recognised by the State as those of the Protestants, the arrangement would, we have no doubt, be accepted, and would work wonders in healing Irish discontent. And if any one, seeking to put to us a crucial question, asks whether we would go the length of giving the Catholic as well as the Protestant Bishops their representatives in the House of Lords, we have only to go back to Mr. Disraeli's programme, and, in the name of justice and in the interest of the whole empire, to repeat his demand for "ecclesiastical equality."

THE REVOLUTION IN POLAND.

THE Polish revolution, which from the beginning of the present year has lighted up the political atmosphere of Europe with its glare, was not a sudden or unexpected conflagration. From the beginning of the winter men were every where and openly speaking of the spring campaign, as if the Poles had been formally challenged by Russia. At the same time it was necessarily supposed that Russia herself was arming, and prepared to meet the first movement of her enemy with overwhelming force. No one supposed that that enormous military power would be unable to suppress the premature, unprepared, and unorganised revolt of scattered and defenceless conscripts. No one dreamed that a few local disturbances would completely baffle and hold at bay the power of the Czar, until they developed in intensity and extent into the predicted Polish revolution, and brought nearly all Europe within the sphere of their influence. This is the enigma; this is the "unexpected event" which has become a European question; and its solution may determine not only the fate of Poland, but the political combinations and configuration of the whole continent.

We do not propose, in the observations we are about to make, to indulge in political conjecture, or to gratify illusions by attempting to settle the problem of the future. The times are too serious, and the crisis too urgent, for the idle enthusiasm either of sympathy or hate. It is vain to speculate on possible contingencies whilst so solemn and gloomy a drama is before us. We will endeavour to estimate the nature and the course of the new Polish insurrection, by keeping as closely as we can to the positive facts and ascertained conditions of the conflict. It is hard to state the sober truth without wounding cherished hopes and feelings; but history is the work of interests, not of sentiment; and the supreme consideration which must settle the fate of Poland is the true interest of Europe at large. The Polish cause is not in the first instance the ruling motive of the other states, though it is both the interest and the duty of Europe to use her power that the rights of Poland may be obtained.

The maxims that have hitherto guided the policy of the Emperor Alexander II. are, to regard and to satisfy the wishes and the claims of all the nations united under his sceptre; to transform the mechanical system of bureaucratic

administration into a healthy political organism ; and so to develop the national forces of the Russian family of races that they shall complete and sustain each other. The preliminary condition of the execution of this programme is, that those on whom its fulfilment depends shall thoroughly understand the state of society in every rank, the natural requirements, and the existing currents of feeling and opinion. If the government of St. Petersburg had in any degree possessed this knowledge with regard to Poland ; if it had understood what all Europe saw, and what Austria and even Prussia showed that they remembered in the treatment of their Polish provinces,—it could not possibly have entertained the delusion that mere improvements in the administration of the kingdom could reconcile it to the Russian yoke. The changes were moreover introduced in a way which could not fail to exasperate the half-conciliated parties, and even the indifferent classes of the population. Without entering into details, it is enough to say that the more civilised Poles obtained no prospect of receiving equal rights and liberties with the almost barbarous Russians ; that the natural representatives of the several classes and interests were not consulted, as in Russia, about the reforms ; that even in the paltry concessions which were made, the historical rights of Poland, which were secured by treaties, were never recognised ; and that the execution of the reforming measures was entrusted exclusively to the alien hands of Russian officials.

All these things would probably have embittered the Poles less if the brutal system of the Emperor Nicholas had still prevailed. Poland would then have bided her time patiently, like Russia. But the Russian functionaries who were employed in Poland knew that in their own country the favours of the Czar were received with humble thankfulness, although they came in a form made repulsive by harshness and insolence ; whilst the Poles would not even acknowledge the favour, and refused to regard it as an adjustment of their lawful claims. This contrast caused the government to proceed with the tone and feeling of national resentment, and aggravated the misunderstanding between Russia and the Poles.

We cannot doubt that Alexander II. personally entertains the noblest and most humane intentions. Judging from his conduct in Russia itself, in Finland, and in the Baltic provinces, we must conclude that his object in Poland is not merely to remove the worst abuses, but to effect a real organic improvement in the state of the kingdom. But the

flattery and selfishness of his agents induced him to believe in the presence of a harmony between his measures and the preponderating influences in Poland, that never existed for a moment. For it is in the nature of despotism, even the most enlightened, to overlook the really active and determining forces among the people, whenever it succeeds in obtaining compliant instruments or unquestioning subjects for its designs, and to admit these alone as essential elements in its calculation. Therefore the Emperor Alexander took into consideration only Russian influences even in Poland, where he wished to be liberal; and when he thought it necessary to proceed with energy, he made use of Russian means.

Now in Russia itself he not only had succeeded in securing the initiative to the government, but the whole measure, mode, and aim of the reforms were fixed and controlled by the administration. At least so far as the public could see, this was outwardly the case. And it is possible among a rude and primitive people, that feels the craving for improvement in its social state and for more liberal institutions, but remembers no better time in the past, and is conscious of no distinct objects for its future. Here the sovereign can act as an intelligent despot or a civilising conqueror; for he encounters no historical traditions, and does not offend the national feeling by the presence of a foreign power. But this mode of action is out of place when it is applied to a higher stage of general cultivation: it becomes dangerous if it ignores the national traditions; it is a positive outrage when it makes itself felt as the absolute will of a foreign master. All these disturbing causes were present in the government of Poland. Even under Alexander II. Russia has maintained the tone and attitude of a conqueror, although the sanguinary and revengeful terrorism that raged under Nicholas has been repressed. The backwardness of Russia in social progress disabled her from accomplishing the transition from violent annexation to organic assimilation. She incessantly confounded the natural passive resistance of the Polish character to the Russian with intentional opposition and deliberate contumacy. This mismanagement on the part of Russia called up the real elements of an opposition on principle, and invested them with a moral dignity, and even with material authority over the mass of the people, which was the more formidable because it is the pride of the Poles to deem their country a martyr among nations.

The government of the Emperor Alexander sought to obtain the support of a party by favouring the higher aris-

tocracy in Poland. But it was too deeply persuaded of its own infallibility, and too confident of the efficacy of its resources, to examine the causes and the object of the ostensible submissiveness with which the great nobles surrounded each of the governors as they rapidly succeeded each other without ever achieving any practical result. The Russians were too short-sighted to discern in this conduct the sign that the nobles had resumed their traditional designs, which were not only to recover their old supremacy in Poland, but also to regain that preponderance in the councils of the whole empire which they had enjoyed, temporarily at least, under Alexander I. At the same time the government protected and patronised the Polish peasant. But this was done in such a way as to set the peasant against the wealthy proprietor without making him docile for the special objects of the state. The same policy was pursued towards the Jewish population, who have always been in Poland the principal obstacle to a healthy development of a middle class, and to the economical independence of the peasants, the lesser nobles, and the towns. For the Jews do not form a national element. They are Polish Jews, but not Jewish Poles. On the other hand, the middle and inferior order of the nobility, the historic representatives of the nation's life, and the early feeble germs of a commercial middle class, were entirely disregarded; and this neglect alienated and enraged the true national element, the very power that wields the most important and decisive influence upwards and downwards through every rank of society.

We enumerate these, the most conspicuous, sins of omission without rehearsing the blundering and often brutal violation of the feelings, customs, and ideas of the nation that was constantly and every where repeated. Nor do we insist on the hostile treatment of the national faith, or the infringement of the primary rights of men. For it is necessary in justice that we should remember that these continual wrongs and insults, multiplied a thousandfold, in a thousand shapes, every day, at every place, and almost in every household, do not spring from the principle of the Alexandrine system, and fall to the account of its leading ministers only inasmuch as they suffered, and did not condemn, the acts of their subordinate agents. No doubt, in a country deprived of a national representation this indifference amounts to a culpable and unpardonable neglect of duty; and in politics, whether internal or foreign, administrative faults involve the consequences and the responsibility of moral guilt. The dogged refusal of the Emperor's government to concede

as a right to the Poles that which it was resolved soon to grant as a favour to the Russians, who have no traditional hereditary rights, must have led, sooner or later, even without the secondary circumstances to which we have just adverted, to a Polish revolution. Indeed, from the moment when Alexander II. solemnly promised the assembled marshals of the Polish nobility a reform of the state of their country,—on the 21st of April 1856,—it became simply a question of time. For he declared likewise on that occasion that Poland would be required to attach herself to Russia, or, as the phrase is, to be absorbed in Russia, in order to enjoy his favour. Thus he demanded the suicide of the nation, as the condition of a prospective improvement in the political welfare of the country. Thenceforth a reaction of patriotic feeling was provoked, which had no issue but revolution.

A partial glimmering of the truth may have penetrated to St. Petersburg, and was probably the cause of the appointment of the Marquis Wielopolski. Yet at the same time Count Zamoyski was banished because he had explained to the Emperor the necessary consequences of a first step in the path of conciliation. An enlightened despotism is resolved to be guided only by its own good-will, but will not hearken to necessity. The Marquis Wielopolski, if he had been free to act, might have succeeded, in spite of all the hatred that surrounded him, in accomplishing not indeed a durable peace, but a temporary reconciliation, between Poland and Russia. But the court of St. Petersburg would not admit the necessity of obeying his counsels; and thus Poland drifted irresistibly onward to an open conflict between irreconcilable principles.

The Marquis Wielopolski is certainly the most interesting political character in the Polish drama. That he is the first in intellect among the national statesmen nobody disputes. He stands apart from all parties, and is detested alike by all. The animosity of the Russians, absolutists as well as democracy, was inspired by a just instinct. For, whatever be the judgment men form of him, his conduct has demonstrated that, in striving to be the pacificator of Poland, he had no design of serving the interests of the Russian autocracy or of brute force. That the Poles, on the other hand, can never forgive him that conscription which anticipated the outbreak, is equally intelligible. Even the party of theoretical revolution, which has been gradually formed, cannot bear with him; for he has shown on many occasions that he judges the sovereign independence

of Poland an unattainable Utopia. So long as the Marquis Wielopolski held his position and his power at Warsaw, the Poles possessed a mouthpiece who, even after the commencement of the revolt, was constantly pressing on the government of St. Petersburg the means and the manner of introducing reforms and other conciliatory measures. Esteemed by the Emperor, trusted by the Grand Duke Constantine, hated indeed by Prince Gortschakoff, but yet indispensable to the Russian cabinet, he united every quality that could make his projects and his advice successful. He was removed from the scene in July, when the brutal military party of Mouravieff and Berg rose to power. These men have no idea and no policy but that of extirpating the Polish nation; and, whilst they are supreme, the Russian ministry barely ventures to hold out to the unhappy Poles a distant and uncertain hope that they may, after an indefinite interval, and thanks exclusively to the clemency of the Czar, possibly be galvanised into a sort of vegetative political life. The Grand Duke himself shrank from the responsibility of this reign of bloodshed, and quitted the country.

It may be that a statesman so profound as Wielopolski played off the government and the revolution against each other, in the hope that the realisation of his own schemes might result from a compromise. Those schemes were unquestionably more favourable to Poland than the execution by Russia of the Six Points of the mediating Powers can ever be, especially if Russia is not compelled to yield, but spontaneously promulgates them to the crushed and conquered Poles. Yet, as things now stand, this is the utmost that Poland can look forward to. It is true the Marquis Wielopolski could not alter the position of affairs at once. The most unbounded concessions would have been unable to do that; and the most sanguinary suppression of the revolt will be equally unable to do it. The Polish leaders know by this time, even if they will not admit it, how powerful a moderator of the policy of vengeance has been lost in the fallen statesman. Alexander II. is perhaps the only Russian statesman remaining who does not in his heart contemplate the extinction of the race as the condition of the social revival of Poland. But far less than most men imagine is the power even of a Russian autocrat. The machinery of state has its fixed and regular mode of operation; the functionaries with whom the actual power rests have grown up in certain accustomed ways; and the resources of the imperial policy have been formed upon old traditions.

Wielopolski is still the man whom the Emperor will be obliged to rely on when the time for a real reorganisation arrives.

Aversion for Germany, and for the influence of its superior civilisation and mental culture, is the foundation on which he believes that a good understanding between Russia and Poland may be restored, and on which he hopes to effect it. His celebrated state-paper of 1860 proves this so clearly, that it only remains for us to enquire into the intellectual origin of this idea. The Marquis belongs to that fraction of the aristocracy who deem the Sarmatian nobles predestined to the supreme direction of the Slavonic world. This is the motive of the mortal hatred of the Germans. In the actual circumstances of Russia, it cannot be denied that this aristocratic fraction possesses a real intellectual superiority, and may justly look forward to the exercise of a controlling influence. But the significant fact, that the ablest man of this party could be too deeply impregnated with despotic ideas to estimate the bearing and effect of despotic measures, proves how great a peril will impend over the whole civilisation of Europe if the Slavonic races of the North should ever receive their guiding impulse from this Sarmatian noblesse. It is the curse of absolutism that it degrades men mentally as well as outwardly, by inspiring them with the belief that physical force is able to accomplish great things, and not only to destroy. This is the illusion that was fatal to Wielopolski. He knew better than any other man that the revolution would overtake him in the progress of his reforms, and that the revolution could produce nothing but misery, and no regeneration. In his heart he desired the happiness of his country. In his way he was a patriot. Therefore he determined, with one bold stroke, to tear the net asunder before it was completely spun. This was the origin of that memorable conscription that filled Europe with horror, and placed a load on Russia which is slowly dragging her back into that slough of barbarity from which she had begun to emerge since the accession of Alexander II.

The proscription was not the cause of the revolution, but the occasion of the revolt. It burst forth suddenly, without the actual coöperation of the revolutionary party of the Polish emigration. Whilst that party was organising a vaster movement, which was to have broken out some months later not only in Congress Poland, but in Posen, Galicia, and Italy, the young men whom the conscription smote had fled into the forests with a knife, an axe, or a club, and, cluster-

ing in little bands, were making a stand against the Russians. This was no organised revolution, but an unpremeditated act of self-defence, an undesigned struggle of desperate men for existence, without weapons, or leaders, or plan of action. What people is there whose sons would not have done the same? Who can reproach the youth of Poland with this attempt to escape by flight or by resistance from the grip of the Russian army? The conflict had begun. Thousands over whom the plotters of the revolution would have had no influence found themselves suddenly engaged in fighting the Russians, and were at the disposition of the revolutionary party, without a possibility of retreat. Was that party to wait until its own arrangements were completed? It could not be. In spite of the imperfect preparation, it was necessary to follow up the first irrevocable step, and turn to the best account the unexpected opportunity. The revolutionists of the emigration sustained the planless and incoherent insurrection, reinforced it with material aid, and, securing by degrees the management and administrative control, transformed it gradually into an organised revolution.

The organisation has never divested itself of the hasty and unready character it had from the beginning. But here at once appeared the contrast that subsists between the merely destructive force of despotism and the ways of a more advanced civilisation. That mysterious national government which wondering Europe was suddenly aware of, and which has continued in the same mystery to conduct the Polish movement with undiminished vigour, is assuredly the most astonishing result of the unfinished organisation. To all the other circumstances of the Polish tragedy a parallel may be found in the revolutionary history of other countries and other times; but not to this. Sprung from the union of despotism and conspiracy, it has the qualities of both, works with the means and unites the power of both, and is at once judge and accuser, culprit and avenger, the god or the demon of revolution. No man knows of a mandate of the national government, yet no Pole dares to question it. None can tell the name of the masked rulers, but thousands are always ready to execute their behests. All Poland is moved by the wires they hold in their hand; and the whole country obeys them without a murmur. Every one knows that the slightest act of disobedience will be not only menaced, but inexorably punished, with the dagger and the rope, with social dishonour and commercial ruin. And yet all the exertions of the Russian government are unable to

discover even the place from which this secret body wields its resistless power. When its emissaries are taken in the act of executing its sanguinary commands, they die without betraying their trust; while the national government seems omnipresent, and knows and frustrates every design of its enemy almost as soon as it is formed.

Surely it is an incredible thing! Has it ever happened in the annals of the world that two governments subsisting together in one city have sent forth their orders over the same land, causing them to be carried into effect, and obtaining obedience, whilst that one which was established and legitimate, and had enjoyed for half a century all imaginable resources of power, was utterly unable even to discover the other, which crossed all its plans? How is this possible? Only because the autocratic despotism itself has educated the people to a blind obedience, which is now equally at the service of the revolutionary despotism. The Russian system, like the scorpion, has wounded itself mortally with its own venomous sting. The revolutionary system of the national government is of necessity driven to the extremity of a fearful terrorism, not only in order to supply by terror what it lacks in moral influence, but also because the Russians in their long tenure of power were never able to develope in the minds of the Poles a sense of moral authority in any government whatever. The national government is a terrible Nemesis, which the Russian administration of Poland has itself given birth to—an offspring which it can neither manage nor discover. The rude habits and resources of the Russian system are utterly helpless before it. And that system, paralysed in body and mind, is sinking deeper and deeper beneath the weight of its own savage traditions, and cannot understand that it is accomplishing nothing but its own destruction.

The national government has done better; and in the early period of its existence especially, when it was not yet fighting for existence, it achieved wonders. Now, however, it has likewise reached the point of decline, to which even the best-intentioned despotism must come as soon as it attempts to sustain its moral authority by terror and by terror alone, and compels its subjects to seek the goal only by the paths which it has provided. This has been the suicide of the Polish insurrection. But it must be remembered that it was the secret government alone which converted a scattered revolt into a great revolution, and which raised a mere unprepared resistance to the barbarous conscription into the revolt of a whole nation. This perhaps was not so

much the result of a premeditated design, as the consequence of the energy and constancy which it communicated to the original movement against the Russians.

It was the democratic party of the emigration and among the patriots in Poland that first undertook to guide and to support the bands of fugitive conscripts. This was perfectly natural; for the Russian policy, and perhaps also the interest of the Marquis Wielopolski, had visited with the conscription neither the upper aristocracy nor the peasants, but rather the middle classes of the population, the burghers in the towns, and the lesser nobility in the country districts. This was by no means the result of accident. Whereas in Russia the middle class is numerically quite inconsiderable, and has hitherto been almost overlooked in the schemes of reform, in Poland it is already a social and political power. After the example of the massacre of the Strelitzes, it was intended that the conscription should virtually exterminate this class of the people. The nobles themselves had no interest in its fate. For their designs tended not at all to the formation of a modern Poland suited to the industrial wants and conditions of civilised Europe. The ideal at which they aimed was rather the restoration of the old constitution, in which the great landowners had not to divide the power with capital and commerce. For this reason, even more than from want of confidence in the possibility of a prosperous issue, the aristocracy both in Poland and abroad held aloof so long from the movement. This is as unique a phenomenon in the history of Poland as the existence of the secret government in the history of revolutions in general; but it is not so inexplicable, and is perhaps better adapted than any other circumstance to cool the sympathies of liberalism for the restoration of a completely independent Poland. For in the present state of social culture it cannot be disguised that an independent Poland, as soon as it has ceased to struggle for existence, will inevitably incline to organise the state at the expense of those classes that are not noble, and will meet with little resistance from the Slavonic character in accomplishing this design. This kind of aristocratic organisation of society would, however, be quite as injurious to the material interests of Europe as an independent Poland would assuredly be to its political welfare.

However this may be, the aristocratic classes in Poland began to deem it a point of honour and duty not to leave the rebellion in the lurch after it had become general, and had proved its strength and endurance against the helpless

inefficiency of Russia. Still, their first sacrifices in behalf of the revolution consisted less in the offer of their swords than in supplies of money. Even now they have not generally taken arms for the national cause, but have done more important service by bringing all their influence to bear on the courts and governments of Europe, in order to obtain diplomatic support for the insurgents.

In spite of the activity of the great Polish families in this respect, it is probable that even a mere moral intervention would not have ensued so early had not Prussia hastened to offer her services to the Czar. We have not forgotten the surprised and angry irony with which this eager precipitation was treated in Russian documents. Count Bismarck was not discouraged by this cold reception; for he believed that Poland would supply him with the means of accomplishing victoriously a policy of internal government which all Europe condemned. The war-cry in Posen might enable him to carry out his repressive system throughout the monarchy, and to overawe at the same time the minor states; and by setting the army on foot against the Polish revolution, and proclaiming a state of siege, he might suspend the constitution and threaten Germany. It is probable that he entertained yet wilder hopes, and imagined that a warlike alliance with Russia would enable him to restore his country to the dignity and power which, partly through his own fault, she had recently lost. For it was well known that the democratic party among the Poles had made preparations for a general rising of Hungarians, Serbs, Roumans, and Italians, in order to hold Austria in check until the deliverance of Galicia could be accomplished. Count Bismarck reckoned on the ruin of Austria, and thought himself safe with the Russian alliance. He was disturbed in his schemes by the enquiry of the Western Powers concerning the convention. He tried to retrace his steps; but it was too late. That which Russia had laboured to prevent was now brought about by the mischievous zeal of her ally; and the Polish insurrection was no longer a local question. It had become an affair of European interest and magnitude.

Meanwhile the aristocratic leaders had had time to discomfit the revolutionary intrigues which the Polish democracy had commenced in the neighbouring Slavonic states, and to obtain some share in the direction of the movement. This was greatly facilitated by the policy of the Austrian government in Galicia, where the strict observance of international obligations was combined with a humane and con-

siderate execution of the necessary measures of self-protection. The Polish revolution solemnly declared that it would not invade those provinces of the monarchy which were not under the Russian sceptre. This promise was faithfully kept so far as the Polish dominions of Austria are concerned. Prussia afterwards announced that she had discovered and frustrated a plot for the separation of Posen; but the position of the Prussian government at the time prevented this discovery from affecting perceptibly the course of events.

The forces that sustain the insurrection are three. First, there is that democracy which, under all circumstances, desires from time to time a conflict with Russia, in order to keep alive and to strengthen in the minds of the Polish people the feeling of national aversion. Then there is the very numerous middle-class of property and education, consisting partly of the inferior nobility, partly of tradesmen, who derive their animosity from the oppression of their nationality, the tyrannical treatment of the Church, and the preference shown to the peasants and the Jews at the expense of their own interests. Last, there is the great aristocracy, who do not believe that the insurrection can exert sufficient strength to impose favourable terms upon Russia, but who keep it up in the hope that diplomatic negotiations and a European intervention may ultimately assist the cause of Poland. These three distinct groups on which the revolution rests do not form regular political parties. They have no separate organisation, no visible leaders, no unanimously acknowledged aims; and the manner of their co-operation is extremely complicated. All the actors, not only in the revolution itself, but in the Polish question generally, have an interest in disguising their own position towards it, and in concealing the actual state of the case. Not only the contending parties themselves, but Austria and Prussia, in their double position of partitioning powers and neighbours of Russia, desire to keep many matters from public knowledge. France, for other and remoter reasons, follows the same policy. If we further reflect on the hopes and fears which the Slavonic and Panslavist parties, the Italian, Hellenic, and Scandinavian nationalists, have entertained from the rising in Poland, on its close connection with the democratic and socialist propaganda, on the plans with which it has inspired even the *Nationalverein* and the party of progress in Prussia, on the various and opposite expectations which it has awakened in the Muscovite aristocracy, in the reactionary party in Germany, and in the French and Italian

Legitimists,—we shall not be surprised if it is impossible at the present time to obtain a perfectly clear view of the whole course and position of affairs.

Setting theory and passion aside, nobody thinks of denying the national and political claims of Poland. The difficulty is to satisfy the rights and wants of Europe. Practically it is quite obvious that the aspirations of the Poles cannot be completely realised without a previous subversion of the present state of Europe, and a consequent transformation of the whole political system. Even if all the powers should voluntarily agree to sacrifice their most important interests in order to satisfy entirely the wishes of the Poles, they could obtain no security that the restored kingdom would be able to maintain its independence by its own resources; and if this security was given, and if the temptation presented by a feeble or distracted Poland to the ambitious intervention or the hostility of its neighbours was entirely overcome by a thorough consolidation of the new state, then, in proportion to the value of this security, its strength would be more formidable than its weakness. The renovated Polish monarchy would, in the consciousness of its power, simply take the place of Russia; it would become the germ and starting-point of a conquering Slavonic empire; and the danger to the freedom and civilisation of Europe would begin anew. No such prospect opens yet; but illusions as wild as this are cherished among a portion of the Pan-slavists. If, however, we wish to estimate the chances of a settlement of the Polish question by the revolution alone, the national and political point of view is insufficient, and the social element must be taken into very serious consideration. The interests of Europe are more deeply concerned in this than in any other part of the question, and it has not received the attention it deserves.

The parties that conduct the Polish movement are agreed on one point only,—in hatred of the Russian government. There is no other sentiment in which they are unanimous. The aristocracy joined the national cause with the hope that, after the imperial government had been expelled, an international league with Russia might be maintained, in order that the intellectual control of their united powers might pass into the hands of the Sarmatian chiefs. With respect to Posen and Galicia, the men of this party exhibit an extraordinary reserve; but the democracy has rashly declared that it will consider the triumph of the Polish cause incomplete so long as the ancient limits of the national state are not restored. It well knows, at the same time, that it

is only possible to cast off the Russian yoke by convulsing the empire at home, and by coalescing with the Russian revolutionists, and does not therefore exclude the Russian nationality from participation in the Polish cause. It is a part of the admitted policy of the Polish democrats to connect the Polish movement with the social agitation in Russia, in order that, after the victory of their independence, the alliance of the Russian socialists may be a guarantee for the uninterrupted establishment of democratic forms in the future Polish republic. Therefore both extremes in Poland unite in rejecting the rule of the Czar, but do not oppose combination with the Russian nation, though they regard it as a means for opposite results.

This agreement of two extreme parties, otherwise completely antagonistic in their principles, is in many respects a most serious circumstance, and explains a variety of contradictory symptoms under which the Polish movement is sinking more surely and irresistibly than under the Russian arms and the inefficiency of the mediating powers. It has become so clearly manifest that it is unnecessary to point out, that those elements which originally raised the standard of revolt,—namely, those classes which correspond to the middle rank of society in other countries,—have, as the revolution proceeded, been gradually thrust into the background. It is true that, as they took up arms from the despair of the moment, and not for any settled principle, they were not at first very systematic in their demands. But, as the revolt continued, they instinctively concentrated their demands on the realisation of the constitution of 1815. This natural and simple object so completely justified the European powers in appealing to the treaties of Vienna on behalf of Poland, that Russia herself admitted the right. It restrained the hostility of Prussia, and vindicated the moderation of Austria.

But a profound change was effected by degrees in the character of the insurrection. In the field the middle class still stood nearly alone. But the direction of the whole movement had passed into the hands of the two extreme sections; the democratic emigration had constituted the national government, and the aristocracy was conducting the defence of the insurgents before Europe. This division of labour might have acted beneficially if it had proceeded from a principle common to both parties, and if they had not perpetually crossed and checked each other in their views, their means, and their designs. The harmonious action of the two extremes was impracticable; and yet it

was impossible for either to spare the other, or to act against it without regard to consequences. The result was, that the common action for the national cause, and the united conduct of the insurrection, degenerated into a struggle for exclusive power, and a continual change in the tenure of authority. Discord and strife ensued. Each party outbid the other in its revolutionary demands, in order to secure the popular sympathy, and competed with its rival in the use of terror in order to retain its power. The real active elements of the insurrection continued, as before, to supply the food for powder.

And yet the revolutionary democracy and the aristocratic leaders remained closely bound to each other. For the aristocracy supplied the means of carrying on the contest, and could not be spared; and it agrees fully with the other parties in thinking that the insurrection must, at all events, be made to last until some result has been attained. Moreover the democracy is compelled to take the nobles into its confidence, and inform them generally of its plans, by reason of their great influence in the ruling circles of Europe, although it is aware that their views are different from its own. The victory of the democracy can never be so complete as to enable it to exclude the nobles from all share in the supreme power, because of their influence over the peasants and townspeople on the great domains, and their connection with the most powerful classes of the Russian aristocracy, and because they alone can effectually plead the cause of their country abroad.

The position of the democratic party, and particularly of the democratic emigration, is the exact reverse of all this. These men have nothing to lose, and every thing to gain. They are trained in the school of plots and conspiracies; they are not unused to the warfare of partisans; and they do not shrink from conducting the revolution by terror. With the habits of adventurers, they have no regard for parties or for persons; but they enjoy, for the same reason, a popular authority among the people, who look for guides. Nevertheless, in the moments even of their greatest power in the field and in the central government they have always treated the aristocracy with marked forbearance. Both parties, indeed, regard each other rather as accomplices than as associates in power. Much is to be explained by these relations between them.

As a consequence of this reciprocal attitude of the two extremes, neither of which is thoroughly identified with the people, the tactics of the revolution have often wavered;

while the movement has never become popular throughout the masses, and has always indicated the dualism of management in council and in the field. The combatants have continued to be supplied chiefly from that class which began the revolt; and the higher aristocracy and the emigration have seldom been found even among the leading commanders. In the few cases where members of the emigration took the lead, the reverses that occurred were almost always caused by discord among the chiefs. Their disputes could not even be concealed from the public; and in the midst of the military operations they openly exchanged degrading recriminations, and offered a spectacle at which those must have rejoiced who were not friendly to the dignity and honour of the Polish nation.

In conformity with the constant character of the Poles, who have never shrunk from the most heroic sacrifices, but were never capable of pursuing fixed ends with steady endurance and consistency, the present war has produced many splendid feats of arms, but no permanent subordination of the several bands under a common direction. That want of moral discipline which is apparent in the whole affair, to such a degree that terror alone can uphold authority, is equally felt in the conduct of the war. Wherever some signs of organisation might be discerned, and a leader was exerting a controlling influence, he was sure to be ruined by the central government itself. The discomfiture of Langiewicz is by no means the only instance. Personal rivalry, and mutual jealousy and suspicion, have been throughout the worst enemies of the common cause. It followed from these divisions in a ruling body entirely distinct from the people in all its parts, that the most efficient materials for a national insurrection either were not employed, or were soon abandoned, or made subordinate to the special objects of the section which happened for the moment to be supreme in the central government. Neither the upper aristocracy nor the democratic element is animated by a very earnest sentiment of religion. But it was a very serious shock to the popular character of the revolution that the Catholic question, which had occupied in the beginning so large a place, and exerted an influence so well deserved, and which supplied so useful a motive for the mediation of Austria and France, was neglected more and more as time went on, and even, as it appeared, deliberately thrust aside by the national government. The tyrannical oppression and persecution of the national faith by Russia is a more prominent ground of accusation in the mediating efforts of the foreign

powers than in the manifestoes of the Poles. The reason is that the revolutionary government, instead of using all the means at its command to work the insurrection in the kingdom itself up to the very utmost pitch of intensity, devoted its energies to extending the movement through the provinces of ancient Poland to Western Russia, in order to combine the Polish revolution with the Russian. These tactics would have been perfectly legitimate if the insurrection had already gained a triumphant position in the kingdom of Poland, and had then only sought to pursue its victory. For the people of these provinces belong neither to the Sarmatian race nor to the Catholic religion, and are thus separated in religion and in nationality from the local proprietors. Therefore, in the pursuit of an uncertain prospect, which, after all, was very partially realised, the government sacrificed the religious integrity of the insurrection, lest it should impede the extension of a half-socialist and half-oligarchical agitation over Lithuania, Volhynia, and the Ukraine. The Catholic Church is not only an object of the warmest attachment to the true Poles, but is vaguely and instinctively felt, if not clearly understood, to be an absolutely necessary and indispensable agent in the resistance of the national civilisation to the barbarous power of Russia. In consequence of this disregard shown by the revolutionary government for the religion of the country, the clergy, who had vehemently adopted the national cause from the beginning, and had courageously made every sacrifice to promote it, naturally found themselves deserted, and left to provide for themselves. If they did not wish that the insurrection should degenerate into the horror of a vast religious war, which their mighty influence would probably have been able to inflame, it became necessary that they should hold back from the front rank of the strife. By this change the revolution lost both the supreme prestige of religion, and an element of the most disinterested enthusiasm, without causing the Greek and the Jewish population to take part more actively in the movement. No incident has proved more clearly than this how little the extreme sections that divide the authority of government are identified with the popular feeling, and that the terror which they wield, though sufficient to enforce obedience to their commands, to distress Russia, and exhaust Poland to the last drop of blood, is unable to stimulate to new life the gradually failing energy of the national rising.

The great error of the central government has been that, after having succeeded in the arduous enterprise of organising

a revolution out of a revolt, they have not had self-command enough to postpone the ambitious schemes of the aristocratic and democratic parties to that attainable object which the insurgents demanded at the outset, and which Europe would with perfect justice have used all her moral influence with Russia to obtain. This was the re-constitution of Poland in the form which was guaranteed in 1815, but which was then altered, and afterwards destroyed, by Russia. The mass of the people has always a right instinct for that which is feasible and which serves its own interests. But the central government showed, from the moment when it secured the power, that it had no mind to conduct the revolution towards that goal; and it soon appeared that its watchword did not spring from the heart of the people. No doubt it is the nature of every revolution to increase its objects and raise its demands as it proceeds. But the government aggravated this characteristic of all revolutions, and turned it to the ruin of the Polish cause. For inasmuch as the success of the Polish efforts and sacrifices did not keep pace with the increasing claims of the government on Poland, on Russia, and on Europe, thousands were alienated from it; and those who were constant lost their confidence of victory. The hope was directed more and more exclusively to the support of foreign countries. But the action of the mediating powers was instantly outstripped by the revolution, which had abandoned the legitimate ground of complaint—that ground on which it had originally contended, and on which the interests of mediation allowed them to unite in addressing remonstrances to Russia. At the very moment when the notes of the three powers demanding the rights of Poland, which had been secured by treaties, were presented at St. Petersburg, and when the Russian government attempted to blunt their edge by a hypocritical amnesty, the mediating states suddenly found themselves haughtily disavowed in a solemn manifesto of the revolutionary government. For the Polish rulers not only repudiated the pretended amnesty, in which the powers might reasonably support them, but they rejected the promise of a further development of the national institutions which was offered at the same time. They declared, in defiance even of their friends, that the Polish insurrection was fighting, not for more or less free institutions under Russian supremacy, but for the absolute deliverance and political independence of the Polish nation.

This declaration virtually cut away the basis for the intervention of the three powers, opened the way for subjugation by the arms of Russia, and justified the Prussian

convention; while it gave Austria the strongest motive to abandon a policy which had become daily more arduous, and to obey no impulse but that of her own separate interests. From that moment the revolution assumed an attitude which was not less hostile to Austria and Prussia than to the Russian government; whilst, by fraternising with the Russian socialism, it separated itself practically from its national basis, and from the community of interests which unites Europe against the Slavonic empire. It was now fully in the interest of Austria to declare herself against Poland; and England and France could no longer appeal to the objects which had hitherto made them favour the Polish cause. If at this juncture the Russian government, which was now in complete warlike array, had managed to clothe its reply to the three powers in somewhat more conciliatory and acceptable language; if it could have pointed with sincerity to acts of indulgence, instead of fiercely and defiantly brandishing its sword; public opinion would hardly have insisted on the renewal of mediation in favour of Poland. Thus much, at least, is certain, that from that moment the general sympathy rapidly cooled, and sank into a mere feeling of compassion which was far too weak to require a warlike intervention.

The position of the European governments that had taken up the cause of Poland was likewise completely altered. The three powers were obliged to act as if the Polish government had never issued that or other similar declarations, and to be deaf to all official announcements of the tendency and end of the insurrection, in order to dwell the more forcibly on the points which were disadvantageous to Russia. These indeed abounded. For while the national, civilised, and political elements of the revolution faded before the socialistic tendency, the universal disorganisation, and the anarchy, only relieved by the terrorism of the central government, the ferocious vengeance of the Muscovite barbarians sated itself with the foulest crimes. The war, the battle-field, the clash of arms, became on both sides a secondary affair; and each party tried to surpass the other in exciting the masses to madness, and gratifying their inhuman passion by the destruction of the enemy. Russia had the advantage in this fierce competition. Not only were her material resources and the awakened fanaticism of her people greater, but her social condition is more barbarous than that of Poland; and within the sphere of its authority her government has no regard to pay to the unalterable claims of European civilisation, whilst the Polish government cannot in principle renounce them.

In the face of this unmanly and degrading butchery, by the effects of which Poland, whether victorious or vanquished, will cease to be the bulwark of Central Europe against the social and political barbarism of Muscovy, the urgency of the European mediation relaxed. To commence a war against Russia for the sake of Poland would be wantonly to stake the interests of Europe on an inadequate cause. For the degenerate Polish revolution now approaches nearer to a league with the social democracy of Russia than to the social and political order of Europe. It is less likely to adapt and reconcile itself to the conditions of Western civilisation than to form an aggressive alliance against it with the congenial elements in Russia,—an alliance which may ultimately serve as a stepping-stone to an understanding with the new reforming system of St. Petersburg.

It cannot be for the benefit of Europe to overstep its international right, and to force concessions upon Russia, who has repeatedly undertaken to fulfil her public engagements towards Poland as soon as the Poles acknowledge her sovereignty. For not only is the course and issue of war uncertain, but Europe, by departing from her legitimate position, would sanction the violation of law which she condemned; and no moral weapon would remain at her disposal if the kingdom thus restored should, with the connivance of Russia, excite a revolutionary agitation in the bordering provinces of Posen and Galicia. Austria has no other interest than that the murderous struggle on her frontiers should be brought to an end by the settlement of the lawful claims of Poland, lest the immeasurable wretchedness and disorder should spread at length to her own dominions. The sole object of England must be a speedy pacification on the basis of the treaties, that the peace of the Continent may not be disturbed, and an arrangement by which Russia shall no longer make the fulfilment of her pledges dependent only on her own good will, and the rights of nations and the guarantee of the great powers shall cease to be illusions. The rights of the three powers extend no further than this; and still less their obligations. Every step of either power beyond this limit would inevitably separate it from its allies, and expose it to the imputation of pursuing not the common object, but some selfish end.

Russia has acknowledged the right of European intervention, and has solemnly promised to satisfy it. She will also admit the consequence, that Europe cannot be put off by unreasonable delay, but may insist on the speedy fulfilment of the promises she obtains. Nor can she prevent the

powers from watching over their actual realisation. And it is equally in the interest of all Europe that Poland shall not bleed to death in the interval. But, however cruel it may appear, Europe has no right by which she can prevent it, so long as the national government meets all mediating efforts with an angry refusal, and insists on the limits of 1772. A helpless and exhausted Poland under Russian supremacy, even with the whole constitution of 1815, would be nothing more than a further advance of Russia towards the west. And this is now the only issue that a dispassionate observer can anticipate. So much the more essential is a consolidation of Germany, the first step to which was lately taken by Austria, and resisted by the Muscovite policy of Prussia. An independent Poland, in the limits of 1772,—which can be established by no other means than a war between France and Italy and the partitioning powers,—would be neither more nor less than the partition of the Continent between the French and Russian imperialism. Austria would be compelled to resist it to the last drop of her blood; and for England it would be a question of existence.

Whether the strange programme of the central government, which answered the six points of the mediating powers by the demand for the restoration of Poland in her limits of 1772, really originated in Poland, appears to us extremely doubtful; it is far more likely to have been inspired by France. The Polish revolution must now be aware that neither England nor Austria will go to war for its sake. But it has relied all the more confidently on the armed intervention of France. We must remember that Paris is the common resort of that Polish emigration whose extreme sections divide the central power between them. The semi-official pamphlet, *L'Empereur, la Pologne et l'Europe*, was believed to convey an all but positive promise. The argument went to show that Napoleon III. would compromise the greatness of France, and might possibly forfeit his crown, if he should ever declare that the Polish nation was not to be restored. The principal materials for this opinion were derived from the traditions of the empire. Napoleon I., said the writer, was the only sovereign who stood by the Poles, and therefore he did more than Lewis XV., Robespierre, Louis Philippe, or Lamartine.

A semi-official reply to this pamphlet has appeared at St. Petersburg, entitled *Réponse d'un Russe à la Brochure française, L'Empereur, la Pologne et l'Europe*. It contains that hitherto unpublished document which was the basis of the treaty respecting Poland concluded between Napoleon

and Alexander in December 1809. This document is an official note from the French minister of foreign affairs, Champagny, Duke de Cadore, to the Russian minister Count Romanzoff, dated October 20, 1809, and presented by Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg. The following passage occurs in it: "The Emperor [Napoleon] will not allow the idea of the restoration of Poland to revive; for nothing is further from his intentions. He entirely agrees with the Emperor Alexander that every possible effort should be made to extinguish for ever that memory in the hearts of its old inhabitants. The emperor approves the idea that the words Pole and Poland should disappear not only from all political negotiations, but also from history. . . . This will put an end to an illusion which is yet more pernicious to the Poles themselves than alarming to the governments to which they belong." After this revelation, the Russian pamphlet discusses the Parisian saying that Napoleon alone supported the Poles: "The question is, what is understood by the word *support*? If to support a nation is to use it for one's personal ends, to endeavour to electrify it with the delusive hope of a national restoration, which one knows to be impossible; or if one supports a nation by decimating the flower of its people in numberless battles;—then Napoleon I. may be truly said to have supported Poland."

The application of this judgment of history to the present position of France towards Poland needs no explanation. Let Europe remember the old maxim, *Et ab hoste doceri*.

EMIGRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.¹

It has long been a traditional, and it is a very just cause of self-congratulation among Englishmen, that we inhabit an island. We should otherwise have been compelled to take a direct share in many an embroilment which we have now escaped, and should have borne its consequences in a disastrous proportion, from which our position has happily saved us.

“Thank Him who isled us here, and roughly set
His Saxon in blown seas and storming showers.”

And what is perhaps a greater, as it is a positive benefit, our insular position has done more than any other assignable cause to keep alive in our population the spirit of enterprise and self-reliance to which we owe our colonial empire—that colossal fabric which, in whatever way our own political writers may advocate its disposal, unquestionably moves at present the envy and admiration of foreign economists.

But if we gain by being islanders, we have also something to lose. A tolerably long list of drawbacks might easily be made out, too many for us to attempt to enumerate here, where we are solely concerned with those that affect literary production. We have long been censured among continental critics—sometimes by mere sciolists, but sometimes also by judges competent to pronounce—for preferring minuteness and circumstantial accuracy to breadth and grasp, and for encouraging a narrow, onesided—in a word, an *isolated*—tone in our literature. No doubt we can often retort by charging the opposite defects upon the literatures of the Continent; *præcedenti spectatur mantica tergo*. But it would be folly for that reason to shut our ears to adverse criticism, or our eyes to the extended *coup d'œil* of a subject which may be gained from a French or German point of view.

In treating of economical questions, and especially of emigration, the inherent tendency for which we are blamed is helped on rather than checked by the very magnitude of our national business affairs. Emigration from our own shores, for instance, has flowed in so vast a current during the last twenty years, that one feels as if it were task enough to examine the course and plumb the depths of that, without proceed-

¹ *Histoire de l'Emigration Européenne, Asiatique et Africaine au XIX^{me} Siècle : ses causes, ses caractères, ses effets.* Par M. Jules Duval, Rédacteur en chef de *L'Economiste Français*. [Ouvrage couronné en 1861 par l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.] Paris : Guillaumin, 1862.

ing to survey foreign streams, or trace each remote affluent to its source. We are disposed, therefore, to set a high value on a work which presents such unusual features of interest as M. Duval's *Emigration au XIX^{me} Siècle*. It is a remark of Mr. Mill's,² that in order to appreciate the benefits of colonisation, it should be considered in its relation not to a single country, but to the collective economical interests of the human race. Taking colonisation in its widest sense, as embracing emigration of every kind, it is precisely a contribution to this great object that M. Duval has furnished. The scope and area of his researches into the emigration of the nineteenth century are literally as wide as the world itself. The timid movements of Bosnian peasants across the Austrian border, and even the drifting voyages of Fiji and Friendly Islanders, have a place assigned them in the same catalogue which contains the vast returns of British and German emigration. For the treatment of so wide a subject matter, there was wanting not only a great deal of previous knowledge, but experience and varied practice in the collection and examination of figures. The statistics of even our own emigration, though more complete than those of any other country, are very far from being perfect. In some of the smaller German States, where legislation has left no stone unturned in order to repress emigration, the tables have to be increased by estimates of a fifth, a fourth, and even a half, on account of clandestine departures nowhere tabulated. Emigration from China and Africa can be only proximately measured, by conjecture from utterly inadequate returns. For several districts of Eastern Europe, and for some Asiatic centres of migration, no figures whatever are forthcoming. To grapple with these difficulties, a better-qualified man than M. Duval could hardly have been found. He is chief editor of *L'Economiste Français*, and was a sufficiently well-known authority in economical science to head the Emigration Committee at the *Congrès de Bienfaisance* so long ago as 1856. He received cordial assistance in compiling the *Emigration au XIX^{me} Siècle* from the Ministry of the Interior, and has diligently availed himself of the best English and American authorities. He is therefore a writer from whom one is willing to accept a broad and general view, because he is in possession not only of facts, but of that practised judgment without which facts are more likely to mislead than to inform.

The unceasing demand from the truest friends of emigration is for fresh instalments of reliable information on

² *Polit. Econ.* v. xi. § 14.

the subject. In our own country, thanks to the Emigration Board and the recruiting energy of various colonies, among which Queensland stands conspicuous, there is now less want than ever of specific details on the capabilities and prospects of any given district. But we are not aware that any example exists among English publications of an extended panorama such as M. Duval offers; an aid which is sure to be of essential value to the economical student. And now that we are approaching a winter which will still further develop the Lancashire problem, in the solution of which, in spite of the sanguine expectations of the manufacturers,³ emigration may still have to play an important part, we believe that a brief survey of M. Duval's researches will be a timely and welcome contribution to current literature.

Emigration is a convenient term for expressing what is no new phenomenon, but one of the normal conditions of the life and progress of our race. A displacement of populations has been going on, sometimes probably on quite as large a scale as during the present century, in all ages of the known history of the world. The spirit of local change is poetically called by M. Duval "the Ulysses of the human family," "*qui, retrem-pant ses forces dans l'incessant renouvellement des générations, promène autour du globe . . . sa curiosité, ses besoins, son ambition, ses convoitises, ses espérances.*" The emigration of the nineteenth century is but the lineal successor of such movements as the descent of the Armenian Chaldæans into Mesopotamia, the Phœnician and Greek settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean, and the great achievements of Roman colonisation. Gothic and Mussulman invasions, Christian crusades, and Norse piracy, were among the chief medieval phenomena of the same undying tendency. The distinguishing characteristic of contemporary emigration is, that it is due, more than that of any former period, to the peaceful requirements of production and exchange. Not that these are even now the sole causes of displacement. Political injustice, social abuse, sheer want, religious excitement, and the mania for gold-digging, have all helped to swell the stream which began to flow so abundantly in 1815, "on the morrow of the general peace." Still, inasmuch as sound principles of commerce have since that time undergone a

³ "In substance they amount to this—that we shall have cotton enough, immediately after Christmas next, to keep the mills working four and a half days a week all through the year 1864; and that in the year 1865, or 1866 at the latest, 'the whole of Lancashire might be at full work, without a bale of cotton being received from America, and supposing the war were still progressing in that country.'"—*Times* leader of Aug. 26, 1863, after a meeting of the Central Relief Committee, presided over by Lord Derby.

development almost without parallel in any corresponding period of history, emigration has felt the influence not only in its vastly increased extent, but in its motive causes.

The contribution furnished by Great Britain to the general result is far in advance of any other; and the spirit of colonial activity is of older standing here than in any other part of Europe, excepting the Spanish Peninsula. The Virginian enterprises of Raleigh in 1584 and 1587 were followed, in 1606, by the patents of James I. to the London and Plymouth Companies, which led to the founding of Jamestown by Captain John Smith. The Puritan expatriation came next, in 1620; the Catholic settlement in Maryland in 1634; and the foundation of Pennsylvania in 1680. The great distress during the winter of 1709 led to Queen Anne's emigration scheme, which provided free transit to America for 30,000 people in 1710. Subsequently, the greater part of the eighteenth century was marked by an illiberal spirit on the part of the legislature towards emigration. The years 1719, 1750, and 1782 were all notorious for Acts more worthy of the panic-stricken German principalities than of the English Parliament. However, the government had already begun to take more enlightened views, when the wars of the French Revolution and the Empire paralysed all effort in this direction. Immediately on the proclamation of peace, the spring began to flow with an abundance never known before. Between 1815 and 1819, 97,779 emigrants left our ports; and the following tables, representing the totals during four decennial periods, mark the rapid progress of the movement:

1820-1829	.	.	.	.	.	216,114
1830-1839	.	.	.	.	.	669,314
1840-1849	.	.	.	.	.	1,494,786
1850-1859	.	.	.	.	.	2,439,585

In 1819 emigration took a vigorous leap forward, owing to an effort made in that year by the Cape authorities. The money-crisis of 1825-6, and the measures taken in consequence, sent emigration up to 103,140 departures in 1832, the introduction of the spinning-jenny helping to bring about the rise. Machinery, however, was soon found, by increasing consumption, to promote rather than slacken the demand for labour. By 1835, there was an estimated deficiency of 90,000 hands in the market, and the stream of foreign departures was again checked. The consolidation of the Emigration Office about 1840, and the introduction of fresh improvements into machinery, began a renewed ac-

tivity, which culminated in the amazing aggregate for 1852 of 368,764, the Irish exodus being the principal cause of this enormous excess. From 1855, in spite of Californian and Australian gold, a rapid decline began, owing, among other causes, to the improved condition at home of the working classes, and (as M. Duval thinks) to the hostility of the Know-Nothing party in the United States in that and the following year, who distorted President Monroe's message of 1823 into the fanatical cry of "America for the Americans." The war in the Crimea, and the commercial crisis of 1857, the effects of which were felt in Australia, no doubt added to the retarding influences at work. By 1859, the numbers had fallen to 120,000, which M. Duval thinks likely to prove the normal point of emigration from Great Britain. An increase of 8000 took place in 1860; but the American war brought the figures down to 91,770 for 1861. Out of the total for 1859, an insignificant fraction of 4442 consisted of foreigners sailing from British ports; and only 12,798—little more than one-tenth of the whole—received assistance from the government commissioners. What was a still more favourable sign, the number of female emigrants approximated more nearly than ever before to the males, falling short by only one-tenth. A foreigner is forcibly struck by the unity of feeling in favour of emigration, quite beyond the pale of official interference, and pervading all sections of English society. Associations in aid have been started on all hands, and with varied objects—for the Highlands, for the inhabitants of the Hebrides, for females, for the Jews.⁴ Only a year or two back the Lord Mayor gave a dinner at Wanstead to 200 boys of the Shoe-black Brigade, and Lord Shaftesbury attended to address them on the advantages of emigration. Ragged schools have held out assistance in emigration as one of the highest rewards of good behaviour; and the same method has been largely resorted to in reformatories.

The statistics of the great Irish crisis will remain to the end of time among the most remarkable records of emigration. The departures from Ireland alone during the four fullest years were as follows:

1849	.	.	.	.	.	218,842
1850	.	.	.	.	.	213,649
1851	.	.	.	.	.	254,327
1852	.	.	.	.	.	224,997

In five years (taking in 1848) one-eighth of the entire popu-

⁴ This society was started in 1853; and in four years it assisted 274 emigrants, with 2240*l*.

lation emigrated; and more than *a million and a half* left their homes between 1847 and 1855, at the average rate of 207,853 a year. The results of emigration in the case of Ireland have been almost as striking as the movement itself. There were in Ireland on the lists of Poor-Law relief,⁵

In 1849	620,747
„ 1859	44,929.

It is true that population had fallen twenty-five per cent, but pauperism had fallen to *one-fourteenth* of what it had been. Irish workhouses contained,

In 1851	86,000
„ 1853	50,000;

and in 1857 two-thirds of the houses were empty. The total amount of crimes committed in Ireland was,

In 1849	41,989
„ 1855	9,012;

and of convicted criminals,

In 1854	7051
„ 1860	2969

Taking a more extended view, and embracing the whole United Kingdom, we find that, between the years 1815 and 1859, a vast army of 5,000,000 emigrants left our ports. But during the same period, notwithstanding the positive loss in deaths, over and above the displacement of population, caused by the Irish famine, the British Islands gained at least 10,000,000 inhabitants.⁶ Of the 5,000,000 emigrants, 1,800,000 were bound for our own colonies in North America, Australia, or New Zealand. Taking in the West Indies, the Cape, Natal, and a few other points, we may say that an aggregate of 2,000,000 found their way to British settlements. This part of the displacement, so far from being a loss, was a distinct gain, the majority of emigrants becoming not only consumers but *producers*, under much more favourable conditions than in the places of their birth. The greater part of the remaining 3,000,000 have been dispersed among the United States, adding incalculably to the profits of the enormous trade which, until recent disasters, we carried on with all parts of the Union. In 1854 a fleet of no less than 250 vessels, nearly as many as were engaged

⁵ In England, during the same period of ten years, the fall was only from 934,419 to 851,020.

⁶ In 1815 Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands, contained a population of about 19,000,000. In the middle of 1862, when the Irish population had (if any thing) been on the decrease since 1859, the figures were 29,180,000.

in the cotton trade, was busily employed in the work of emigration transit; while enormous gains were flowing into the ports—principally, of course, of Liverpool,⁷ but also of London, Southampton, and Plymouth; of Glasgow, Greenock, Galway, Cork, and Belfast. Though last not least among the items of wealth, let us record what is also a most worthy proof of the moral no less than the material well-being of British emigrants themselves. During the twelve years between 1848 and 1859 inclusive, a sum reaching very nearly *eleven million pounds sterling* was sent back from British North America *alone*, for the purpose of enabling relatives left behind in England to rejoin their prospering friends abroad. The exact figures are 10,939,000*l.*; and to this sum we may add 45,000*l.* remitted during 1859 from Australia with a similar end in view. No wonder that M. Duval ends his long account of emigration from the United Kingdom with the succinct but pithy sentence, “L’émigration anglaise est donc tout profit pour l’Angleterre.”

The prime feature of the German character in respect to emigration is, that it fails of impelling men to found colonies, leading them only to fecundate and subsidise the colonies of other nations. A tendency to distant wanderings the German has never wanted. As early as the twelfth century German miners and artisans settled in Hungary and Transylvania; in the thirteenth, German farmers were numerous on the crown lands of Poland. As soon as the sixteenth century was over, and the spell of religious revolution was beginning to relax its power, German immigrants mingled with the English in Virginia and Maryland, with the Dutch in New Amsterdam, and with the Swedes on the banks of the Delaware. A large body of disciples followed Penn from the Rhineland;⁸ Zimmermann headed a Protestant colony in Georgia; and, half-way through the eighteenth century, a considerable German settlement was founded in the district of the Sierra Morena, between New Castille and Andalusia.

Modern German emigration is even more extensive and varied. In Eastern Europe Germans have visited the Hungarian Magyars, the Polish and Russian Slaves, the Danubian Roumans, the Turks, and Greeks. Still further eastward, they are found in the valleys of the Caucasus, in the gardens of

⁷ The departures from the port of Liverpool reached a *maximum* of 206,000 in 1851.

⁸ Pittorius, a native of Frankfort, headed the first German colony in Pennsylvania; Germanstown, Reading, and Lancaster were founded, in whole or in part, by Lutherans and Mennonites; and a poll-tax of four shillings was long levied by the Pennsylvanian government on German immigrants, through the fear “*de voir le pays se germaniser.*”

Turkey in Asia, and on the plains of Egypt. In Africa they swarm through Algeria, the Cape, Natal, and Caffraria. In the United States the *corps d'armée* of immigrants divides itself into three great columns. The first, disembarking at New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, makes for Ohio, the Upper Mississippi region, and the Lakes. Another, for the present checked entirely, advanced, by way of New Orleans, on the immense plains watered by the Arkansas and Missouri. A third, bound for Texas, was received at Galveston. Of late years Canada, Central America, and still more Australia, have been formidable rivals of the States, which still, however, keep a decided lead, though not in the overwhelming proportions of 1854, when there started,⁹

	Total of German emigrants.	Proportion bound for the States.
From Bremen	76,875	75,500
„ Hamburg	28,310	20,835
„ Antwerp	25,843	22,178

There is much in the internal state of the German Confederation to foster this vagabond tendency. Among the operating causes, the absence of a genuinely national spirit holds a prominent place. The family is every thing ; the State com-

⁹ Out of 30,000 Germans who sailed from Havre in 1857, 27,000 were bound for the States. And, judging from the following extract from the *Times* correspondent at Washington (*Times*, Aug. 21, 1863), the influx has received little or no check even from the war. "There is no apprehension meanwhile that this occupation of the South may, in any perceptible degree, affect or wear out the North. Should every one of the million of combatants now in the field cast his lot in the South as a permanent settler, the gaps left by them in Northern society would be immediately filled up by the incessant tide of immigration from the Old World. At no time, it is confidently asserted, have German, Irish, and other adventurers flocked to the States as they have done since the beginning of the war. The very Canadas, we are told, are pouring their floating population into the adjoining lands of the Union. I have no means to test the exact truth of this assertion, but I can bear witness that as we neared Sandy Hook in the *Persia*, a fortnight ago, we came up with the *Borussia*, from Bremen, whose decks were swarming with emigrants, Germans, obeying that cry, '*Nach Amerika*,' which depopulates Fatherland, and breaks the sinews of those besotted, improvident German States. It was a moment of proud exultation for the Yankees who were on board with us, who felt that the prosperity, the strength, the future development of their country, depended on the supply of those raw elements, whereby they were able either to perpetuate war, or to establish peace on their own terms. The phenomena of the darkest Middle Ages are reproducing themselves under our very eyes. The North-American hive of nations is swarming down southwards, and the European tide is rushing in, pressing on, allowing no slack or stagnation, giving the wilfulness of man all the impulse of irresistible fate. It was not so much as recruits for the Northern armies now in the field that these new-comers were so rapturously hailed at their landing in the country of their adoption ; but they were welcomed as combatants in that great war of colonisation and civilisation which enlists its pioneers out of all the European tribes, but in which the Anglo-Saxon deems himself entitled to take the lead."

paratively nothing, in spite of *Vaterland* songs; and the sentiment of *ubi bene, ibi patria*, comes more home to the inhabitants of Germany than to any other section of European populations. The obstacles thrown in the way of early marriages by the law of several states is also a seriously disturbing cause. In Wirtemberg no young man who is not legally exempt from military service can marry before the age of twenty-five, nor even then without showing that he is possessed, in the larger towns, of from 800 to 1000 florins, and in the country districts of from 200 to 500. Outworn relics of medieval economy, in privileged guilds, forced apprenticeship, and sometimes insuperable obstacles to the acquisition of landed property, all have their place in a list of grievances, which seldom fails to include also complaints of tyrannical injustice on the part of inferior government officials, especially in Mecklenburg, Hesse, and Nassau. To these normal causes of restlessness the last fifteen years have added the accidental ones of bad crops, increased use of machinery, a depreciation in the lace-trade, and disputes between masters and operatives, generally ending in a reduction of wages.

Instead of judiciously probing, and firmly removing, by little and little, the root of the evil, many of the German States, panic-struck at the existing degree of emigration, and fearing its increase, have enforced a variety of unjust laws with a view to check departures. For the adoption of this course there was no want of historical precedent. Frederick William of Prussia, whose zeal for internal colonisation was such that he succeeded in establishing 20,000 immigrant families in his dominions at an expense of 5,000,000 thalers, enforced the penalty of death against any Prussian peasant who should emigrate to foreign parts, and against any accomplice of his removal. A reward of 200 thalers was given for evidence against intending emigrants. In Bavaria, about the same time—a state which has uniformly headed the official hue-and-cry against emigration—persons convicted of recruiting for colonies were sentenced to death; an exaction of *one-tenth* of a man's entire property was levied on emigrants holding a government permit, and the whole was liable to confiscation in cases of unauthorised departure.

In Austria, during the last fifteen years, reforms in the law affecting emigration have been going on. Yet in Austria even authorised departure causes a forfeiture of citizenship, and the returned emigrant is placed on the footing of a foreigner. The suppression, within the limits of the empire, of a Bremen journal devoted to colonial intelligence

gave evidence not many years back of the real sentiments of the government. The anxious government of Bavaria, however, continued to hold the lead in measures of repression, even after the Diet of 1848 had taken off all restrictions excepting from debtors, from youths just approaching the military age, and from the *Landwehr*. During the session of 1856, when freedom of emigration was again established, so far as a decision of the Diet could establish it, by a majority of twenty votes against twelve, Prince Wallerstein administered a severe rebuke to the Bavarian government, which he declared to be "as hostile to emigration as if the Bavarian subject were still a serf bound to the soil." The ultra-conservative states have been as unsuccessful in directing as in arresting the stream of emigration. Efforts to divert emigrants from America, and to force them into unoccupied districts of the Austrian empire, into the Danubian provinces, or into Greece, in which until lately Bavaria had a family interest, have all signally failed. Meanwhile clandestine or unauthorised emigration has risen to a surprisingly high point. During the three years 1849, 1850, 1851, for instance, the number of Prussian emigrants officially recorded was 38,000 in all; but an examination of the census returns showed that at least 157,000 Prussian subjects must have left the kingdom for foreign settlements in the course of the same three years. So lately as 1858 clandestine departures were estimated to form one-fourth part of the whole in Prussia.

If, however, we take into account the entire population of Germany, which is estimated by M. Duval to have exceeded 64,000,000¹⁰ in 1856, the aggregate of German emigration has been by no means high. The immediate results of the peace in 1815 created an active stimulus, which sent the departures up to an average of 15,000 for the two following years. But a reaction soon followed; and from 1819 to 1826 not more than from 2000 to 4000 persons a year left Germany. The inundations and bad crops of 1827 raised the figures to 11,000; and in the great famine years of 1846-7 the annual number of *Europamiide* exceeded 100,000. The German *maximum* was reached in 1854, falling far short—as the annexed figures show—of the highest English total, attained two years earlier:

¹⁰ The numbers are arrived at thus:

The Germanic Confederation	43,286,116
Non-Confederate States of Austria (Hungary, &c.) . . .	16,492,009
Non-Confederate States of Prussia (Posen, &c.) . . .	4,235,203
	<hr/> 64,013,328

Maximum of a single year's emigration:

United Kingdom (1852)	. . . . .	368,764
Germany (1854)	. . . . .	251,931

The average between 1857 and 1859 inclusive fell below 60,000 annually; and it must be remembered that within the last ten years no inconsiderable back-stream of German *Amerikamüde* has recrossed the Atlantic. Nor is there a single German state that did not, during the sixteen years (1842-58) when emigration progressed most rapidly, gain an increase of population "*dans une proportion très-rassurante.*"

What really occasions regret in observing the phenomena of German emigration, and justifies the anxieties—though not the illiberal errors—of many of the local governments, is, that the movement has not, on the whole, been due to the operation of sound and legitimate causes,—to a clear excess of population, a clear deficiency in the means of subsistence, or a clear opening for the better employment of capital, leading to the increase and improvement of production. On the contrary, we have seen that parts of Germany itself have been suggested, though unsuccessfully, as a substitute for America; and they really present, to the chagrin of those in power, excellent, but unworked, fields for enterprise. In a few sensible remarks, M. Duval points out what governments in this predicament ought and ought not to do:

"En ce cas, au lieu de blâmer les émigrants, qui s'en vont à contre-cœur, *les peuples doivent remonter aux causes de ces départs.* Ils les découvriront dans les vices des lois, dans la tyrannie de l'administration, dans la langueur des travaux publics, dans le défaut de justice ou de sécurité, dans le régime de la propriété. Qu'ils se réforment, et l'amour inné du pays natal retiendra tous ceux qui doivent rester."

For the Hanse Towns emigration has brought unqualified prosperity. Bremen and Hamburg have reaped the full advantage of lying directly in the route to Australia, California, the United States, and the Antilles. From 1846 to 1859 there were more than *eight hundred thousand* departures from these two ports. In 1859 the numbers were 35,000, equal to nearly half the Liverpool quota for the same year. From Bremen alone, 140 vessels conveyed away more than 21,000 emigrants—about three-fifths of the whole.

If we now turn from the Teutonic to the Latin races of Europe, we shall find emigration assuming altogether different proportions. In France it is to be regarded, as M. Duval reluctantly remarks, more in the light of a scientific phenomenon than of a large political and social movement.

A comparative estimate of three years' emigration from France and England affords a striking result :

	France.	England.
1852 . . . under 10,000 . . .		368,764
1854 18,079 . . .		323,429
1858 13,813 . . .		113,972

It must not be forgotten that 1852 was our *maximum* year, in which the effects of the social revolution in Ireland reached a culminating point; and that, during the same year, France was in that condition of agitated suspense which immediately followed the *coup d'état* of December 1851. But when ample allowance has been made on this account, the fact still remains that England, with 27,000,000 of inhabitants, threw off an emigrating surplus *thirty-six times larger* than was furnished by the population of France, which at that time stood to our own at least in the proportion of 4 to 3. During 1856 the departures from Great Britain, greatly diminished even then from the standard of 1852, gave an average of 1 in every 157 of the population. In France during the same year, emigration having made a considerable advance, the average was no higher than 1 in 2196. Meantime the statistics of population have shown a vigorous increase on the part of England, and a stationary condition—if not a decrease—in France. The 27,000,000 inhabiting Great Britain in 1851 had advanced to a total exceeding 29,000,000 in 1861; while, excluding the gain of about 2,000,000 by the annexation of Savoy and Nice, the decennial period produced no advance at all in the population of France.

This backwardness to emigrate on the part of their countrymen occasions feelings of just and bitter annoyance to the sound and patriotic economists among the French. Many a casual sentence, sometimes even a parenthetical remark, bears evidence of the hidden dissatisfaction which is not allowed to appear on the surface. M. Michel Chevalier, in his recent and very interesting treatise on Mexican affairs, has occasion to review the emigration of Europe to the States during the last fifteen years. He remarks that the exceptional total, drawn from all quarters, of 427,000 American immigrants during 1854, has fallen as low as to 150,000; and then he emphatically adds: "But an annual contingent of 150,000 immigrants is, after all, an important acquisition. *What would we not give could we get but a quarter of the number in Algeria!*" M. Duval, though full of serious regret, and almost of indignation, at the indifferent state of things in his own

country, will not allow the Anglo-Saxons of England to claim an undivided share in the credit of their vast emigration conquests. The thought embodied in the following questions re-appears under different forms at frequent intervals through his book :

“De quelles rives partirent les barons Normands qui conquièrent l'Angleterre, ancêtres de l'aristocratie qui aujourd'hui la gouverne ? Et les Irlandais, les Ecossais, les habitants du pays de Galles, qui sont la meilleure partie de l'émigration britannique, *appartiennent-ils à la race anglaise ou à la race celtique ?*”

He ironically tears to pieces the unsatisfactory explanations of the dearth of French emigrants, with which it seems that the nation is deluded by the press and by public men. The peculiar attachment of the French to their native soil is sometimes urged as a reason ; as if both Gauls and Franks had not been “renommés, au contraire, par leur humeur vagabonde.” Is the fine and salubrious climate to be pleaded as an excuse ? It is just as fine and equally healthy in many parts of Germany, from which the stream has flowed most rapidly. Or the civic liberties of the French ? Those of the English and Swiss are incomparably greater. Or the abundance and high prices of labour ? The poor-law returns (*tableaux de l'assistance publique*) do not confirm that. Or the high point which population has attained ? It stands no higher than at 67 for the *kilomètre carré*—176 to the square mile ; a proportion approximating the limit of healthy condition, it is true, but not yet touching, far less exceeding it. He proceeds, in a tone of dignified rebuke, to assign the real reasons, among which centralisation—*partout amortissant le jeu des forces individuelles*—and the property-law of the *Code Civil* hold the chief place :

“What we have rather to blame is metropolitan centralisation, which for two centuries past has denied to our colonial settlements that full personal and political liberty which is the emigrant's principal attraction ; and our continental policy, which has filled Europe with war in order to readjust the frontiers of states, while a line of maritime and colonising policy might have endowed France with whole empires uncontested. Again, we have to blame the *Code Civil*, which, confounding the sacred right of children to inherit from their fathers with the right to an indefinite subdivision of the soil, diverts younger sons from their real mission—*qu'autrefois ils acceptaient comme leur destinée*—namely, of going, like discharged swarms from an overfilled hive, to found families in distant countries. Nor can we omit to censure our standing armies of 500,000 men, which keep the *élite* of our French youth in garrison at an age when they ought to be moving about the world as workers ; and, lastly, the over-

stocked 'edility' of our large towns, and the gaming speculations of the Bourse, *qui disputent les populations et les capitaux à la noble, mais plus sévère, spéculation des colonies agricoles et commerciales.*"

Such as French emigration is, it has flowed—as the following tabular statement will show—in a sufficiently large proportion to Algiers, notwithstanding the vigorous competition of La Plata and California. Still, the annual number of African immigrants is not calculated to encourage a colony on which more than 70,000,000*l.* has been expended.

	Total French emigration.	Emigration to Algiers.
1854 . .	18,079 . .	7,684
1855 . .	19,957 . .	9,802
1856 . .	17,997 . .	8,564
1857 . .	18,800 . .	7,992
1858 . .	13,813 . .	4,809

The principal centre of Algerian recruitment is of course the Mediterranean district. The Basses Pyrenées supply the chief part of the emigrants to La Plata, who start from Bordeaux; and the United States are visited mostly by inhabitants of the departments of Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin. In Alsace and the Pays du Basque ancient manners and sympathies are more general, and the dislike of centralisation is more keenly felt.

Belgium, which is the most densely populated country in Europe, reckoning 400 inhabitants to the square mile, is also the most heavily weighted with pauperism. Between 1840 and 1850 the number of assisted paupers rose from 401,000 to 901,000, more than doubling itself in the ten years. During the same period there was an increase of only one-twentieth in the population; yet in the last three years two out of every five in the operative classes were receiving relief. In 1848 the Belgian government, apparently roused by the magnitude of the evil, voted a sum equal to 20,000*l.*, and succeeded in settling a body of emigrants in Pennsylvania and Missouri. But while there are certain conditions of government aid and interference without which emigration cannot attain its due development, there are other conditions which result only in hindering and stifling the movement. The Belgian executive, not content with removing every restriction that stood in the way of free departure, appears to have carried interference too far. In 1856 the subject was entertained by the *Congrès de Bienfaisance* in presence of the king; and the result was a strong recommendation of the only condition of perfect soundness, namely, coöperation between official and indi-

vidual effort. The total number of emigrants during that year was 13,261 ; but by 1860 it had again fallen as low as 9339.

We said that Belgium holds the unenviable position of being first among the European states in the tables of pauperism. It holds this position, however, only by a narrow and uncertain majority over Holland. In Amsterdam it is not unusual for one-third of the municipal expenses to be sunk in relief ; at Leyden, the proportion is sometimes nearly one-half ; at Haarlem, two-fifteenths ; at the Hague and Rotterdam, nearly one-third. Yet the number of emigrants is exceedingly low, reaching a total of—

Between 1831 and 1847	only	8,052
„ 1845 „ 1854	„	20,427
and in 1857	.	1,663

This is the more surprising, as Holland has an illustrious history of emigration to point to in the past. Along with the Belgians, large bodies of Dutch settlers poured into Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During the seventeenth, they founded Batavia, in Java ; gave the Mauritius its name, from the stadtholder Maurice ; and held Pernambuco, with a great part of Northern Brazil. Here, however, as well as at the Cape, where they were dispossessed by the English, they sowed the seeds of toil for others to reap the harvest. Both Holland and Belgium own numerous factories, which are valuable points of emigration for talent and capital, and may in time gather population also from the mother countries. As long, however, as pauper relief is distributed and received in the astounding proportions above stated, it is hardly possible to expect any other result than a gradual lowering of energy and spirit among the classes which form the principal sources of emigration. There is no need here of mentioning in detail the Agricultural Poor Colonies of Holland, which were founded in 1817, and have justly attracted a good deal of attention in England. To the three Free Colonies established by the Society of Beneficence (*Maatschappy van Weldadigheid*), two Beggars' Colonies were added, which in 1859 were taken charge of by the government, and are used as places of deportation for certain classes of beggars who would otherwise incur imprisonment. But the whole scheme is on a scale which compels one to regard it rather as an interesting philanthropical experiment than as an undertaking of direct national importance.

The Scandinavian descendants of the wandering Goths, Jutes, Angles, and Norsemen, have become some of the most

pacific and sedentary among modern nations. Both Denmark and Sweden have established perfect freedom of emigration, excepting in the case of conscripts. But the liability to military service, in whatever country it exists, will always operate as a powerful restriction, no matter what degree of liberty exists outside the pale. Of the small numbers that leave these northern ports, the Mormonite settlement has attracted a very large, if not the principal share. The emissaries of the State of Utah early fixed on Copenhagen as a promising centre of operations. They set on foot a well-managed journal; and in 1851 there was established in the city a regular Mormonite hierarchy, with apostles, evangelists, priests, pastors, and prophets. The strict Swedish laws against the abandonment of Lutheranism operated, during several years, rather in aid of Mormonite proselytism than otherwise, and fifteen years ago their success in recruiting was very great. Between 1856 and 1859, however, only 800 Swedes a year left their country for emigration. In Norway the religious excitement has been less; but the enormous extent and great sterility of the highlands have sent the number of departures up to a much higher point than has been reached in Sweden. Between 1846 and 1855, 32,700 Norwegians emigrated, chiefly to the United States, showing an annual average of more than 3000. A frequent answer, says M. Duval, to questions addressed to emigrants about the reasons for their departure is—"Der et saa tungvindt bijemme i fjeldbygden!" which he translates, "Il est si difficile d'arracher quelque chose aux sables de nos montagnes!"

The amount of sheer want endured through a long series of years by the inhabitants of the Swiss mountains has probably been greater than that of any other people in Europe. M. Huber-Saladin, in an address before the Federal Société de l'Utilité Publique, delivered in 1845, spoke thus: "On n'émigre de la Suisse aujourd'hui, ni pour la religion, ni pour la politique, ces deux grands et puissants mobiles des émigrations d'autres siècles; on quitte la patrie par dégoût de ne pouvoir y posséder plus ou moins de sol pour vivre mieux, et enfin pour ne pas mourir de faim et vivre d'une manière quelconque." When a *commune* among the mountains containing 1000 or 1200 inhabitants increases to 1500 or 2000, the deficiency of wood and pasturage is such as to compel a displacement of a certain number. It was on account of a pressure such as this in the *commune* of Kleinalp, that ten *communes* of the canton Glarus united to buy 12,000

acres in the state of Wisconsin, and founded the colony of New Glarus in 1844. New Vevey in Indiana, and New Friburg in Brazil, had been founded many years before. Nearly 2000 Swiss emigrated to the States during 1858, and about the same number were settled in Algeria in 1860. Switzerland has a kind of reflux, on a small scale, of wealthy foreigners who become naturalised in her cantons, and contribute something to the prosperity of the country. In 1857 ninety-five foreigners were naturalised at Geneva, of whom thirty-five were Germans.

In spite of the old proverb, "*Dans quelque endroit du monde que l'on ouvre un œuf, il en sort un Génois,*" neither from Genoa nor from any other part of Italy does any considerable current of emigration flow at present. There is a great deal of internal movement; the masons of Como and Lugano are to be found in all parts of Italy, and the Modenese and Lucchese abound in Corsica. But outside the limits of the kingdom, Algiers and La Plata are the only points which attract an appreciable number of emigrants. In June 1860 there were 12,755 Italians resident in Algeria, where the Piedmontese are especially valued for their skill in building and road-making. Between 1819 and 1855 only 7185 Italians entered the United States, though the numbers during the last five years reached nearly to 500 annually.

The Spaniards are the popular immigrants to Algeria, and have increased rapidly there of late. There were living in the colony,

	Spaniards.
In 1840	7,693
„ 1850	41,525
„ 1860	54,125

They find in Northern Africa soil, climate, and crops very slightly differing from those of their native country; and the low wages and very imperfect security to life and property in the Spanish country districts have operated as powerful causes of removal. In Algiers they bear the reputation of sober, laborious, and persevering colonists, "*relevant l'humilité de leur fortune par une certaine grandeur de sentiments.*" Their habits are domestic, and their families increase rapidly. The Spanish government allows unfettered freedom to emigrants, and a very considerable contingent leave the Basque provinces and Navarre for La Plata. Southern and Central America are now deserted as fields for Spanish energy, and between 1815 and 1855 the total arrivals of Spaniards in Mexico and the United States,

according to the official registration, did not exceed 11,251, or scarcely more than 280 annually. Side by side with the emigration to Algiers and La Plata, there has been a steady increase in the population of Spain during the last thirty years, the annual advance probably falling little short of 150,000.

The United States have attracted as few Portuguese as Spanish immigrants since the year 1815, the principal destination of the Portuguese being, as might be expected, Brazil. In 1856 no less than 12,000 emigrants sailed for Brazil, chiefly for the Rio Janeiro, from the harbours of Portugal; and the intimate relations between the two countries are still more strikingly shown by this comparative statement of the exports of Lisbon in 1858 to Great Britain and to Brazil:

Exports from Lisbon	Value in francs.
To Brazil	8,211,000
„ Great Britain	7,989,000

What used to be known as a returned nabob in England, is answered to in Portugal by the name of a returned *Bra-sileiro*; and these men of fortune, establishing themselves again in their native country before extreme old age, are said by M. Duval to take an active and very salutary part in the practical administration of public affairs. Very few Portuguese unite with their Spanish neighbours in crossing to Algiers, which is much regretted by M. Duval, in whose opinion they would be the best recruits in the world for that colony, “uniting the masculine qualities of the Spaniard with the vivacity and sociability of the Frenchman.”

Turning from the extreme south-west of Europe to the extreme east, we find a regular flow of emigration to be a thing almost unknown. Russia, which scarcely averages even now more than ten inhabitants¹¹ to the square mile, is a country of immigration, not of outflow. There was a vast exceptional discharge of population in 1771-2, when, at the invitation of the Chinese government, about 80,000 Kalmuck families left the steppe between the rivers Volga and the Ural, and settled in Songaria, between the chains of Altai and Thian-shan, in Central Asia. There was a large departure of Poles in 1831, after the failure of the Warsaw insurrection, and they still form in Texas a nucleus for Polish emigration. And so recently as 1860-61, 30,000 Tartar families—from some hitherto unexplored cause, which may possibly have had its rise in commotions consequent on the

¹¹ Area, 7,283,552; population, in 1858, 72,000,000.

Crimean war—moved *en masse* into the neighbouring provinces of Turkey. But these isolated removals are of small import compared with the four streams of immigrants which are still, or have been until lately, poured into Poland, Southern Russia, the Caucasian provinces, and the basin of the Amoor. The inflow of Germans into Poland is probably entirely checked for the present; but they move in considerable bodies into Southern Russia, a specially favourable reception being given to the religious sects of Separatists and Mennonite Quakers. Distant and comparatively unknown as the Caucasian region is, emigrants are attracted to it from Wirtemberg, the Hessian States, and Baden; from Switzerland, and even from North-eastern France. Of the exertions made by the Russian government on the Amoor we have of late years been repeatedly reminded in certain quarters of the English press. M. Duval regards the Russian immigrants—including the Siberian exiles, who have been transferred in large numbers to this new centre by a recent ukase—as falling outside the pale of his enquiries, because they do not pass beyond the confines of the country in which they were born. The Chinese are crowding into the district, which promises to become “le théâtre d’un vaste système de colonisation qui doit un jour mettre en contraste, sur les confins de l’Inde et de la Chine, le génie anglais et le génie slave.”

From this rapid survey of the European surface, it is easy to arrive at a simple division, with reference to emigration, of the countries contained in it. Dividing the Continent into two nearly equal sections by a line about coinciding with the 15th degree of longitude, we see the countries west of that line, including all the most enlightened and civilised nations of Europe, sending out in various proportions, and to widely different destinations, a constant annual stream of emigrating population. Eastward of the imaginary line,—in Russia, European Turkey, Hungary, the Slavonian provinces of Austria and Prussia, and in the Danubian principalities,—emigration is almost universally a secondary and accidental phenomenon. The following table, extracted from a much larger one given by M. Duval, will supply an interesting comparative view of the principal emigrating states. The ratio borne by the emigrating portion to the entire population is the basis of comparison; and, as it was quite impossible to obtain statistical returns of the same year for all the countries mentioned, the year to which the figures belong has been carefully specified in each case:

				Ratio of emigrants to population.
Ireland . . .	1849-54 . .	.	.	1 in 44
United Kingdom . .	1850 . .	.	.	1 in 113 ¹²
Switzerland . .	1850 . .	.	.	1 in 300
German Confederation	1856 . .	.	.	1 in 533 ¹³
Spain . . .	1859 . .	.	.	1 in 1,929
France . . .	1856 . .	.	.	1 in 2,196
Italy . . .	1860 . .	.	.	1 in 5,500
Austria . . .	1858 . .	.	.	1 in 19,000 ¹⁴

The annual average of the entire emigration of Europe since 1854 may be set down at 400,000, though M. Duval estimates that unauthorised and unregistered departures would raise the figures to 500,000 at lowest. Taking 400,000 as the correct total, and reckoning the population of Europe at 250,000,000, we find that 1 out of every 625 inhabitants has emigrated annually during the last eight or nine years; or 1 in every 425, if we deduct 80,000,000 from the whole population on account of Eastern Europe, which contributes scarcely any thing to emigration. The result shows, as M. Duval observes, a *proportion tout à fait insignifiante*, and proves the groundlessness of the fears which have given rise in many European states, even within the present century, to repressive and injurious legislation with a view to detaining emigrants. A fair distributive portion being assumed, European emigration might go on increasing almost indefinitely—with safety and advantage to the mother states—for centuries to come.

The plan of M. Duval's book is, as we have said, world-wide. After writing forty-one chapters on *les pays d'origine* of free emigration, he adds fifty-eight more on *les pays de destination*. He is then at the end, not of his book, but of the first part of it; the second being employed in a similar, but much shorter, treatment of contract-emigration. It will not be expected that, in our brief space, we should tread step by step in his footprints, and "survey mankind from China to Peru" with equal accuracy. We shall, however, go over enough ground to indicate the views of this able Frenchman on the institutions of America and of our principal colonies, as well as on the system of emigration by contract, which ran the risk only a few years back of being so injuriously abused by France herself.

Let us first take a rapid glance at the numbers and distribution of United States immigration from the year 1819.

¹² In 1860 and 1861 the proportion was 1 in 250.

¹³ 120,000 out of 64,000,000.

¹⁴ 2000 out of 39,000,000.

Between 1819 and 1855, 4,212,624 persons in all are registered as foreign settlers in the States. Out of this number,

The United Kingdom	furnished	2,343,445
Germany	„	1,206,087
France	„	188,725
Prussia	„	35,995
Switzerland	„	31,071
Norway and Sweden	„	291,441
Holland	„	17,583
Spain	„	11,251

The contingents of Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, and Poland all fell below 10,000 ; those of Russia, Sweden, Sicily, Malta, and Greece, below 1000. Asia furnished about 17,000 immigrants during the same period of thirty-six years ; America itself about 150,000 ; and Africa something below 2000. Australia, and even the Sandwich and Society Islands, contributed small affluents to the general tide. M. Duval closely investigates the items composing these totals, and contrasts the aggregate with the trifling numbers bound for what he still calls Spanish-Portuguese America—Brazil, namely, and the republics of the South and Centre. He remarks in how many points South America possesses advantages¹⁵ over the northern section of the continent ; and, asking the reasons of the preference shown to the north by immigrants, answers himself thus :

“ A quoi tient donc la préférence obstinée accordée à la confédération du nord par les émigrants ? Pour une part, à l'analogie des climats, à la communauté d'origine, de langue, de religion, avec les deux pays qui sont les sources de l'émigration, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne ; pour une autre part à l'ancienneté des habitudes établies et des relations de personnes et d'affaires qu'elles ont créées ; pour la troisième part enfin, et c'est la plus grande, à la sincérité confiante de l'accueil fait aux étrangers, laquelle se traduit en une complète assimilation entre le naturalisé et le natif, sur le pied de l'égalité des droits politiques, civils et religieux. Dans la plupart des États hispano-portugais la naturalisation, très-facile sans doute, *semble plutôt une charge qu'un bénéfice*, un moyen de soustraire le nouveau citoyen à la protection des consuls de sa nation, plutôt que de lui ouvrir les privilèges de l'égalité politique : on le désire plutôt comme travailleur auxiliaire que comme membre actif et influent d'une société nouvelle ; aussi se *défie-t-il* de la naturalisation, au lieu de la rechercher avec empressement. Les mœurs sont moins libérales que les lois, qui même ne le sont pas toujours.”

The differences in the systems of land-ownership further

¹⁵ The river-system of the Magdalena, Orinoco, Amazon, and La Plata is superior to that of the Mississippi. The elevations are better arranged. There are no vast districts, like the Rocky Mountains, forbidding habitation.

exert a decisive influence. In the United States, sale is the simple and universal rule. In South and Central America, the metayer system¹⁶ reigns supreme. Under colour of superior liberty, this system binds the holder hand and foot. The officials are sole judges of the immigrant's qualifications. They assign him his place on the soil, impose on him arbitrary and heavy dues, and in the name of inspection keep him under perpetual *surveillance*. Brazil alone had in 1862 perceived the truth that free sale in open market is the only sound system; and M. Duval augurs an increasing inflow of European emigration when her general policy and social *régime* have made a corresponding advance. By and by, the republics of the South and Centre will also undergo sound economical reforms; they too will then receive their fair share of patronage; and the two races—the Anglo-Saxon and Neo-Latin—will merge old feuds as their balance becomes more even, and the so-called Monroe doctrine is gradually forgotten.

M. Duval is not the only French writer who insists with eagerness on the value of sound colonial legislation affecting land. One of the most eminent French economists now living, M. Michel Chevalier, points with enthusiasm¹⁷ to the growth and prosperity of the state of Illinois. In 1850 this state had a population of 851,000; in 1860 the number had risen to 1,712,000. This was a gain of cent per cent in the ten years. Yet Illinois has no attractive gold-mines like California, nor silver-mines like Mexico. Its industry is of the plain agricultural kind. But "*l'attrait principal de ce pays, c'est la facilité de s'y faire, sous des lois libérales, un patrimoine territorial.*" It is the same thing with the British colonies. "*Property and liberty, disent les Anglais. 'Les pays sont cultivés non en raison de leur fertilité,' a dit Montesquieu, 'mais en raison de leur liberté.' Mots profonds justement devenus historiques!*" It makes no difference to the emigrant whether the central government be monarchical or republican. The municipal system, civil right, religious liberty, are as much the rule in Canada and Australia as in the States, and there lies the root of their amazing firmness and vitality.

The contract-system of emigration is nothing more nor less than a necessary relic of slavery. After the abolition of

¹⁶ "The principle of the metayer system is that the labourer, or peasant, makes his agreement directly with the landlord, and pays, not a fixed rent, either in money or in kind, but a certain proportion of the produce, or rather of what remains of the produce after deducting what is considered necessary to keep up the stock." Mill, *Polit. Econ.* ii. 8, § 1.

¹⁷ *Le Mexique, Ancien et Moderne*, p. 456.

slavery in our own colonies, and when the term of apprenticeship which followed had come to an end, the method of recruiting labourers from Africa, India, and China especially, came into play. It is still worked by ourselves, and by other European nations, principally in the Antilles—the former fields of slavery—but also in Ceylon, Natal, and Algiers. The contract to serve during a term of years is exacted on engagement, as a security to meet the expense of transport. The following are the conditions in force at St. Lucia in the Antilles, by virtue of an order dated 1854. Each immigrant is to serve for three years; but he is bound at their expiration to serve for two more, with the option of passing them under another master. He is then entirely free of his engagement. The planter pays the government 1*l.* for the first year on every *employé*, and 1*l.* 5*s.* for every succeeding year. Beyond the fixed wages of 1*s.* a day, for which the labourer works nine hours, the master is bound to find a garden-plot; and, in case of illness, board and medical attendance. As a set-off to these liabilities, he is allowed to keep back 1*l.* 4*s.* per annum. “I should add,” a planter writes, “that when a coolie transgresses the laws of the colony, it is recommended to apply corporal punishment rather than to exact fines, *which are sure to fall on the proprietor.*” “*C'est franc,*” says M. Duval, “*sinon légal.*”

Some idea of the part borne by China in contract-emigration may be gained by knowing, on Sir John Bowring's authority, that out of the two provinces Kwan-Tung and Fo-Kien, having an aggregate population of 25,000,000, between two and three millions at least are now living in foreign countries. Without following them upwards to the Amoor and downwards to the Philippines, it will be enough to remark that in 1856 there were 18,000 Chinese in Australia alone, where they have probably quadrupled their number since then. M. Chevalier grows enthusiastic about the Chinese. He would have Mexico subsidised and invigorated by these active and intelligent workers, and believes that China will be the *officina gentium* of the future. M. Duval paints their character in considerably darker colours; but he admits that, out of 400,000,000, a fair proportion of rogues must have been thrown off, and thinks it not unlikely that time may operate in attracting a higher class of Chinese emigrants, for whom he bespeaks a fairer and more liberal treatment.

The emigration from India, which was 52,000 in 1859, fell to about 25,000 in 1860. This fall was probably attributable to the development of cultivation,—the growth of cotton may be hoped to have reduced the numbers still fur-

ther by the present year, though India has ample labour-supplies for emigration as well as for internal employment,—and to the advance of public works. M. Duval's opinion is, that the more India becomes regenerated under English rule, the more profitable will become the internal trade and works, and that little or nothing of the vast Hindu population will be available outside the peninsula.

In Africa, during the hey-day of the slave-trade, about 200,000 Negroes a year were forced from their homes to supply the now emancipated colonies, which at present receive scarcely *ten thousand* annually from the same quarter. The whole African question is still involved in great obscurity; but the sedentary lives and the few wants of many of the races inhabiting that continent will probably keep the departures at a very low point for some time yet to come.

Contract-emigration has been attempted for Algiers; but M. Duval has no faith in it, and concisely pronounces that “le salut de l'Algérie est dans la population indigène ou européenne, qui offre ses bras à qui veut les payer à leur juste prix.” He thinks that Abyssinia might be more effectually worked as a reservoir of labour, but more than all the Indo-Chinese peninsula, towards the opening of which the conquest of Cochin-China may prove to be an important step. His views on emigration by contract are thus summed up:

“Concluons fermement de tous ces faits, que l'immigration salariée n'entre, comme un rouage entièrement utile, dans le mécanisme économique d'un pays, qu'à la condition de niveler ses salaires avec ceux de marché libre, résultat qui s'obtient toutes les fois qu'elle supporte tous les frais qu'elle entraîne et qui doivent entrer dans le prix de revient du travail. Soumise à cette règle, la production coloniale s'efforcera, plus qu'elle ne fait aujourd'hui, à tirer parti des bras et du bon vouloir de la population indigène, et l'immigration asiatique, indienne ou africaine, ne serait plus qu'une variété irréprochable de l'émigration libre, analogue à celle des Européens, le type supérieur auquel doivent se ramener toutes les formes de déplacement et d'engagement.”

There is no need of elaborately expanding the lessons which lie so abundantly on the surface of a treatise like M. Duval's, and many of which have gradually taken firm root as maxims in our English policy. There are, however, some points which, though not requiring detailed explanation, are of such importance as to deserve a few concluding words of notice. Emigration is to be regarded as a subsidiary, not a primary, means of promoting the prosperity of a country. The prime element of well-being for every nation is, that it should be healthily developing its home-resources

of population and of production. Wherever this is going on, emigration is sure to follow; and settlements founded under these conditions will not fail, provided no political disturbances intervene, to reflect advantage upon the mother-country. The action of government, as is now pretty well understood in England, should be confined to facilitating information, and directing or seconding individual effort. The over-sedulous care of a centralising government, like that of France, is directly injurious in its results. "Our colonist fails," says M. Duval, "not because he is unprovided with the requisite faculties, but *because those faculties are stifled by excessive tutelage.*" But, bad as this mistake is, it is trifling compared with the insane efforts to repress emigration, which in former days have been too common among European states, and even now are not extinct. If people are pouring out of the mother-country through misery or discontent, the only means of repressing the outflow is, to set about lessening or removing the causes of departure. All other kinds of coercion will aggravate existing evils, and give a demoralising stimulus to secret emigration. On the question of colonial emancipation, M. Duval does not definitely enter; but there can be little doubt, from the general tenor of his principles, that in this, as in all else, he would advocate perfectly free action on behalf of the colonies, and deprecate premature measures of separation on the part of the home government, as being one form of undue interference. We will conclude with his comparative view of France and England with reference to the policy and results of emigration. It involves a brief but splendid eulogy of England; and if the praise is not bestowed but at the expense of France, let us remember that the words come from one who is not only an economical authority, but a patriotic Frenchman besides:

"Que d'autres dénoncent, comme une coupable imprévoyance, cette énergique multiplication du peuple anglais, et félicitent la France d'être préservée de ce malheur par la demi-stérilité des mariages; pour moi, fidèle à l'antique morale et à l'antique patriotisme qui célébraient dans une nombreuse postérité la bénédiction de Dieu, je signale dans cet épuisement de sève vitale un symptôme de maladie et de déclin. Je vois le peuple qui émigre redoubler d'efforts pour remplir les vides, redoubler de vertus d'épargues et de travail pour préparer les départs et les nouveaux établissements. Chez le peuple qui n'émigre pas, je vois la richesse se dépenser en superfluités d'un vain luxe; la jeunesse oisive, sans horizons et sans haute ambition, se consumer en frivoles plaisirs et en mesquins calculs; les familles s'effrayer d'une fécondité qui leur imposerait des habitudes modestes et laborieuses. Comme les eaux stagnantes, les populations stagnantes se corrompent."

FOUNDLINGS.

THE various definitions and characteristics by which writers have attempted to distinguish our civilisation from that of the ancients, or from barbarism and savage life, have hitherto all failed to satisfy criticism. It is impossible, therefore, to propose a new one without much diffidence. There seems, however, to be good ground for maintaining that the distinguishing token of modern civilised society is the protection which it gives to the weak. It would be easy to trace the development of this habit, either in the history of the poor, or in the successive phases of the treatment of women, or in the gradual improvement in the care which children have received. Prisoners of war would be another case in point. While the savage and the barbarian put them to death, and the half-civilised man makes slaves of them, in a later development of culture they are ransomed, and in our times they are exchanged, man for man, and treated humanely till the exchange can be effected. But the most crucial test may be found in the treatment of foundlings,—helpless infants, abandoned by those who gave them existence, and deprived of those cares which the law of nature and morals prescribes as the duty of parents to their offspring. The measures taken in their behalf have occasioned singular conflicts of opinion and argument, and have raised the most difficult social questions, upon the solution of which the wisest men have differed. It will be interesting to compare, as far as our materials will permit, the results obtained in the different countries. And if we seem to give France more than her due share in our investigation, it will only be because it is in France that the question has been oftenest discussed; that more experiments, and experiments on a greater scale, have been made; and that a commission of officials has just published the results of its enquiries in a Report¹ containing very valuable materials, and perhaps going far to settle the question.

We may pass lightly over ancient times. We know that exposing infants was a political measure under the Pharaohs of Egypt, and that afterwards the Greece of Lycurgus and Solon, Aristotle and Plato, and the Rome of the “virtuous” Cato and the brilliant Cicero, saw nothing irregular in parents

¹ *Enfants assistés. Enquête générale et rapport de la commission.* Paris, 1862. The report is from the pen of M. Durangel, *chef de bureau* in the Home Office at Paris. There are previous reports, to which we also refer.

disposing of their children as they pleased. We may feel sure that, even in those days, the exposed and abandoned children did not all perish; but society knew no other way of protecting these frail beings, whose weakness ought to have been their passport to pity, than to declare them to be the property of the person who brought them up. Thus interest filled the place of charity, and life was purchased at the expense of liberty.

The Christian religion was the first to acknowledge the rights of human nature. If, before Constantine raised it to the imperial throne, emperors like Trajan or Marcus Aurelius had made laws to secure the life and liberty of exposed children, this was from no feeling of absolute right and duty, but because the decay of the population made them solicitous to preserve life. The same motive produced the law which encouraged marriages by remissions of imposts and positive rewards, and led to the constant manumission of slaves, and the extension of citizenship. The wholesale adoption of barbarians into the Roman armies was a sign of the same tendency. The preaching of the early Fathers seconded this attempt of the government, and grounded it upon the principle of natural right and charity, instead of that of interest. And when Christianity became the dominant religion, the isolated attempts of individual and sporadic charity were organised; and deserted children found a sure refuge in the churches. The Bishops constituted themselves their natural protectors,² and found homes for them in Christian families, where they received a religious education, and provision was made for their career in life.

Those days of scanty population and religious earnestness were the golden age of foundlings. But with the migrations of the barbarians the times became gloomy; the empire sank into confusion; principles of policy were forgotten; and the Church found it necessary to provide institutions to supply for the neglect of society and the State. The Council of Nice ordered that hospitals should be erected in the principal towns for the sick, the poor, cripples, and foundlings. An hospital of this kind is said to have existed at Treves from the sixth century; but the oldest known authentic charter of foundation is one by which a private person erected a hospital at Milan, in 787, for foundlings. This example produced some imitations, but in such insufficient numbers, that the State was obliged once more to appeal to the principle of interest, and to decree that foundlings should be brought up as serfs of the lords on whose territories they were exposed. Still

² St. Augustin, Ep. 23, ad Bonifac. Episc.

their maintenance was not left to the arbitrary pleasure of the feudal lord; but he was expressly obliged to bring them up. This branch of the poor-law was an early offshoot of the feudal system; and when St. Vincent of Paul appeared in France, he had not to proclaim a principle, but only to secure its application, and to provide a good and religious education for foundlings. At his urgent request a great foundling hospital was erected at Paris, richly endowed, and so organised as to serve both as a model and a stimulant for the erection of many others in and out of France.

In the time of St. Vincent of Paul two principles were fully recognised. On the one hand, it was acknowledged to be a sin or crime to expose infants; and on the other, both a religious and social duty to bring up such children when found. Neither of these principles had been controverted for several centuries, but in some respects they had remained in a kind of abstract state; it was only after the middle of the seventeenth century that they entered into the sphere of real life, where their action and reaction soon produced a series of new and unexpected problems, and gave rise to the question whether one evil had not been patched by another seven times worse. For the abandonment of children, which up to that time had been an exceptional crime, became an habitual incident, demoralising to society in proportion to its frequency. The mark had been overshot; it was necessary to aim a little lower.

St. Vincent of Paul's great foundling hospital at Paris was legally authorised by the edict of 1676, after it had been already some years at work. Before the edict, the average annual admissions of children were only 375; afterwards the number rapidly rose to one, two, and even three thousand. It had reached this point before the end of the seventeenth century, and passed it in the eighteenth. The hospital was then deservedly famed for its excellent treatment of the children, many of whom came to it from distant places. In 1772 it was ascertained that, of 56,800 children received in nine years, 16,200 came from distant provinces. From 1773 to 1777 more than 2000 were brought in every year from the outlying parts of the kingdom. Thrown together carelessly, sometimes even tumbled indiscriminately into the carriers' carts, nine out of ten of them died on the road. The government was forced to interfere; and a decree of the council, dated January 10, 1779, contains some remarkable statements with reference to the abuses then rife in this branch of public charity. We will quote a passage: "His majesty much regrets not having been sooner informed of these circumstances;

and in order to their speedy correction, he wills that from the first day of October next it shall be unlawful for any carrier or other person to carry any foundling elsewhere than to the nearest hospital, or to such other hospital of the Generality (circumscription) as may be appropriated to this kind of relief. And if this order, which the duties of humanity inexorably demand, should oblige any provincial house of charity to increase its expenses beyond its means, his majesty will make good the deficiency for the first year from the royal treasury, and in the mean time will consider by what means the revenue may be permanently increased to the point required. His majesty, after thus providing for the emergency, has felt obliged to take a more general survey of this essential part of public order. He has observed with grief that the number of infants exposed increases day by day, and that, at the present time, they are mostly the offspring of legitimate unions. So that these asylums, originally intended to prevent the crimes into which fear and shame might drive an erring mother, have by degrees come to be nurseries for the criminal indifference of parents; and this abuse is growing so expensive to the State, that, in the great towns, the maintenance of such a multitude of infants has grown out of all proportion both with the revenues of the hospitals and with the care and attention which the officers of the civil service can give; moreover, while the children lose the paternal protection, for which no substitute can be found, their mothers also usually suppress that means of nourishing them which nature has provided; so that it is becoming more and more difficult to provide for the early subsistence of such a multitude of infants as is now thrown upon the hospitals."

This passage contains the earliest summary of the objections which so many writers afterwards developed and illustrated. At the time when it was written, an entirely different system was in action in Germany, and the results of the experiment made in London were already known. But before France was to profit by the experience of her neighbours, she was destined to develop her own system still further, and to suffer more of its pernicious consequences.

The English experiment may be described in few words. It had often been proposed to erect a foundling hospital in London. Several legacies had been left for the purpose; and Addison had, in 1713, written with much feeling on the need of preventing infanticide, exposure, and similar crimes of unnatural parents; but it was not till twenty years after, that Coram, a captain in the merchant service, endowed, at a great personal sacrifice, a hospital similar to those which

existed in the other great capitals of Europe. He obtained a charter in 1739; and the Duke of Bedford became the first president of the corporation. Donations and subscriptions flowed in abundantly, and buildings were bought or erected. The number of children admitted up to the end of 1752 was 1040, of whom 559 were then chargeable to the hospital. At this period the expenses were not more than 5000*l.* a year. In 1756, an act of parliament made the hospital a national institution, and gave it an allowance of 10,000*l.* a year. Although the rule was that children over two months of age were not admissible, yet in the first eighteen months of the new régime there were 5510 entries; in 1760, more than 6000 children were chargeable to the hospital. At that time there were no conditions to limit their admissibility. Abuses multiplied, and became so serious, that, after a commission of enquiry in 1759 and 1760, the bill of 1756 was repealed, and the law defined the limits of admissibility. In 1771 it was determined to withdraw the allowances made from the public funds, which between 1756 and 1761 had amounted, on the average, to 33,000*l.*³ The institution thus became once more a private establishment, supported by voluntary contributions. A new system was adopted: before a child was admitted, a petition had to be presented, and canvassed by the committee, who examined the mother with the especial object of finding out whether she was in destitution, whether she was abandoned by her child's father, whether, in a word, it was necessary to receive the child. It was on the basis of these investigations that the case was decided. Illegitimate children were the chief objects of the institution, but legitimate children were not altogether excluded. It is clear that the circumstances which obliged the mother to separate from her child were the chief consideration on which the system followed at the London Foundling Hospital was based.

We cannot tell but that the abuses of the French hospitals would have soon made it necessary to adopt a more restrictive system, more or less similar to the London one. But the Revolution of 1789 interrupted the march of events; its humanitarianism soon turned into democratic Utopianism; the ephemeral authorities, which successively rose and fell in these troubled times, were prodigal of promises, without ever thinking of keeping them. Thus, after a first law, passed on the 20th of September 1792, had promised that provision should be made for the maintenance of these infants, according to the laws to be subsequently made, a

³ Report of the London Foundling Hospital, 1831.

second law, of the 28th of June 1793, fulfilled it by further promises in still larger terms. "The nation," it said, "takes charge of the physical and moral education of foundlings. They are to be henceforth called orphans; every other name is forbidden. Any unmarried mother who expresses a desire to suckle her child herself has a right to demand relief from the nation; she shall only be bound to use the same formalities as married women. The most inviolable secrecy shall be observed. If there is danger, either for the morals or the health of the children in leaving them in charge of their mothers, the administration shall withdraw them, and place them, according to their age, in the hospital, or out at nurse. Every *commune* must appoint a place where deserted children may be received, and their first necessities provided for."

The law of July 4, 1793, orders that these children shall be thenceforth called *Enfants de la patrie*. But this glorification of foundlings was not maintained in the numerous laws and regulations which were then promulgated with respect to them. We may pass over the law of 27 *Frimaire an V*, the decree of the Directory, 30 *Ventose an V*, the law of 11 *Frimaire an VII*, which authorised expenditure on so vast a scale that the treasury could only meet it in *assignats*, paper money which nobody would accept. Almost all these laws remained a dead letter. There is nothing that need arrest our attention till the decree of January 19, 1811, established the system on which foundlings were regulated for several years, while many of its enactments are still in force. It makes a distinction between (1) foundlings whose parents are both unknown; (2) foundlings whose parents are known, but absent, and inaccessible; and (3) orphans whose parents are dead. But this distinction is not carried out in the details of treatment; it is therefore now abandoned, and the administration recognises only one class, under the designation of *enfants assistés*. All these children are committed to public charity. The monthly pay of the nurses and the pensions figure among the public expenditure. The State contributes something: the hospitals and communes make up the rest. The decree of 1811 also instituted the administrative tutelage, and regulated the education of the children.

But the most important innovation of the celebrated decree of 1811 was the command not only to erect a foundling hospital in every *arrondissement* where there was no such establishment already existing (which would have required about 400 hospitals), but also to provide each hospital with a

turning-box, a machine of which we find a description in the *Histoire des Enfants trouvés* of MM. Therme and Montfalcon (p. 234): "The turning-box is a wooden cylinder, convex on one side, and concave on the other, turning easily on a central pivot. Its convex side is turned to the street, its concave side to the inside of a room. A bell is hung outside close to the box. When a woman wants to abandon her new-born baby, she calls the attention of the guard by ringing the bell; the box is turned half round, so as to present its concave side to the street; the baby is put into it, and carried by another half-turn into the inside of the hospital. Instead of this box, there are sometimes two shutters, one inside, the other outside, an opening in the hospital wall, big enough to hold a cradle. When the outside shutter is opened, and the cradle pushed in, a bell rings to warn the person on the watch to take the child in." It is remarkable that the same decree, which contains this provision for making easy the desertion of children, should order that persons convicted of deserting their infants, or of habitually taking them to the hospitals, are to be punished according to the law; and the French penal code, which distinguishes several degrees in the criminality of child-desertion, is very severe in its penalties. But we shall see that this severity was no check whatever upon the increase of the crime.

The turning-box was for a long time the distinctive symbol of a whole system which some persons called the Catholic, in opposition to the Protestant; others the Latin or Gallican, in opposition to the Teutonic system. But the distinction founded on religion is inexact; for the so-called Catholic system does not exist either in Belgium or Bavaria, while it is only found in the Italian provinces of Austria,⁴ in the German provinces of which the system falsely called Protestant prevails. We therefore follow Herr Robert Mohl⁵ in distinguishing between the Roman or Latin method and the Teutonic system.

The general idea of the Teutonic system may be gathered from what we have said of the London Foundling Hospital. In Germany, the authorities and the administrators of private charities pay most attention to orphans; but foundlings or deserted children are by no means left to perish. But while the child is carefully tended, every effort is made to discover the mother and the father. The most distant relations, if they are competent, are made to take charge of the illegiti-

⁴ We shall see, further on, that it has not kept its ground in France; and in Dublin it has had to be given up.

⁵ *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, October 1838.

mate offspring of any member of their family. It is only when the family is in complete poverty that the parish and, if necessary, the State feel bound to interfere. It is well known that the Teutonic law—that of the English and the Germans—pushes the principle of responsibility further than the law of the French, Spanish, and Italians. The *Code Napoléon* allows enquiry to be made for the mother, but not for the father. This is often taken to be a sign of the higher morality of the nations of Teutonic origin. But this is not the opinion of the majority of Frenchmen, who reproach the German races with exposing the life and morals of deserted infants to all the risks of poverty and evil example. There are benevolent and sentimental persons who cannot admit that charity ought to be under the direction of reason. M. de Lamartine is one of the most eminent representatives of this school. In a discussion in the French Chambers in 1841 or 1842, he exclaimed, “Humanity proclaims this principle: the illegitimate child is a guest to be entertained; the human family ought to envelope him with its love. For the real family does not stop at those arbitrary degrees of relationship which the law fixes at more or less distance; it extends as far as human nature itself. If all men are brothers in flesh and blood, social paternity becomes a dogma as true and as practical as the fraternity of the race.”

A paternity so peculiar must have its peculiar means of adoption. This means, according to M. de Lamartine, is the turning-box. “What is the turning-box?” he said. “An ingenious invention of Christian charity, which has hands to receive, but neither eyes to see, nor tongue to betray. Instituted for the protection of an act often necessary, however deplorable,—invented to conceal shame, to hide the scandal which seeks the shade,—the object and the merit of the turning-box is secrecy; it is a veil to hide the fruits of disorder, to guard the honour of the family, or the peace of the household, and to protect the reputation of young females.” M. de Lamartine evidently saw the futility of his declamation; for he added, “It was reserved for the sordid ingenuity and the pitiless economy of certain theorists of Great Britain to undermine, in the name of arithmetic, an institution founded in the name of morality and fraternity.” This is a figure of speech which our neighbours call Chauvinism. When Nelson wanted to express his admiration of Lady Hamilton’s voice, he could only think of the phrase, “Damn Billington.” The Chauvinist is a man who can only express his patriotic feelings in terms of hatred to other countries. There are still to be found in France certain

people who can only show the excellence of French institutions by exhibiting the wickedness of the English. They find it impossible to make France the personification of Ormuzd, without making England the personification of Ahriman.

If the turning-box had found no other apologist than M. de Lamartine, the controversy would have been soon done. It would have been enough to reply that the machine had only been in existence a few years, whereas charity existed before, and will exist after, each ephemeral phase of charitable mechanism. But the turning-box has been defended by plausible arguments, which could only be refuted by experience, combined with an attentive examination of facts; and it was these arguments which produced a temporary hesitation in the minds of legislators and philanthropists. We will examine them in some detail, and append to each the result of the enquiries which it has provoked, and the conclusions at which scientific investigators have arrived.

But there is a preliminary question which should be answered. What are general causes of the desertion of infants? At first sight we might suppose shame to be the principal motive that induces a mother to abandon her child. But it is not so. In the first place, this motive has nothing to do with the frequent desertions of legitimate infants; and in the second, it has but little influence on the fate of illegitimate ones. In those countries where public opinion is very severe against unmarried mothers, a much stronger resistance is offered to seducers, and the number of bastards is relatively small, whereas the number of desertions of children is relatively large. On the other hand, where public opinion is indulgent, shame is scarcely ever a motive strong enough to induce the mother to get rid of her child. Often, indeed, the child is a tie between the parents, which ends in marriage. In those countries where the father is enquired for, the weekly allowance which the law compels him to make for the maintenance of his child is a resource which the mother would be unwilling to lose. Nor must we forget that illegitimate births are most frequent in great towns, where concealment is the most easy, and where human respect has the least power.

We must pass lightly over another motive for desertion, though it makes more victims than the last,—the mother's desire to get rid of a hindrance which prevents her continuing in a dissolute course of life. We need not stay at the desertions caused by accident, such as death of parents, or the like. We may come at once to the cause which is most

active in filling foundling hospitals,—pauperism. The same poverty which makes the woman fall, often prevents her from bringing up her offspring. But in such cases desertion requires no secrecy. Poverty is a misfortune which may be confessed. Even married parents will sometimes take advantage of the pity felt for poor families where there are many children, to rid themselves of the burden of educating their offspring, and to transfer it to the hospital or the parish. “Sometimes,” says M. de Gérando, “this speculation appears under a criminal aspect. When the foundling hospitals are excellently appointed, when the access to them is free, when public opinion is not severe against desertion, it comes to pass that parents, in getting their children educated in these establishments, persuade themselves that they are only accepting an advantage held out to them by the State itself. They find it very convenient to send their children to the hospital, which is simply like putting them out to nurse or to board, but at a cheaper rate. The child will be well clothed, well fed, well taught. The only thing is, that it will cost nothing.”

Wherever this way of thinking prevails, it is difficult to see how the abuse can end. According to a Report presented to King Louis Philippe in 1837 by M. de Gasparin, the minister of the interior, it appeared that child-desertion was often simulated; that parents, even though in easy circumstances, thought themselves entitled to send their legitimate offspring to the hospital under the name of foundlings; that there was a general neglect to enquire whether the parents were known, and whether they were able to bring up their children; that there was a very considerable number of legitimate children among the foundlings; that a mother would often send her child through the turning-box in order to have it back again to nurse, and in order to receive the *layette*, or monthly pay for suckling it, and afterwards the *pension*, or pay for its board; or that she would send it to the hospital in order to have it entrusted to a nurse with whom she had made a previous bargain, or to have it placed under her own eyes in the house of some kind neighbour. To such an extent did these practices prevail, that it had “come to be considered, especially in country places, perfectly simple and natural to have one’s children brought up at the expense of the country.”

This, it will be readily understood, was a powerful cause of desertion; but still it was not the most powerful. That of which we are about to speak is the principal filler of hospitals; and it has found means in great part to resist the reforms in the mode of admission which were adopted in consequence of

the enquiry of 1837. We quote from the French Report of 1861:⁶ "Mothers, with the exception of those who are received into the lying-in establishments, rarely desert their offspring. The reason is that, wherever the mother is unable personally to bring about her separation from her newly-born child, and where a certain time must necessarily intervene between the birth and the desertion, then the mother hesitates or shrinks from the idea of separation. The ordinary agent of desertion is a person who, from some interested motive, has advised and provided for it. Putting out of account the relations, neighbours, and friends, whose interference generally is excusable, we almost always find a paid agent to be the real mover. This agent is generally the midwife. The Commission has recorded with disgust the odious suggestions of these women, who, not content with getting poor seduced girls into their houses and stripping them of all their savings, never recommend them any other course than to conceal one fault by another, of which they make themselves the accessories for a certain sum of money, or for the poor girl's stock of clothes. These practices, as the enquiry has proved only too well, have in several departments grown to be a regular business. The Commission could name a town in the west of France where a midwife advertises in the local journal to remind 'her numerous clients that she undertakes to effect the abandonment of natural children without any knowledge of the circumstances.' In places where the midwives do not act with this publicity, they do the same things with more discretion, and the tribunals often hesitate to punish them. . . . Their covetousness is without bounds ; and till the law punishes their speculations, the same abuses will go on." Desertions of children, then, are generally accomplished by intermediate agents, especially by midwives.

With all these facts before us, and taught by the experience of France and other countries, one would think it hard to argue that the suppression of the turning-box would multiply desertions. Yet this is the first of the arguments which we have to examine and refute.

And first, it is certain that the number of desertions has increased with the institution of turning-boxes, or, what comes to the same thing, with the increase of hospitals where foundlings are received without questions asked. We have already seen the proportion in which admissions increased, both in Paris and in London, after the establishment of such institutions ; we will add a few other examples from authentic sources. When there was no foundling hospital in Mentz,

⁶ Pp. 32, 33.

there were not more than two or three desertions a year. The turning-box was established there in 1811; and within three years and four months 516 children were left in it. In 1815 the turning-box was abolished, and the number of desertions fell to six or seven a year. It appears by a report addressed to the Irish Parliament towards the end of the last century, that under the system of free admission the Dublin hospital had in twenty years received 19,440 children. The number gradually increased; and from 1800 to 1814 it amounted on the average to 2246 a year. In 1814 admission was subjected to some conditions, and during the next nine years the number fell to 1557. Finally, in 1823, a rule was made that no infants were to be received unless accompanied by a certificate of their being deserted, and in danger of perishing; the annual number therefore fell to 480. It was only the *inexcusable* desertions in which the diminution took place. We could cite many such instances, but none so decisive as that of France. In 1784 the total number of children in the hospitals was estimated at 40,000. There were 67,966 in 1809, 84,599 in 1815, 102,103 in 1820, 117,355 in 1825, and 129,699 in 1833. Then public opinion was roused, and measures were taken; and in 1849 the hospitals contained no more than 92,647 foundlings, and by 1859 the number had decreased to 76,520.

A report addressed by M. de Watteville to the minister of the interior, and published in 1856, makes the following comparisons. In 1826 there were in France 217 foundling hospitals with turning-boxes, and 56 without. Between 1826 and 1853, 165 turning-boxes were abolished, and two established (at Paris in 1827, and in the Côte d'Or in 1836). There were therefore, in 1853, 54 hospitals with turning-boxes, and 109 without them. The following table will show the effect of these changes from 1831:

Year.	Number of Hospitals.		Number of desertions.	Proportion of desertions to births.
	With turning-box.	Without turning-box.		
1831	210	55	38,648	1 in 25·5
1835	183	62	33,028	1 „ 20·0
1840	121	73	28,402	1 „ 35·5
1845	85	86	25,762	1 „ 38·7
1850	68	98	24,691	1 „ 39·0
1853	54	109	22,066	1 „ 42·4

We will continue the table from the Report of 1862:

Year.	Number of Hospitals.		Number of desertions.	Proportion of desertions to births.
	With turning-box.	Without turning-box.		
1857	48	116	19,437	1 in 43·2
1858	42	121	17,999	1 „ 53·7
1859	40	122	16,761	1 „ 60·7

The Report of 1862 is more clear than that of M. de Watteville (who, indeed, as inspector-general of public relief, was a member of the commission of 1862), in that it explains that sometimes the box was suppressed while the hospital continued to receive foundlings under conditions, while at other times both box and hospital were abolished together. In 1862 there were only 166 hospitals, two of which keep the box without any present thought of abandoning it, while three of them keep it as a provisional and temporary measure; that is to say, there are five turning-boxes in use in France at the present moment.

If these facts are not enough to prove that the turning-box multiplies the number of foundlings, we may add that all the French reports agree in showing that in the five departments which never had turning-boxes, or even foundling hospitals, desertions were almost unknown. We insist upon this point because, although it has been evident for thirty or forty years past that desertions become more frequent in proportion to the greater ease of effecting them, yet the turning-box has always had its defenders; and M. de Lamartine made his speech in the teeth of figures which proclaimed his error.

Let us now examine the next argument. If you surround the reception of foundlings into the hospitals with difficulties, it is said, you will multiply infanticides and abortions. To answer this a minute's reflection is sufficient, without the need of going into statistics at all. There is really no connection between turning-boxes and infanticides. We know that there are degrees in the strength of the motives which lead mankind into evil, and that while some persons succumb to a weak temptation, others resist a strong one. An unmarried mother might make up her mind to leave her child in a turning-box, when she could not leave it on a door-step. But between leaving it on a door-step, where it will probably be found by some passer-by and taken care of, to the act of murder, what a gulf there is! It is a known fact that a mother is scarcely ever found to murder her child except at the moment of birth, and when no one knows of her confine-

ment. "We are aware," says M. de Gérando, "that infanticide is, on the mother's part, a real mania, which may be accounted for by the disorder of her ideas, her fright, and her feelings at the moment of her confinement. As yet she can hardly be said to know her child. She looks upon it only as a burden and a witness against her. But after she has held it in her arms, has looked upon its face, has got her senses back—oh, then the mother's heart beats again, and her soul sickens at the idea of desertion."⁷

Thus the turning-box is no safeguard for the life of a child in danger of being strangled by a delirious mother; to do this the box ought to be close to her bed, and she ought to be able to throw the child into it at once. But suppose an unnatural mother has resolved in cold blood to destroy her child by refusing to give it the necessary care and nourishment—for such a person the box would be an easy way of concealing her crime. We read in the Report of 1862: "A Sister of Charity declared, 'The turning-box is not only the receptacle for deserted children; it is also the receptacle for murdered children.' There are many kinds of infanticide, from the violence which crushes or burns the child, to the ignorance or thoughtlessness which lets it die for want of care; the turning-box, at the same time that it conceals certain crimes, by receiving a number of children who are registered as 'found dead in the box,' would also furnish

⁷ On this subject we may quote the testimony of a Belgian magistrate, who has long held the office of president of the tribunal at Maestricht. "I had," he says, "been long impressed with the notion that foundling-hospitals essentially contributed to the preservation of newly-born infants. In trying to investigate the causes of this phenomenon, I had to enquire how it was that the number of infanticides in the province of Limbourg was not in the inverse ratio of the number of infants left in the hospital; and the investigations which I had to make on this point in the office of the crown-prosecutor of the province showed me how to solve the problem. I found that the crime of infanticide was not committed on children who had lived a few days; that after the woman had enjoyed the pleasures of a mother for a little time, she could no longer make an attempt on her child's life; that the mother could never give way to this barbarous impulse except in the first confusion of her new state, and while as yet the sentiment of shame had not given way to that of natural affection; and lastly, that the infant was safe when the mother imagined that her condition was known to one or more persons. Now, as I had remarked, on the other hand, that the children brought to the hospital were all several days' old, often several months, I was obliged to draw the conclusion from these combined observations, that in general the children brought to the hospitals were already safe from infanticide; that the mothers who left them were no longer capable of murdering them; and that it was usually in order to get rid of a burden which crossed their vicious inclinations, or compromised their social position, that the mothers deserted their infants. Thus I explained to myself how it was that on the one hand the hospitals with turning-boxes did not prevent infanticides, while on the other the suppression of such hospitals did not increase the number of victims."

many guilty parties with a plea, enabling them to account for the disappearance of children by declaring that they had deposited them in the box."

And now let us look at the statistics; we shall doubtless find that the number of infanticides has constantly increased. According to an official table compiled by M. de Watteville, the following is the septennial increase for twenty-eight years from 1826:

Years.	Proportion of desertions to the population.	Absolute number of infanticides.	Proportion of infanticides.	
			To births.	To the population.
1826-32	1 in 881	669	1 in 10,174	1 in 336,455
1833-39	1 „ 1049	845	1 „ 8,038	1 „ 275,534
1840-46	1 „ 1292	984	1 „ 6,949	1 „ 245,806
1847-53	1 „ 1431	1173	1 „ 5,718	1 „ 212,559

But we must not forget that almost all crimes have increased in like proportion, and that it is not possible that the institution or suppression of turning-boxes should have any influence on the general totals of crimes. The increase must be due to a more general cause. Such a cause may be partly the decline of religious influence, the relaxation of morals, and similar social changes; but we must also give a large share to the multiplication of police. If we record more crimes than formerly, it is because fewer escape the vigilance of the police. Any how, it is certain that those five departments where there were never turning-boxes are also those where there have been fewest infanticides.

There has been a similar increase in abortions; at least, more cases have been discovered. But is there any connection between this crime and the turning-box? The foundling hospitals are generally a resource for the poor; whereas abortions are expensive. Of 72 women at present imprisoned in France for this crime, there are 25 midwives and 44 others who committed the crime from motives of gain.

There still remains one argument to discuss. It relates to the mother. But before we consider it, we must say a few words upon the institutions or the methods which are substituted for the turning-box. It is not possible to abandon deserted infants; and either the hospital, or the parish, or the state must always take charge of them. But this act of charity may be subject to the same regulations as other like acts. When a sick man presents himself at a hospital, the officers of the institution begin by ascertaining his malady.

When a pauper applies for relief, the first thing done is to ascertain whether he really has no means. In the same way, when a foundling is brought, enquiry should be made whether there is any real necessity to adopt it. This task may be confided to a committee, or to officers expressly appointed. In France it is the *bureau d'admission* which is the substitute for the turning-box. The committee is composed of three or five members, among whom are found, according to the locality, administrators of the foundling hospital or of the *bureau de bienfaisance*, the inspector of the department, the especial officer appointed for the service, a priest, the superior of the convent, or one of the nuns delegated by her. In the Yonne we find among them imperial procurators. In some places a single nun, or a nun with a secretary, forms the *bureau*; in other places there are only lay-members. The office-hours vary in each department. Generally foundlings are only received during the day. It is clear that the committee cannot be sitting during the whole time for receiving. In fact, the *bureau* meets only to register the acts of the nun or the secretary, to collect information, and transmit reports, with remarks for the decision of the prefect. Till that decision is made the admission is only provisional, and may be revoked.

But the admission is always confirmed when the mother is unknown. When she is known, the practice now becoming prevalent is to keep mother and child together by a system of temporary relief. By this means the father also is often induced to declare himself. The relief is granted by the prefect, and in urgent cases by the sub-prefect. Except in a very few cases, it is only for their first child that unmarried women can claim it. They must first recognise their child in the form prescribed by the Code Napoléon.⁸ Before deciding, the administrative authority makes strict enquiries about the circumstances of the mother. If she is found to be a pauper, and if it is impossible to have recourse to persons bound to support her; if, especially, it is found that her previous conduct has been good, then her case is taken into consideration. After all these enquiries, the prefect decides on the amount of relief to be given, generally in accordance with an established tariff. Upon its admission the child's name is written in a special register, kept by the departmental inspector. On the first neglect of her duties, the mother's allowance is stopped. Generally she is required to nurse her

⁸ The mother must attend at the mayor's office, and make a formal declaration. The father, if so be, recognises the child in the same way. An illegitimate child thus recognised has certain legal claims on its parents.

own child; but if sickness or poverty prevent this, she is permitted to put it out to nurse. In that case the allowance is sometimes paid to the nurse; but the mother, in these circumstances, is never allowed to hire herself out as nurse, nor is she ever permitted to nurse another child with her own. Sometimes the allowance is for a year, with a periodical renewal after enquiries made; sometimes it is granted for three, four, or in some few instances six years outright. But if, in the mean time, the mother's circumstances improve, or if she sends her child to beg or begs herself, the allowance is stopped. Finally, if the mother marries the father of the child, and so makes it legitimate,⁹ she receives from the *bureau* an indemnity of from 60 to 100 francs.

We see, then, that France has been forced by experience to adopt the same system which the Teutonic countries have long followed. The new element which she has introduced is that of responsibility. To make this auspicious change it was necessary to sacrifice secrecy, and to oblige the mother who seeks relief to declare herself. But this sacrifice is no real loss. Morality is not sorry to see every fault expiated; and justice is indignant when any one else but the guilty party has to bear the consequences. Secrecy, too, is only possible or desirable in a small number of cases. There was a hospital at Amiens where foundlings could be deposited with or without secrecy: only one-tenth part of the depositors claimed that condition. It is surprising that men of character should talk seriously of the necessity of helping an adulterous wife to hide her fault, or a young woman to deceive her future husband. The interests served by such institutions are quite insignificant compared with the interests which they damage. Benevolence should hesitate to go so far as to make itself the accomplice of an immoral act. The one thing needful is to preserve the child; and for this object secrecy is generally hurtful; in very many cases it is equally injurious to the mother.

One of the arguments in favour of the turning-box was that it allowed the mother to get rid of her child and to find a husband. But what tie, except the child, attaches the seducer to his victim? Take it away, and nothing is left between them. On the other hand, the system of temporary relief maintains this tie, and the indemnity paid on marriage tends to legalise it, and offers a premium for its maintenance. The Report of 1862 has the following observations: "When a young woman has fallen a victim to seduction, the most

⁹ In France the civil law agrees with the canon law in making marriage legitimise natural children who are not the fruit of adultery.

complete, but at the same time the most difficult restoration to which she can aspire is certainly marriage. If she is married to the man who deceived her, the honest and generous resolution taken by the two parties soon wipes out the memory of their fault. Let us see what, in this respect, are the results of our enquiry. In the 33 out of 54 departments (all to which our Report extends), the commissioners have found that the grant of relief, or rather the continuance of the child with its mother, had brought about a number of marriages, which attained sometimes the proportion of 10 per cent, and in a few instances even more. We may cite the department of the Loire and Cher, where there were 118 marriages to 660 young women; the Gironde, where, in 1858 and 1859, 68 marriages were thus brought about; the Ariège, where in two years there were 34; the Haute Garonne, where there were 30; Charente Inférieure, where there were 20; Loire Inférieure, where there were 15 or 20 a year. While in Morbihan there were 10 or 12 a year, in Hérault 9 were registered in the first five months of 1860. . . . Often nothing more than a simple relief is wanted to determine poor workpeople to legitimise their union, and thus to ensure the future welfare of their child. Poverty is often the only reason of the formation and continuance of illicit connections, and we know with what success pious associations have used similar means to persuade the labouring classes."

The young mothers who do not get married to their seducers, or to other husbands, find the presence of their children a hindrance to their falling into vicious courses. Their single fault, often their one inconsiderate act, is atoned for by a life of labour and sacrifice. It is therefore with great satisfaction that Frenchmen see the number of foundlings diminish, and the temporary relief of mothers increase.

In fifteen years, between 1840 and 1856, the number of children thus relieved was 87,000; in 1857 the number amounted to 6694; in 1858, to 7723; in 1859, to 9173. A great number of these children would, in other circumstances, have been carried to the foundling hospitals. The increased application of this relief will tend still further to diminish the number of foundlings, and the desertion of children will perhaps come to be a rare occurrence.

There is still another point of view favourable to the extension of temporary relief,—the relatively smaller mortality among children thus assisted. One of the reasons in favour of hospitals used to be, that they saved children's lives. Afterwards, the collection of so many in a confined place, their change of living at a tender age and under unfavourable

conditions, killed them off at a great rate; and in spite of all the improvements successively introduced between 1826 and 1860, the annual mortality was then, as now, about 50 per cent during the first year. Now, though we have not complete returns, we have grounds for thinking that the death-rate of children who are kept with their mothers is only between 25 and 26 per cent. The Commission of 1862 has made a curious comparison for the year 1858, when the mortality appears to have stood thus :

	per cent.
Children in hospitals	56·99
Children temporarily relieved	29·56
Illegitimate children (exclusive of foundlings)	27·88
Legitimate	16·96

Is not this a sufficient proof of the beneficial effect, not only of the mother's care, but of the improvement in morality which it implies, on the life of the child? One thing seems clear;—if the above figures are not found exactly true for other years, still the proportion between the different classes is not subject to any considerable variation.

Let us now pass to another order of ideas. Hitherto we have looked at the moral and sanitary aspects of the case; let us now look at it economically. After all, the question of expense is always a more important element than any one of mere sentiment; and measures undertaken with a view to economy have contributed more to ameliorate the condition of society than many measures which claimed to be based on more generous principles could do. Often, also, an economical reform has resulted in such an evident improvement, that there has been no hesitation in increasing the expense in order to give it fair play. This has been the case in France, where there were great complaints, under the Restoration, of the foundlings costing nearly ten millions of francs annually (9,982,634f. 15c.). Thirty years afterwards, when the number of foundlings came short by 19,325 of the 112,730 of 1828, the cost had risen to 10,123,856f. 13c.; showing an increase of nearly 150,000f. in the expenses, against a diminution of more than one-fifth in the number of foundlings.

For, in fact, the expense of each child has gradually increased. In the time of St. Vincent of Paul the cost was about 30f. a child. In 1792 the government paid 75f. for each *enfant de la patrie*. From 1824 to 1833 M. de Gasparin reckons the average at 82f. In 1858 the sum had increased to 114f. 74c., of which 28f. 7c. were for internal expenses, and 86f. 67c. for external. In 1859 the cost of a child amounted to 116f. 93c., thus distributed :

	f.	c.
Wet nurse, and subsequent pension	76	98
Sundries (inspection, school, medicine, burials, &c.)	13	21
Layettees and clothes	13	34
Expenses of residence in the hospitals	13	40
	<hr/>	
	116	93

The external expenses are those of the wet nurse and pensions; the internal expenses are divided very unequally among the children, some of whom remain there only a few days, while others, in consequence of sickness or the like, remain there the whole year. Here we have only been able to give a general average. Thus the 76f. 98 centimes which stand for pensions vary for each of the twelve years during which the pensions are paid. For the first year the average is 109f. 57c., which in the eleven succeeding years decreases through the following degrees: 94·70, 86·95, 83·54, 79·66, 78·50, 72·53, 70·09, 66·07, 61·98, 60·27, 59·92, making a total of 923f. 78c. for the twelve years. Adding the other expenses for clothing and the like, each child, on the average, costs the department a total sum of $(12 \times 116\cdot93)$ 1403f. 86c.; in some places less, in others more, according to circumstances. For example, the Eure and Loire and the Pas de Calais pay 1440 instead of 923 for nurse and pensions, while the Corrèze pays only 588, and the Dordogne only 576. The Dordogne only pays 18f. for the pension of the twelfth year.

The expenses are disbursed partly by the department, partly by the hospital.¹⁰ The charge is still very heavy on the latter, especially when we consider the other and more pressing duties which it has to fulfil. Happily the revenues of the hospitals are continually increasing. They were officially stated at 28,000,000 in 1789. In 1815 they had increased, in spite of the Revolution, to 33,337,040; in 1833 they were 51,222,063; in 1847, 54,116,660; and in 1858, 73,708,023. This income accrues from rental of real property, from money in the funds, donations, and miscellaneous sources, including parochial subventions, the amount of which varies from eight to ten millions, with a tendency to diminish. The incomes of hospitals are usually destined for establishments where the sick, the infirm, and the aged are taken in; and a very small part of them is set apart for foundlings. This expenditure, spontaneously undertaken by some few hospitals, but imposed on the majority by different

¹⁰ The *external* expenses belong to the department, which also pays about one-tenth of the interior expenses. Inspection, clothing, and the like, are all external expenses.

laws and regulations, will sensibly diminish with the increase of temporary relief. The *relief* falls altogether upon the departmental rates, and, like all expenses which are external to the hospital, lasts for three years on the average. The amount varies in different departments; but the average is 87f. 12c. for the first year, 76f. 56c. for the second, and 69f. 24c. for the third; making a total of 232f. 92c. There is a great difference between this sum and the 1403f. spent on the hospital foundlings. So, if the system could be made universal, instead of an expenditure of 10,000,000 we should have one of 1,700,000, with a result more agreeable to morality and more useful to mother and child. The expense of these temporary reliefs makes up about 800,000 or 900,000 francs of the 10,000,000.

The system of temporary relief has one other advantage. It delivers the government from a very responsible guardianship. The child who remains with its mother, and is perhaps acknowledged by its father, enjoys the care of its natural protectors. In any case, after three years, or in some departments after six, the government has nothing more to do with it. It is not the same with the hospital foundlings. They are altogether deprived of parental care; and society, or the government as its representative, must provide for them till they attain their majority. The law of the 15 *Pluviose an XIII*, confided to the administrative committees of the foundling hospitals the legal guardianship of the children relieved. In the departments, one of the administrators of the hospital acts as guardian; the rest of the administrators form the *conseil de famille*, which, under the French law, has to be consulted in a number of cases where minors are concerned, and which, when there are no kinsmen, is composed of friends and acquaintances. At Paris a special law of January 10, 1849, has given the guardianship to the director of public relief, who is the chief administrative officer of all the hospitals and *bureaux de bienfaisance* of the capital. This guardianship is no slight responsibility. It includes two distinct functions,—the legal and the parental. The first consists in representing the infant in all actions at law, in consenting to his marriage while he is under age, in authorising him to enlist in the army or navy. This part of the function is light enough; but it is different with the parental guardianship. Less defined, and mixed up with the ordinary acts of life, and charged with the infant from his birth to his twenty-first birthday, it has to do with all circumstances, and is busy at all hours. It is commensurate with the duties of father and mother, between which and those

of the hospital-guardian the law recognises no difference. "To secure to the child the care, the food, the clothing which are physically necessary for it; to plant and develope in it the religious and moral principles which are necessary for its soul; to prepare and break it in for labour, which is its destined lot;—such is the wide, the multitudinous task of the guardian." Thus speaks an official document.

Obligations so difficult, requiring such self-sacrifice, and involving such responsibility, are scarcely ever really and conscientiously fulfilled. The fault is in the law, which demands more than it can obtain. It is impossible to find a number of men capable of exhibiting a constant and hourly self-devotion during a number of years towards objects with whom they have no ties of blood, or of pecuniary interest, or even of personal sympathy. It is a rare thing for the legal guardian even to see his wards; and these guardians are generally men with many other occupations and interests. The law has over-estimated human powers; and man has done even less than might have been reasonably expected of him. The committees have never decently fulfilled the obligations even of legal guardianship, which consist in giving from time to time a simple signature. The interests of the children have more than once suffered through their neglect. The report of a government commission states that only 11 departments out of 86 had fulfilled these duties.

And not only has the law presumed too far on the moral devotion of men, but the legislator has failed to foresee the obstacles which would stand in the way of parental guardianship. Fancy a father watching over four or five hundred children scattered over a great country! They must look after their own affairs; they may give a few hours a week to the public, but they have their duties towards their own families. The decree of 1811 contained the germ of the true principle, though it remained almost undeveloped till 1837, when the reforms of the foundling system were begun. Several departments, quite spontaneously, named salaried inspectors. At present those officials are universally employed, often with sub-inspectors under them, and sometimes (in three departments) assisted by nuns, whose sole business is to look after the children, and to watch the conduct of the nurses.

Still, contrasting the small number of these 120 or 130 inspectors with the multitude of children inspected,—who amounted on January 1, 1860, to 133,885, comprising 76,520 infants under 12 years, and 57,365 wards between 12 and 21,—one is tempted to doubt the sufficiency of the machinery.

But in order to understand how the work is done, we must follow the infants to the cottages of their foster-parents, and see how they are treated there. There is no doubt that interest is the original motive which induces the poor family to take in the foundling. But this motive gradually gives way to parental affection and care in most cases. In the other cases, the eye of the inspector and of the local authorities, and the fear of the loss of the pension if the child is taken away, are sufficient guarantee for good treatment. But, as we have said, in the great majority of cases this familiarity of the same home, the maternal instinct which attaches the foster-mother to her frail charge, the companionship of play and toil between the foundling and the children of the family, and the endearing names which seem to sanction this community of life, establish between the foundling and the family where he is brought up such strong ties, that it is often necessary to threaten extreme measures to compel the poor foster-mother to restore the foundling to its real parent.

If the child remains in the same family, all goes well. He becomes in almost all respects one of its members. But if for any reason he is removed,—say at the age of twelve years,—then he is only received in his new home in the quality of servant; and there are only a few departments left where the name of foundling does not leave a certain stigma on the unhappy person who bears it. In all cases the change calls for all the care of the paid guardians, who find herein the most anxious part of their duties.

It may not be amiss to say a few words on the general condition of the foundling after he has passed his twenty-first year. Like other men, he is obliged to take his chance of good or bad luck; sometimes he may enjoy very good fortune; generally his fortune is middling, like that of men who have no stain on their birth. But we have no statistics to give of these commonplace conditions, which leave no mark. Virtue itself keeps no register of its ordinary deeds. It is only crime and vice which usually leave a sufficiently distinct trace for us to follow them in the statistical returns of the government.

In June 1860 there were in the hulks, houses of correction, prisons, and penal colonies, 52,595 individuals. Of this number, 1206 were hospital-foundlings, 405 of upwards of 21 years, and 801 of less. The proportion of 2·23 per cent is somewhat inflated by two circumstances. The first is that several of the 801 minors are children under the sentence of “paternal correction.” When a legitimate child under sixteen years of age, “acting without discernment,” commits a

punishable misdemeanor or crime, he may be delivered to his parents, if they demand it, as they generally do. The foundling has no parents, and so goes to prison. The second is, that in the above return there is no separate mention of children who have been in the hospital, but afterwards claimed by their parents. But taking the figures as they stand, we may say that out of 348 foundlings one will become a criminal. For the rest of the population it is 1 in 693,—as nearly as possible one-half. These figures can only be considered approximate; the only perfectly reliable element is that out of every 319 foundlings between twelve and twenty-one years of age, 1 is in prison.

We shall pass briefly over the returns of vice. Out of the 14,211 prostitutes registered in 1860, only 537 were foundlings. This would be 1 in 366, or, after allowing for the girls taken away from the hospitals by their parents, 1 in 582. In the population at large, there is about 1 prostitute to every 1200 females. These figures, bad as they are, are not so bad as might be expected.

We have one more means of gaining a glimpse of the foundlings in their manhood,—by the returns of the military conscription. In 1859, out of 302,756 home-bred recruits, 79,313, or 26·19 per cent, were rejected for being under height, sick, or constitutionally weak. At the same time there were 2583 foundling recruits, of whom 1007, or 38·98 per cent, were rejected for like reasons. Thus the inferior condition of foundlings, proved in their first year by their higher rate of mortality, remains very visible in after-life.

It would not have been uninteresting to compare these French statistics with those of other countries. We have before us a number of such reports; but after careful consideration we cannot use them. First of all, they refer only to a few countries, the others not having thought proper to collect and publish information about foundlings. Next, the few tables relating to this subject which are inserted in the official returns give us very incomplete information, without explaining the law, and, what is more, without telling us how the law is executed. The whole statute-book is not necessarily carried out in social life. The official publications of the French government, with all their completeness, are still imperfect in their statistical information; but, such as they are, they stretch over a long series of years, apply to hundreds of thousands of children, and display before our eyes the mechanism of several different systems, the action of which they enable us to study, so as to learn whatever lessons they can teach us.

The lesson to be learnt from them appears to us one of the highest importance ; it gives us the solution of an argument that has been carried on, in a way really dramatic, between a sentiment which does honour to Christian society, and reason relying on experience. When the turning-box was established, it was forgotten that one petition of the Lord's Prayer is, "Lead us not into temptation ;" and thus, by an invention which was purely charitable in intention, poor girls were tempted to add a crime to the sin they had already committed. We are almost inclined to believe that those who have only committed one fault do not generally refuse to accept its consequences, nor shrink from expiating it ; while it is a tendency to vice, or a suggestion of interest, which leads them to desert their child. It was, then, for the vicious that the turning-box provided its facilities, or for parents unmindful of their duty. Society was only increasing the evil by what it meant for a remedy, and thus made itself an accomplice in what it abhorred. In substance, it was for the child that it cared ; but the mother monopolised the profit, to the prejudice of the infant for whom the protection was intended. By the introduction of the previous examination, the benefit is turned into the channel where it was meant to run. It is our duty to save the life and soul of the deserted child ; but it is also our duty to prevent the desertion.

GEORGE ELIOT'S NOVELS.

GEORGE ELIOT did not burst upon us like a flood, but trickled into fame through the channel of a monthly magazine. Readers who in 1858 took up the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*, with the languid inexpectancy with which the first writings of new novelists are received, were astonished that, instead of an author, they had found a man,—and a man uniting the characteristics of Montesquieu's two classes, those who think for us, and those who amuse us. He was apparently a young clergyman, whose piety was mitigated by irony, who had carefully formed a style on the best models, and who had stored his mind with the results of an intelligent and sympathetic observation of common life. People were struck with his power of putting before them the sorrows of the “breaking heart that will not break” in Amos Barton, the shut soul's hypocrisy in young Wybrow, and the strength of stormy pity in *Janet's Repentance*. The only exception the most orthodox found to make to him was for a liberality, scarcely edifying, in approving indiscriminately every school of religious opinion; but then it was remarked that his object was to bring into vivid light the fundamental agreement underlying all these differences. His liberality was clearly far removed from indifference. Had he not the deepest scorn for sensual hypocrisy, and for the “dingy infidelity” which he happily compared to “the rinsings of Tom Paine in ditchwater”? Obviously here was an author on whom the eye of expectation was to be kept open.

George Eliot knew how apt is long watching to end in slumber, and so made haste to provide the expected supply before the eye had time to close. Within a year a second appearance was put in, this time with a decisive stroke. Though the virtue of *Adam Bede* was in its characters, its dialogue, and its pathos, yet there was also a religious purpose in it,—a genial, all-embracing charity, that won golden opinions for its author. “He is evidently a country clergyman,” said the oracle of the hour. “Evidently he has sat at the feet of Mr. Kingsley, and Mr. Kingsley may in many points be proud of his follower.” One distinguished critic pronounced him to be “a gentleman of High-Church tendencies.” Another reviewer was struck with the “depth of the teaching” and the “loveliness of the lesson,” which furnished such an excellent argument for foundling hospitals on the French system. The critic of the *Westminster Review*, however, after

maturely considering the internal evidence, hazarded a conjecture that George Eliot was a woman, but doubted, after all, whether it was a real person, or an entity uniting "the best qualities of the masculine and feminine mind." This critic differed from the rest in thinking that the true moral of the story was what they would call irreligious. "Strictly speaking," he made it say, "no sin can be atoned for;" when once the freedom has been sold by the criminal act, there is no redemption; the consequences are inevitable. He hazarded another remark, viz. that George Eliot apparently regarded creeds "as being only shells of different shape and colour, enclosing the fruit of the religious spirit common to the human race; or as so many mental structures, which in his successive metamorphoses man forms and afterwards casts off." The theory of the *Westminster Review* was not much regarded, but it was true.

The pseudonym of George Eliot had not been assumed in vain. It would have been difficult even for so able a writer to gain the public ear as a professedly religious and even clerical author, if the same name had been signed to the *Clerical Scenes* in 1858 and to *Adam Bede* in 1859, as had been signed to translations of Strauss's *Life of Jesus* in 1846, and of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* in 1853. Besides these translations, Marian Evans had also contributed to the *Westminster Review* sundry articles of the same theological principles. She was known, moreover, to be a literary fellow-labourer of Mr. Lewes, who is credited with some share in all her novels, and whose literary history, therefore, should be remembered in discussing them. He began by writing a novel, *Ranthurpe*, which he kept by him five years, and then compressed and published in 1845. He must have been conscious that it was a failure, in spite of some sharp analyses of character in the style of La Rochefoucauld. Its jerky plot, full of moral monstrosities, and the absence of natural dialogue, and of all self-development of character, show it to be destitute of the essential elements of a good novel. Besides publishing another novel, he devoted himself, between 1845 and 1857, to history, chiefly with the view of forming a criticism upon philosophy and art. He published a life of Robespierre, an essay on the Spanish drama of Vega and Calderon, some arguments about the colouring of Greek architecture, an exposition of Comte's positive philosophy, a biographical history of philosophy, and a life of Göthe. The two last are his most important works. The one contains his judgment on philosophical questions; the other on art. Since 1857 he has devoted himself to science. He has edited Johnson's

Chemistry of Common Life, and published the *Physiology of Common Life*, *Sea-Side Studies*, and *Studies in Animal Life*.

There is an organic unity in the career of these two authors, which allows us to consider them as a double mouth-piece of a single brain. The first production was a novel that failed, not because it was a silly book, but because it was not a good novel; its materials, though meagre, were good; but its form was tohu and bohu. A period of study followed, when philosophy, art, and religion were critically examined, and the positivism of Comte, the art-canon of Göthe, and the religious system of Strauss and Feuerbach, were adopted. Next came the period of creation, in which the empire of positive philosophy was extended in the sphere of physiology on the one hand, and in the sphere of sociology on the other. This period dates from 1858, and is marked by the physiological books of Mr. Lewes, and the novels of George Eliot.

The founder of positivism felt that his system was not complete without a religion to match it. In arranging this religion, Comte fell into two mistakes natural to a Frenchman. As a revolutionist, he despised Christianity, and sought to build his system on the non-historical basis of St.-Simon. As a systematiser, he could not resist the temptation of making religion into a system, and seated himself on a high stool at a desk to be the timekeeper of an impalpable world of feeling and emotion, which is not subject to the sound of the clock. George Eliot, in attempting the same task, avoided these two rocks. Sympathising with Göthe and the historical method of the Germans, rather than with the Frenchman's revolutionary negation of the past, and knowing that Christianity had been the religion of the last eighteen centuries, she felt that, if the religion of positivism was to have any solid foundations, and not to be a mere castle in the air,—if it was destined to be the next phase in the development of our race,—it must claim to be founded on Christianity; it must be exhibited as the inner substance, which, having ever existed as a germ within the shell of Christianity, will be displayed in all its fresh ripeness when the dead husk drops away. She felt also that religion, the pure emanation of the feelings, was essentially incompatible with system, or even with maxims. She avoided, therefore, both the scholastic and the aphoristic methods, and adopted the apologue and the parable as the vehicles of her teaching, which requires not an understanding to argue, but a character to persuade.

This is why, though she has no belief in Christianity, she can yet, without dishonesty, speak as if she had faith. In reality, the positivist believes in no religion whatever. Belief

implies doctrine. To the positivist, however, religious doctrines are only impressions on the imagination, which, though they do not correspond with any reality in the universe, are yet necessary to enable man to turn his feelings into energies—for energy results from the union of belief and feeling. But the imagination is not free; it cannot, without the consciousness of fiction, imagine that to be which it knows not to be. A few generations back, says the positivist, it was easy to believe that the world was created 6000 years ago by a Being who inhabits the blue heavens. Astronomy and geology have rendered that belief impossible now to all who know those sciences; the educated man who pretends to possess it must be a fanatic or hypocrite. But in past ages, and in the uneducated classes of the present, the belief may be perfectly honest and natural; it may enter into legitimate union with the feelings, and produce the most virtuous energy. Thus the positivist, who disbelieves all dogma, may have a hearty sympathy with the orthodoxy of the uneducated, or, what comes to the same thing, of past generations of educated men. The Tübingen historians, however unfair to modern churchmen, can be quite chivalrous in their defence of the old; and George Eliot, who probably despises either the intellect or the honesty of a man who remains a Christian in the full glare of modern philosophy and science, can enter with the most loving interest into the religious feelings of the “clown unread, and half-read gentleman;” of clergymen of the last generation, carefully nurtured in the current orthodoxy; and of medieval Florentines, lay and clerical, whom no education then attainable could have raised to the sublime knowledge of the modern positivist. She knows that the master of superstition is the people, and that here wise men must follow fools; and that it is only by sympathy, and by entering into other people’s minds, that we can gradually reconcile their thoughts to our own; while, on the other hand, if we wish to secure a lasting existence to our own thought, we must make it popular. It is no small victory to show that the godless humanitarianism of Strauss and Feuerbach can be made to appear the living centre of all the popular religions.

When the pseudonym was discovered, it had already served its purpose. George Eliot was already accepted as a great artist; her teaching had been dubbed clerical, and it was too late in the day to turn upon her and call her an atheist. Either novel-readers did not care if she was so; or they doubted the watchmen who, not for the first time, were raising a false alarm of wolf; or they found in her books in-

ternal evidence to refute all that was said against her. Under these circumstances, in 1860, after the lapse of a year, she published the *Mill on the Floss*—a novel which the critics, having their eyes anointed with the revelation of the author's name, treated, on moral grounds, more severely than they had treated *Adam Bede*, while they owned that the work maintained the writer's high credit as an artist. We must presume on our readers' knowledge of the plots of these works, since it is manifestly impossible to analyse and criticise them all in a single article. At present we are only giving an account of their reception. One reviewer, guessing that something was wrong, but not exactly knowing what, went to buffets about a passage where the author, after remarking that milk and mildness are equally apt to turn sour, wonders whether the placid early Madonnas of Raffaele did not grow peevish as their strong-limbed boys grew troublesome. The Madonnas here clearly stand for the women whose portraits they are. But if it were not so, if the jest were interpreted in its most ribald sense, even then it would be no sign of unbelief in a person like George Eliot, of whom the saying would be true, that she never really believes a creed that she cannot afford to jest about. It is hard to love those before whom we dare not play the fool. There are tempers which can scarcely show respect where they feel affection. A second critic, on the other hand, erred by neglecting the biographical clue to George Eliot's purpose, and dwelt upon the testimony she unconsciously bore to the truth of Catholicism, and on the way in which she brought home to the conscience the doctrine of the Personality of God—the one doctrine which, of all others, she most thoroughly denies. An able writer in another review, overlooking the explanation derivable from the author's purpose, supposed that she chose a world where all is direct, outspoken, and non-reticent, because she felt that she had not the capacity for catching the undertones and allusive complexity of drawing-room conversation. The novel which she published the next year (1861) did not refute this idea. *Silas Marner* moved among peasants and rustic squires, doctors, farmers, and parsons. Its moral and even religious tendency appeared unexceptionable; and the interest of the story was concentrated in a wonderful way in the psychological change of the weaver from superstition, through infidelity, to faith. The artistic merits of the book were even more remarkable, and extorted admiration for

“The fertile head that every year
Could such a crop of wonders bear.”

In 1862 the publication of *Romola* commenced in the

Cornhill Magazine. The choice of the subject was a direct defiance to those who supposed George Eliot to be incapable of painting refined and educated society. The scholars and artists of the Renaissance, the enthusiastic devotees of Savonarola, the whole population and movement of Florence in the fifteenth century, are there exhibited with as much sympathy and graphic power as the religion of various English sects, and the life of our rural population, in her other novels. She had completely changed her scene, but had kept her old power, her old idea of art, and her old purpose.

There is a very just prejudice against novels with a purpose. They are generally religious; and their chief characteristic is the ludicrous contrast between their pretension and their power. Didactic novels are generally written by persons who cannot teach, and have no story to tell. But, on the other hand, no great work can be written without a purpose—religious, political, philosophical, or artistic. Cervantes intended to quiz the pseudo-chivalry of Spain, and Voltaire to mock Leibniz. The purpose of most of our present novelists seems to be to find some unworked vein; they would be discoverers, like geographers or gold-diggers. The purpose of George Eliot is clear enough, as we shall show after we have examined the machinery of her novels.

The elements of a novel are three—the plot, the development by description and dialogue, and the characters. In the best specimens the three elements are in more or less perfect equilibrium; but excellent works have been written in which one of them has complete preponderance. Some of Calderon's dramas are all plot, without dialogue or characters to speak of; *Hudibras* has neither plot nor characters, but has wonderful merit in its dialogue and description; Richardson's novels develop character, but have no merit in their plots or their dialogue. Novels whose virtue is in their plot are tales of intrigue or incident. Those which depend on their dialogue are either studies of wit, of repartee, and brilliant ideas, like some of Mr. Dickens'; or they are pictures of manners, like Mr. Thackeray's lighter sketches. Novels of character are those where the psychological analysis is the aim of the author. This analysis may be conducted by the writer himself, speaking in his proper person, as in *Ranthorpe*; or by the interlocutors themselves, who gradually unfold their characters in conversation, as in a drama of Shakespeare; or in the plot itself, when the incidents do not happen fortuitously, but are actions such as the given characters would naturally perform, or the natural consequences of such actions. Congruity requires that in a novel of character there should be as

little accidental as may be, and that whatever there is should be probable; and that the plot should be endogenous, in which the main incidents are acts naturally growing out of the characters represented. The exhibition of character requires that man should be the architect, not the plaything of circumstance,—like the statesman of whom Dryden says that he “some circumstances finds, but more he makes.” Accident, especially improbable accident, though it adds to the excitement of the novel of incident, and makes the novel of wit or manners more amusing, is painfully incongruous in the novel of character, where the opportune coincidences of pre-arranged casualties have often quite a ludicrous effect, which requires a touch of comedy to justify it—as the preposterous story of Hamlet’s return from his English voyage is varnished over by the grim Fridolin-like comicality of his sending Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to be massacred in his stead. In plots of character accidents ought only to be admitted when they belong to a known legend, or when they are occasions of exhibiting new traits. Mr. Fechter admirably explained and justified the awkward change of foils in the last scene of *Hamlet* by a brief access of ungovernable fury after his wound, which made him close with his antagonist and wrench the foil from his hand. It thus became an incident which threw a new light on the character.

The plots of all George Eliot’s stories except the two last are good specimens of the characteristic self-developing kind. The clerical scenes are simple stories, requiring no extraneous incident to explain them. In *Adam Bede* the opportune death of the old squire is an arbitrary arrangement for increasing the pathos, by raising Arthur as high as possible just at the moment when he is to be brought so low. His gallop with the reprieve in his pocket is a stock incident of melodrama, and therefore, at first sight, ludicrous; but it is perfectly justifiable on grounds of internal probability and consistency. In the *Mill on the Floss* all the actions flow naturally from the characters described, till we come to the flood at the end,—a violent means of cutting the tangled knot of Maggie’s destiny. The author clearly felt the incongruity of the incident, and did her best to prepare her readers for it by almost personifying the Floss, and making it the pivot of a secondary plot in which natural forces are the agents. We are carefully prepared, from the very first, for the treacherous character of the river, and are led ever to suspect some shrewd turn from it. But all the preparation is insufficient to justify a catastrophe perfectly apposite for a plot of intrigue and incident, but out of place in a plot of character. The author probably felt, and wished

us to feel, that Tom and Maggie had woven a web round their lives which only the iron hand of death could unravel, and that high art required their destruction,—just as it does that of Macbeth and his wife, Romeo and Juliet, Lear and his daughter,—because, though they had not eaten their share at life's feast, they had poisoned their cup, and deposited within their souls a memory the stirred precipitate of which would embitter all their days. Those, however, who do not attribute to feelings and emotions so high and sacred a character as George Eliot does, cannot think the wounds incurable, and therefore protest against the gratuitous tragedy, where a comic end would be more to the purpose.

The secondary plot, which remains in quite elemental and zoophytic form in the *Mill on the Floss*, becomes more highly organised in *Silas Marner*. It is necessary, for the development of the weaver's character, that he should become a miser, lose his gold, recover somewhat of his neighbours' good-will by misfortune, find a child, and be restored to social life by love. It was congruous, too, that he should find his gold again at last. Now to make all these accidents happen just in the nick of time only because they were wanted, would be feeble in the extreme; but if a secondary plot is introduced, out of which they naturally grow, they lose their arbitrary character, and are felt to be in place. Hence the secondary hero, Godfrey Cass, is introduced, as the centre of a plot which naturally bears fruit in the theft of Marner's gold, in throwing the child on his hands, and in restoring his hoard when it has been supplanted by a living idol as the object of his devotion. George Eliot surrounds herself with a mystic Egyptian darkness, and we approach her temple through an avenue of sphinxes; but it is not impossible to discover the irony of making Marner's conversion depend altogether on human sympathies and love, while he, simple fellow, fails to see the action of the general law of humanity, and attributes every thing to the "dealings" which regulate the accidents. *Silas Marner* contains an apology for Providence arbitrary and petitionary as the silliest of religious novels, and an apology for the special doctrines of Feuerbach's humanitarianism worked up with the utmost dialectic and psychological ability. There is great ingenuity in this method of planting opinions which one wishes to eradicate, and of hiding a subtle argument for error under a specious defence of the truth.

The plot of *Romola* is a great advance upon the compound plan of *Silas Marner*. In it George Eliot develops an element of strength which she had exhibited from the first. In her earliest tales she had sketched the social scenery amid which

the action was carried on as carefully as other writers paint the physical landscape. She had the gift of putting before us Shepperton, and Milby, and Hayslope, and St. Ogg's, and Raveloe, not only as sunny villages or busy towns, but as living communities, with a public opinion and parish politics of their own. At first these sketches were only backgrounds—living rings in which the posy of the story was set—a sort of chorus to comment on the play, and sometimes to furnish motives for the action, but taking no active part in the development of the plot. But after she had made her physical scenery take, as it were, a personal part in the catastrophe of Tom and Maggie, it was an easy step to bring her moral scenery into action. In *Romola* the population of Florence is not only made the setting and background of the tale, but it takes a prominent part in the conduct of the story. Its religious movement is represented by Savonarola; and its political movement, which has plenty of representatives, has its main bearing on the chief characters in the person of Romola's godfather, Bernardo. The psychological interest of the tale turns upon the development of the characters of Romola and her husband Tito;—Romola gradually improved by the influence of Savonarola, who turns her noble but ill-directed impulses into the channel of duty, and Tito gradually growing more selfish and unprincipled as his popularity and political influence increase. The rest of the plot adheres with more or less fidelity to the political and religious history of Florence at the close of the fifteenth century, and arranges itself round the dramatic career of Tito the Greek adventurer. The figure of Savonarola, which is only of relative importance in the plot, is worked out with great vividness, so as to dispute the preëminence with the regular hero and heroine. The various political parties are all duly represented; and the shop of the Florentine Figaro, Nello, affords a good opportunity for grouping their principal figures, and bringing them into relation with Tito. This shop, the Duomo, and the Via de' Bardi, are the three centres of the story. Its perpetual bustle, and the multitude of characters introduced, preclude the possibility of making the plot one of mere character. Of the fortuitous incidents introduced into it, some are justified by history, others are purely arbitrary; and these arbitrary accidents are not always happily accounted for. M. Victor Hugo has consecrated the license of giving a sort of ubiquity to the characters, and making them always pounce accidentally on the very person, and at the very time, that the exigences of the plot require. George Eliot has availed herself of the privilege, and we must not quarrel with the ubiquitous Bratti or with the omniscient Nello. But such

a rencounter as that of Fra Girolamo and Romola in chapter xl., where the Frate reads her very thoughts, shows an intimate acquaintance with her closest secrets, and assumes an air of undoubting confidence in her obedience, grounding his claim on a special revelation made to him, is so palpably monstrous that we cannot help asking the object of it. Fra Girolamo tells Romola more about herself than our Lord told the Samaritan woman, and Romola accordingly believes him implicitly. But at the end of the story we find that the Frate's claim to prophetic insight was an imposture. What is to be said of this chapter, then? Is he falsely alleging that to be a revelation which he has skilfully learned through spies and other sources of information? Or are we to be referred to the fancied powers of mediums and magnetisers? Or, because his end was excellent, is he to be justified in using falsehood to compass it? "The end I seek," he is made to say in chapter lix., "is one to which minor respects must be sacrificed." If this is a fair representation of Fra Girolamo's character,—Villani gives but little basis for it,—he deserves to be execrated. But George Eliot sets him forth as an example, for the very reason that by such means he strove "to turn beliefs into energies" for the very highest end. Now here is a dishonesty inseparable from positivist religion, in which religious belief does not correspond to objective truth, but is only an impression on the imagination, useful to excite, direct, and give energy to the feelings. It is necessarily transient and unstable; here to-day, gone to-morrow. Yet the religious teacher of men must pretend that his own faith is firm, or he will not confirm that of his hearers. "It is the lot of every man who has to speak for the satisfaction of the crowd, that he must speak in virtue of yesterday's faith, hoping it will come back to-morrow" (chap. lxii.); just as George Eliot preaches yesterday's Christianity, but without the corresponding hope. It is the misery of religion, she says, that it should have so much of superstition and conscious imposture at its roots (chap. lii.); that it should be at once necessary, and founded upon falsehood. And this, we may add, is the condemnation of positivist religion, that it justifies falsehood and imposture, by making them the necessary roots of a religious energy, which, again, is necessary for the moral advancement of mankind. It founds morality on falsehood, and roots up honour from the religious mind. And the part of Fra Girolamo in *Romola* is well contrived to teach this lesson. The catastrophe of *Romola*, though little less improbable than that of the *Mill on the Floss*, yet so naturally flows from the previous incidents and the character of Baldassarre, that the im-

probability is scarcely felt; while the judgment assents to the measure dealt out both to Tito and Romola as perfectly congruous with their deserts.

Such are the plots of George Eliot's novels; social, characteristic, and endogenous, rather than individual, incidental, and developed by external accident. They remind one of a group of detached figures in front of a crowded bas-relief;—or of a *concerto* where the melody is taken up first by one and then by another solo instrument, the orchestra playing the accompaniment. It is only in *Romola* that the author's plot has attained its full symphonic form, in which the orchestral parts become as important as the solos; she is not yet, however, a perfect contrapuntist, nor is she always successful in preparing her dissonances, or giving a natural *entrata* to her subjects.

In the conduct of the dialogue and description George Eliot distributes her personages into three great divisions: those whose conversation and acts develop the plot; those who have little else to do than to comment upon it; and the author herself commenting, as it were, upon these comments, and awarding her final judgment. She gives great importance to the commentators; in almost all her tales she has one or more shrewd, plain, sensible, uneducated persons, who put forward the popular view, and speak in proverbs and racy phrase. She uses them as a kind of chorus to describe that which is not acted, and to expound so much of the antecedents of the story and the characters as it is necessary for the reader to know. Her greatest gift is the wonderful truth of these representations of popular ideas, and the idiomatic vigour which she throws into her dialogue. In *Amos Barton* Mrs. Hackit and Mrs. Patten, in *Janet's Repentance* the male and female representatives of the public opinion of Milby, gave a promise which was more than realised in the brilliant creations of *Adam Bede*, Mrs. Poyser, Lisbeth, and Battle Massey. In the *Mill on the Floss* the representation of public opinion is more narrow, being confined to that of the Dodson family; but it gains in directness and comicality as much as it loses in more general truth. In *Silas Marner*, again, we have the inimitable discussion at the Rainbow, moderated by the landlord, an eclectic philosopher or intellectual tactician, trimming to all opinions and uniting all suffrages. In *Romola* we have Nello, the shrewd barber, with his head frizzled and crisped by his continual brushes with the Florentine wits. Besides these speculative characters, George Eliot is fond of giving us a practical one or two of the same class, native wits, overflowing with helpful common sense, who become confidants of the

chief actors, and are able to lend important aid in the development of the plot. Such are Nancy, Amos Barton's maid-of-all-work, the gardener and coachman in *Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story*, Bob Jakin the pedlar in the *Mill on the Floss*, Dolly Winthrop in *Silas Marner*, and Bratti in *Romola*. In the male characters of this stamp, notwithstanding their raciness of speech, George Eliot is apt to become commonplace and theatrical, and to give us copies, more or less servile, of the well-known type of Dickens's John Brodie. All these portraits have this in common, that it is their dialogue, and not the delineation of their characters, which gives them their value.

In *Romola* we have a powerful picture of refined and educated society, very different from that of the rude communities of the other novels; but there is no attempt to redress the failure of Mr. Deane's drawing-room at St. Ogg's in the *Mill on the Floss*. The author has succeeded in giving us the conversation of Machiavelli, and the wits, the scholars, and the politicians of Florence, but has not ventured upon their *salons*. There is a banquet, but it is a political one, not one where leisure is the ruling divinity of the day. George Eliot has no right notions of leisure. It is gone, she says; the steam-engine, instead of propagating it, has only created a vacuum for eager thought to rush in. Even idleness is eager now. Old Leisure was an indolent, rustic, self-indulgent personage, "undiseased by hypothesis," to whom life was not a task, but a sinecure. She has no conception of the *blasé* leisure of the modern drawing-room. Her *salon* is that of Madame de Staël; it is a kind of Athenian agora, filled with very clever men all anxious for something new. The regions cultivated with such success by Victor Hugo, Mr. Thackeray, and Mr. Trollope, remain a *terra incognita* to her.

She talks a good deal about epigrams, and never mentions proverbs; but she makes excellent proverbs, and poor epigrams. Like most artists, she seems to value her productions by their cost, and not by their substance. She is not without wit; but her wit is not of that refined, *malin*, and careless kind which befits the drawing-room. It is more the wit of the wine-party or club, or of the professed joker whose facetiousness is manufactured by rule and line. One of the easiest forms of joke is the adroit substitution of a privative for an expected positive result. It is a form of which George Eliot seems especially fond: her young ladies refuse the most ineligible offers out of devotion to their aunts; her young gentlemen have all the arduous inacquaintance with Latin which their education requires; her parsons' sermons are the most edifying that ever remained unheard by a church-going popu-

lation ; her groups of sisters have a proper family unlikeness ; her Christians are well stocked with saving ignorance ; her apothecaries spend all their income on starving their one horse. Such jokes occur in clusters. Sometimes she ventures on a pun ; she tells us that beans were, in more than one sense, the political pulse of Florence. One who has so deep a fund of humour ought not to need reminding of the laborious ineffectiveness of this kind of wit.

Thoroughly possessed with the devil of exposition, she cannot be a drawing-room dialectician. She has not the trifling, fanciful, tricky reflectiveness, indolent and careless of improvement, which plays only with feelings and thoughts too superficial to shock. She is more like a preacher, improving each occasion, moralising on every incident, and summing up her conclusions in proverbs, aphorisms, or apologues, which she either distributes among her commentating characters, such as Mrs. Poyser, or else reserves for herself. For she maintains a running exposition on her own drama, and illustrates it with a copious supply of maxims, ethical, psychological, and physiological, enough to furnish forth a "just volume" of *ana*. Thus she notices that to emotional natures, whose thoughts are shadows cast by feeling, words are facts, and even when known to be false have a mastery over smiles and tears ; that susceptible persons are more affected by a change of tone than by unexpected words ; that we all have a superstitious feeling, that if we expect evil very strongly it is less likely to come ; and that "a proud woman who has once learned to submit carries all her pride to the reinforcement of her submission, and looks down with severe superiority on all feminine assumption as 'unbecoming.' "

This last maxim looks as if it was a note on Catherine's last speech in the *Taming of the Shrew*. It suggests an enquiry whether the wisdom stored up in George Eliot's pages comes from a wide experience of life, or from a laborious analysis of books. Some of her sayings are simply decanted out of newspapers. "Before I said 'sniff,' " says Mr. Macey, "I took care to know as she'd say 'snaff.' " The original of this is to be found in one of the Swinfen trials. If George Eliot consents to look at the world through the eyes of casual witnesses and reporters, we may easily conceive with how much more industry she consults the pictures which great artists have already painted, not only for the purpose of imitating their style or copying their details, but to generalise their instances into aphorisms capable of begetting a generation of incidents after their kind. Her expository spirit is not always proof against the temptation of appending the aphorism to

the imitated incident, thus as it were killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, by anatomising its ovary. For instance, whereas, in Dickens, the Jew on his trial wonders who will mend the broken rail of the dock, so, in George Eliot, Adam Bede, in the midst of his agonising suspense about Hetty, watches the hands and listens to the ticking of the clock, as if he had a reason for doing so. Then follows the general maxim: "In our times of bitter suffering there are almost always these pauses, when our consciousness is benumbed to every thing but some trivial perception or sensation. It is as if semi-idiotcy came to give us rest from the memory and the dread which refuse to leave us in our sleep." Are we wrong in attributing to Mr. Lewes not only the multitude of similar physiological observations in which George Eliot's novels abound, such as the interminable references to "atavism," but also the curiously symptomatic treatment of poor Hetty's malady, and the psychologico-medical study of Baldassarre in *Romola*,—a powerful portrait of febrile impotence dominated by a master passion, like a corpse possessed by a spirit; of a poor wreck of humanity helplessly gathering up the shattered fragments of memory in the arms of a tremulous purpose, and failing at the decisive moment, but still persevering even in despair? It is rather the physician than the artist who speaks here. Not that we object to medical information, even in a novel, provided there is not too open a display of the forceps and the dissecting-knife.

But George Eliot seems to have laid painters under contribution even more than physicians, novelists, and poets. She has an eminently pictorial mind, and loves to look at nature through the glasses of Watteau, or the Dutch painters, or Piero di Cosimo. She tries to fix in her readers' minds the scenes she has so vividly conceived in her own, even if she has to use ungrammatical and affected forms of language for the purpose. She seems to feel that a sentence has a more pictorial effect when it stands for a simple apprehension, than when it signifies a judgment. Simple apprehension regards the thing, judgment the process. The one gives the picture to the sense, the other unfolds its generation to the reason. There is, then, something to be said for leaving out verbs, and for writing sentences like this: "An upper room in a dull Stoniton street with two beds in it—one laid on the floor;" or this, the opening sentence of the *Mill on the Floss*: "A wide plain, where the broadening Floss hurries on between its green banks." Although George Eliot has left off this grammatical affectation, still she always begins her stories with an elaborate picture; so elaborate indeed in *Romola*, that it is a real relief

when the paint-pot is emptied and the inkstand comes into requisition again. We are persuaded that the study of pictures has helped her as much as the study of living models. We should not be surprised if the famous scene at the Rainbow in *Silas Marner*—a scene compared by competent critics to Shakespeare's scenes at the Boar's Head—turned out to be one the like of which she has never witnessed except on the canvas of Teniers, seen through an atmosphere of Dickens, or of her own deep knowledge of rustic life. "The pipes began to be puffed in a silence which had the air of severity; the more important customers, who drank spirits and sat nearest the fire, staring at each other as if a bet were depending on the first man who winked; while the beer-drinkers, chiefly men in fustian jackets and smock-frocks, kept their eyelids down and rubbed their hands across their mouths, as if their draughts of beer were a funereal duty attended with embarrassing sadness." Almost all this may be seen in Teniers. The ethical interpretations of the tipplers' attitudes are common-places of the art-criticism of the day. Their way of talking, their long pauses, their "unflinching frankness" in addressing each other, and the characteristic differences between the interlocutors, may all be learned elsewhere than in the public-house parlour. When Teniers has once given the picture, the rest of the scene is such as might be worked out on general principles of human nature, which are fundamentally the same whether dressed for the drawing-room or the plough-tail. When Mr. Macey says of Mr. Lammeter, "He came from a bit north'ard, so far as ever I could ever make out; but there's nobody rightly knows about those parts," he only puts into the dialect of Warwickshire the same placid ignorance which Lord Dundreary draws out in the dialect of the drawing-room.

The great merit of George Eliot's dialogue is its proverbial raciness. The proverb—a conclusion of long experience, a general truth of ethics expressed in a figurative form—is a kind of saying that cannot be manufactured by line and rule, like jokes and epigrams. But its figurative form allows it to be imitated; and one illustration will often suggest another equally applicable. Mr. Lewes singles out for special commendation a passage in Göthe's *Elective Affinities*, where Edward, hearing that his flute-playing has been criticised, "at once feels himself free from every obligation of duty." George Eliot clearly imitates this when she describes Dr. Kimble turning up "a mean trump-card with an air of ineffable disgust, as if, in a world where such things could happen, one might as well enter on a course of reckless profligacy." In

these instances the figurative way of expressing the first angry feeling of disappointment is quite proverbial. It is almost an intimation that not all Mrs. Poyser's sayings are original, when Mr. Irwine is made to say of her that she is one of the untaught wits that help to stock a country with proverbs, and that her comparison of a Scottish gardener to the cock who thought the sun had risen to hear him crow, was an Æsop's fable in a sentence. An author would scarcely thus commend her own creations. But whencesoever derived, George Eliot has made these proverbs her own by adapting them almost as skilfully as Cervantes appropriated the old stores of Spanish proverbial wisdom to his Sancho Panza. Those of her proverbial expressions the virtue of which consists in the truth of the observation used as a *simile*, are probably original: "Looking as silly as a tumbler when he has been upside down and has got on his heels again," embodies a physiological observation which we recommend our readers to verify the next time they assist at a performance of acrobats.

In dialogue by which character is developed George Eliot is no great artist. If it were not for her own copious comments, the text would often be obscure. She lacks invention, and she lacks subtlety. She can explain how speakers only half reveal their real thought, but she cannot exhibit the process; she is soon obliged to pass from dialogue to commentary.

The last and most important element of the novel is the characters. When well exhibited, they make up for want of plot, as in Miss Austen; and for want of dialogue, as in Richardson. Since Scott, each personage of a novel is expected to display himself in dialogue, as in a drama, in which the author acts as scene-shifter and chorus. The first requisite in a character is a distinct individuality—not an external consistency which makes a gardener talk of flowers, and a dairy-woman of cheeses; nor an arbitrary signalment which distinguishes him by an outward badge, like a habit of sniffing, or of saying "*for to do*" a thing; but an internal consistency, which represents the person as the endogenous growth of a central life, putting forth its own natural fruit under the stimulating or depressing influence of circumstance. To make circumstance into the power which determines the character is to mould the man from without. To deny to circumstance its influence over the character is to isolate man in society and in the world, and to render the novel impossible. Character builds up a life out of circumstance, using circumstances as its materials, and, by its use of them, testing the plastic power of its intellect and will. Philip Wakem, how-

ever he may wish to be as other men, cannot help having both his intellect and his heart impressed by the circumstance of his deformity.

When novels contain true pictures of character,—when they hold up a true mirror to man's nature,—they become tolerable glasses for readers to see themselves by. It is easy to read any novel frivolously—for its adventures, its intrigue, its hurried action, or its emotional power; or to read it for its literary merits only—for its brilliancy, its wit, or its artistic unity. But novels which paint character truly lead, through self-examination, to self-knowledge. George Eliot searches her readers' hearts when she describes the culpable irresolution, weakness, self-deception, and insincerity of Arthur Donnithorne, or Godfrey Cass, or Tito. Mr. Thackeray's *Snob Papers* have made many men doubt whether they were gentlemen or pretenders; and this is perhaps a reason why the author of them is regarded by some as Socrates was at Athens, when he bored the young men with his lessons of self-knowledge. George Eliot avoids this cause of unpopularity by cutting deeper; she knows that, in our moral as well as our physical nature, the skin is the most sensitive part. You may call your friend a devil with impunity; but beware of telling him that he is a bore. Men, though they say "What a fool I am!" more readily than "What a knave I am!" had rather be wicked than ridiculous; and so it is safer to gird at their vices than their follies. For vice is secret, and folly walks in the sun; men are therefore less offended with general satires on vice, which, if they bite, bite in secret, than those on folly, which, as it were, pull their noses in public. It is less offensive to be whipped in one's cell than at the cart's tail in the market-place. But George Eliot does not whip even vice very severely; she probes the conscience tenderly, and "pleasant is her absolution." Nobody is very good, she says, and nobody very bad; there are no ideal characters in real life. If your general aim is good, and you work hard for it, we will not look too closely at your means. There is Fra Girolamo, a man by no means truthful to a fault, one who sought his own glory, but who is a model for imitation because he sought it by labouring for the very highest end,—the moral regeneration of our race. Crime is misfortune following upon weakness. Fiendish malice is unknown outside melodrama. "Plotting, covetousness, and deliberate contrivance, in order to compass a selfish end, are nowhere abundant but in the world of the dramatist; they demand too intense a mental action. . . . It is easy enough to spoil the lives of neighbours without taking so much trou-

ble : we can do it by lazy acquiescence and lazy omission ; by trivial falsities for which we hardly know a reason ; by small frauds neutralised by small extravagances ; by maladroit flatteries, and clumsily improvised insinuations."

George Eliot, we see, is a searching but indulgent moralist. She admits neither saints nor devils, but mixed natures, —heroes with a leaven of villany, and villains with a spice of heroism. Deep down in every one, she teaches, there is the same human nature ; the deeper we go, and the more thoroughly we strip off the bark, the more plainly we discover the ultimate unity. The world wags by universal laws, not by policy or by plotting, and especially gives no encouragement to the small finesse of fools baiting mouse-traps to catch elephants.

In probing the depths of human nature, George Eliot comes to the critical question of the relations between passion and duty, reason and feeling, man and mankind, the soul and God. The antithesis of passion and duty figures itself to her mind as a kind of sexual distinction ; so that if woman could be defecated from all male fibres, she would be all passion, as man, purged of all feminine qualities, would be all hard duty. Adam Bede before he is softened by sorrow, and Tom Tulliver, are instances of males nearly pure ; but George Eliot, averse from ideals, cannot give so abstract a symbol of hard virility as M. Victor Hugo's Javert. On the other hand, woman, as woman, is in her system all emotional ; in its highest form it is a being with black hair and large dark eyes, and is a mass of yearnings, passions, and feelings ; it makes love and lovers too ; it feels, and is the cause of feeling in men —like Falstaff, who was not only witty himself, but also the cause why wit should be in others. Tina, in *Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story*, is the most idealised representative woman that George Eliot draws ; but Milly, and Beatrice, and Janet, and Hetty and Dinah, and Maggie and Lucy, and Eppie and Nancy, and Romola and Tessa, must all be studied if we would complete the idea. According to this idea, the influence which woman exerts over man is twofold. One is "the soothing, unspeakable charm of gentle womanhood," mastering by its simple presence, by the "serene dignity of being." This kind is blond and blue-eyed, a sleepy Venus, like Dudu. The other is the active influence, which makes man's blood boil, and awakes in him the slumbering fires of passion and feeling. This is the dark-eyed kind. It is the hearth at which the strong man's feelings are kindled, and where they become gradually purified, like Adam Bede's in the crucible of Hetty's little heart. It raises the storm which the other kind calms.

This is why they go in pairs in George Eliot's novels; why Tina and Beatrice exert a joint and successive influence on Captain Wybrow, Hetty and Dinah on Bede, Lucy and Maggie on Stephen Guest, Molly and Nancy Lammeter on Godfrey Cass, Romola and Tessa on Tito.

This influence of woman is not of necessity in proportion to her intrinsic worth. The inward grace may be entirely incommensurate with the visible means. The little-hearted Hetty can kindle the conflagration which proves the pure gold of Adam's large soul. But in itself woman's love is always pure; it may be barked over with vulgarity, frivolity, vanity, and giddiness, but when the shell is broken and cleared away, the central fire is found to be burning brightly. Even from the most sterile and frivolous of female hearts, George Eliot shows that suffering may bring out tones more pathetic than could be drawn from nobler women, because in them the deep fundamental pathos of our common nature shows itself without the complications of adventitious distinctions. The sphere which George Eliot claims as specially her own is the pathos of human nature stripped of all acquired and accidental trappings of education, rank, and intelligence.

In the relation she gives to the sexes we see something of the old Teuton veneration for women, and something of the worship of mother, wife, and daughter enjoined by Comte. This possibly may account for Mr. Lewes's complicity in her doctrine. Woman, in her books, walks as a superior being. Milly is firmer than Amos; Tina is irresistible; Janet, when she is rescued by Tryan, soon shows her superiority to him; Dinah leads Adam as she chooses, though she respects his manliness; Mrs. Poyser is the dominant spirit at the Hall Farm; and Mr. Hackitt rides behind his wife. Maggie has a much larger soul than the inflexible Tom; and though Lucy and Stephen are equally colourless, Lucy at least has principles and moral strength. Nancy is altogether firmer than Godfrey Cass, and Eppie wiser than Marnier. Dolly Winthrop views the stronger sex in the light of animals naturally troublesome, like bulls and turkey-cocks: "The men are awk'ard and contrairy mostly, God help 'em; but when the drink's out of 'em they aren't unsensible, though they're bad for leeching and bandaging—so fiery and unpatient." Romola is infinitely stronger than Tito, or Fra Girolamo himself, though she owes every thing to his opportune influence; Tessa is a foolometer, showing how little womanhood is wanted to balance all the manly intelligence and will of Tito.

But in the picture which George Eliot gives of woman in herself we see simply the defilement of her sex. It is natural

that the female novelist should exaggerate the importance of the woman's relations to man, but not that she should degrade her nature. "They tell me," said Talleyrand to Madame de Staël, "that you and I are both in *Corinne*, disguised as women." It is natural that the authoress should make her women act male parts, and give her men something of a feminine character. Though she ought to be able to draw woman in herself, for the simple reason that she is a woman, yet she may be too far separated from the ordinary life of her sex to be a good judge of its relations. The direct power and the celebrity of authorship may obscure and replace the indirect influence and calm happiness of domestic feminine life. For admiration and affection do not easily combine. Celebrity isolates the authoress, and closes her heart; it places her where experience of the ordinary relations of the sex is impossible, and where she is tempted to supply by theory what is lacking in experience. She gives us her view of woman's vocation, and paints things as they ought to be, not as they are. Women work more by influence than by force, by example than reasoning, by silence than speech: the authoress grasps at direct power through reasoning and speech. Having thus taken up the male position, the male ideal becomes hers,—the ideal of power,—which, interpreted by her feminine heart and intellect, means the supremacy of passion in the affairs of the world.

Thus the misconception of relations leads directly to an error in the essence of things. The supremacy of passion in human affairs, though it leaves conduct subject to the law of the inevitable consequences of actions, does not leave it subject to the law of honour and delicacy. Indeed, a supreme passion is inconsistent with honour and delicacy either in men or women; and both the male and female characters of female novelists are liable to this defect. It is an hallucination in Miss Kavanagh to suppose that we owe to these writers the importation of delicacy into English romance. On the contrary, they generally saturate their female characters with passion and sensuality. Mrs. Aphra Behn, Mrs. Centlivre, Madame de Staël, George Sand, the Countess Hahn-Hahn, Mrs. Inchbald, Currer Bell, Mrs. Norton, and George Eliot, simply misuse their sex. The female writers who avoid this profanation are those who, like Miss Edgeworth, refuse to believe in the mysterious involuntary force of love, and shun passion as dangerous to the moral equilibrium. But George Eliot deifies passion,—her feminine passion of love, and her male passion of justice. Human emotion is the only supernatural sphere which the positive philosophy recognises as

the one wherein it has no currency. Passion, love or hate, it acknowledges as the mysterious involuntary power, which admits of no superior in man's intellect or will. Of itself this passion is pure and right in its tendencies; it goes wrong through the admixture of unworthy motives. Hetty falls, not through passion, but through a deficiency of passion; she sacrilegiously places her vanity and frivolity upon the pedestal which belongs to love, and she is deservedly smitten by the outraged divinity. Maggie is the example of passion unmingled with frivolity, walking on the brink of the abyss—*Domina cupiditatis ad nutum*—but not toppling over; giving passionate kisses to the declared lover of her dearest friend, drifting away with him along the river, blistering her good name, but refusing at the last moment to be his wife, and thus to consummate the cruellest wrong and treachery to others with infamy to herself. This, then, is the divine principle, the lack of which alone prevents a Javert or Tom Tulliver being the highest type of humanity,—the green-sickness of youth in the guise of a fierce and ignoble desire, governed by the moon, feeding itself on delicious poison which it knows to be deadly, swallowing up honour, duty, humanity, and the most sacred ties, working all the effects of hatred, and calling itself love. As a feeling, this love is put before us as a thing too sacred to be suppressed; but to yield to it, and to act upon it, may sometimes bring us into collision with the inevitable law of consequences. In such cases it must be renounced; dwelt upon in the memory, but rejected in practice, it will be the material for the sacrifice upon which all true nobility is founded. Hence the eagerness after forbidden dainties is to be encouraged, on the ground that the present coveting after unfit things is the best way of ensuring future self-denial.

As pendants to her two classes of females, George Eliot provides us with two classes of males, each class being further broken into two divisions. In the first class will predominate; in the second, intelligence. The first comprehends those hard, stern, strong-willed characters in whom retributive justice is a passion which often congeals into the principle of duty. Of these some are more or less amenable to the feminine influences, like Adam Bede, Sir Christopher Cheverell, and Tom Tulliver; the others, in default of being so influenced, remain or become brutes; such persons are the lawyers Dempster and Wakem, Dunsey Cass and Dolfo Spini, and in a measure old Tulliver and Baldassarre. The second class comprehends those who have little strength of will, but much imagination and versatility. Of these, some, in spite of their vacillations and worship of chance, become, through

the influence of women, or under the pressure of sorrow, capable of renunciation and self-sacrifice, like Arthur Donnithorne and Godfrey Cass; in others selfishness is predominant to the last, as in Captain Wybrow, Tito, and the fatted calf Stephen Guest. George Eliot does not pretend to represent these characters in ideal simplicity, nor even to maintain a consistent manliness in them. Arthur's conduct under Adam Bede's assaults illustrates the text which says that "the churning of milk bringeth forth butter," but violates the common rule of characters like his,—to depress whom you have injured, and to destroy whom you have depressed. Adam himself, the model of manly strength, breaks out into childish and impotent threats against Arthur; as if resolute men let the world know their resolution, instead of doing first and talking afterwards, or keeping in view the difference between the loquacity of wishing, and the laconic energy of willing.

Between these two classes we have a third or epicene division. They are generally men whose negative qualities have become positive through feminine influence, transient or lasting. Women are like the conductors of an electric machine; men, like the little pith-balls that rush to embrace the conductor, till, after being filled with the new influence, they begin to feel a repulsion, and fly off again. For men of this sort the only harvest-time is in spring. In the first access of love, or in the first years of marriage, they drink in a sufficiency of feminine influence; and then the wife dies, or becomes the object of friendship instead of passion, and the man, fully charged with feminine electricity, feels no more drawn towards the flame. He remains a widower, cherishing a memory which is a source of strength to his soul, like Barton, or Gilfil, or Philip Wakem. Even those who have no cause to cherish the memory, like Bartle Massey, or Adam Bede after his passion for Hetty, find themselves changed beings, and trace some of their best gifts to the feminine influence. George Eliot's widowers owe a great debt to their wives; not so her widows. Janet Dempster and Romola had husbands who only improved them by making their life a sacrifice. Woman is put before us as the treasury of the divine gift; and man has very little to give to her, but much to accept from her. The only male fibre which men can contribute to women's nature is precision and regularity of thought. The want of this is the distinguishing characteristic of the female mind. Men live by diagrams; but "a woman will bake you a pie every week of her life, and never come to see that the hotter the oven the shorter the time." Priscilla Lammeter,

the only old maid whom George Eliot attempts to describe, exhibits the manly character of her mind precisely in this: "My pork pies," she says, "don't turn out well by chance."

If the character of Savonarola does not fall into any of the divisions we have referred to, it is because he is drawn not from theory, but from history. Therefore he protrudes from the stratified plains of George Eliot's novels like a vast mass of primitive fiery rock upheaved by other forces, and standing like a stranger amid the fields and woods which it fertilises by the streams that roll from its sides.

George Eliot repeats herself in her plots and situations, and still more in her characters. Her mind is pictorial and tenacious, and can scarcely let go a thought once engraved there. In her successive books she gives us the same characters, the same situations, the same arguments; but disguised in different dresses, and surrounded with different circumstances. She forces into circulation that special coinage the genuineness of which has been most questioned. If Bob the pedlar's chaffering with Mrs. Glegg is called farcical, she will make Bratti repeat it in *Romola*; if the deathless hate of old Tulliver is called incredible, then she will force us to believe the terrible *vendetta* of Baldassarre; if Maggie's floating away is rejected, we must have *Romola's* drifting away instead. Tito, with his difficulties about his two wives, is a highly elaborate reproduction of Godfrey Cass. The moral conception of the versatile and accomplished Greek is the same as that of the heavy and half-educated squire; the same type had already done duty in Arthur Donnithorne, and was first indicated in Captain Wybrow. The same passionate, craving, yearning, emotional brunette nature shines forth in Tina, Janet, and Maggie, and is reproduced, tempered by education and refinement, and by a dash of blond steadiness and blue-eyed principle, in *Romola*. George Eliot is not prolific in types. She does not see that there are as many forms of mind as figures of body; her difficulty is in invention. She is a musician who cannot compose new tunes, but is continually resetting, developing, and adorning her old melodies with variations and counterpoint; and her successive developments do not fit on one to the other, so as to form a succession of novels in which the same persons might figure, like those of Mr. Trollope and Mr. Thackeray. In each she begins *de novo*, and develops the fundamental idea in a distinct direction. For she knows that every force can produce more than one change, every cause more than one effect, and every type a whole family of species and varieties.

We will not discuss the amount of truth which may lie

hid in her idea of women having almost the monopoly of the emotional nature—of the passions, which are the elements of life; a bubbling and fermenting source of power, whose impulses seem like the acts of external force, instinctive, indefinite, vague, involuntary, but rich and mighty, like a divine energy within us. Perhaps she does not think that women possess it more really than men, but that in the woman it is not overlaid with all the unreasonable products of manly reason; with our logical feats, and our honeycombed brain with its thousand cells, one containing reason, another understanding, a third bad wit, and a fourth nothing at all—that is to say, the idea. In women, perhaps, we get to the bottom more quickly, without having to pioneer our way through this tangled growth; and we find the central volcanic fire, with its hot lava, its scorix, its smoke, its lurid flames, and its consuming heat, unscreened by veils, uncoloured by glassy mediums. Her women, perhaps, are so much alike, because her idea of woman is so one-sided and so simple.

We have now to say a few words about the purpose of George Eliot's novels. However improper it may be to assume a knowledge of a man's ordinary intentions, it is different when the work criticised is one of speculation and intellect; for then the rule holds good that the practical purpose is identical with the speculative principle. Now the speculative principles on which George Eliot's novels are built up are plain. In her ideas of art and philosophy she identifies herself with Mr. Lewes; and Mr. Lewes has spoken plainly: Göthe is his master in art, including views of life, morals, and religion; and Comte is his master in science. For him Göthe is the *vates sacer* of the modern era, as Dante was of the middle ages. All who would speak intelligibly to modern ears must accept Göthe's principles and views. He has taught us, in his *Hermann and Dorothea*, the pathos that is to be found in common life, and in ordinary men and women. He has taught us in all his works that art paints what is, and does not run after the ideal of what ought to be. In *Faust* he gives an example of that vital force which brings together and keeps united things in themselves most opposite, and exhibits a living combination of refinement with horrors, of reflection with tumult, of high and delicate poetry with broad and palpable effects. In *Faust* he also teaches the value of prodigality—of touching upon and illustrating, in the same work, a great number of typical aspects of life. In *Faust*, moreover, he teaches us how to use legends, and how the most improbable situations may be justified by a traditionary story. He teaches us to distrust logic, to hunger for realities, and not to be satisfied

with maxims and definitions. These principles, taken almost at random from Mr. Lewes's life of Göthe, are clearly the guiding stars of George Eliot. She not only seeks her pathos in common life, but expounds the whole doctrine on the subject in almost all her novels. She abjures the ideal, she hates impossible virtues and improbable vices, and strives to paint facts with all the roughnesses of reality. She tries to exhibit the vital force which unites contradictory things in one life, the hospitality of the mind which admits all opinions, the liberalism of the soul which is vicious while it is virtuous and virtuous while it is vicious. She gives the greatest possible variety to her books by the multiplicity of her characters, the composite nature of each, the richness of her social backgrounds, and the brief glimpses which she gives us of all kinds of life. In her way of dealing with a religion which she does not believe, she follows Göthe's rule of treating the legendary as if true, of throwing her whole mind into the position of the actors in her drama, and of speaking not as she would speak, but as they would have spoken. She also holds that "the mysterious complexity of our life is not to be embraced by maxims, and that to lace up ourselves in formulas of that sort is to repress all the divine promptings and inspirations that spring from growing insight and sympathy." The very story of *Adam Bede* is only a modification of *Faust*; and the relish with which Dolly Winthrop's paraphrase for God, and the Italian *Messer Domeneddio* are employed, as well as the remark upon Raffaelle's Madonnas, remind one of the spirit which dictated the second prologue of Göthe's play.

The moral and religious principles of Göthe are also those of Mr. Lewes and George Eliot. Göthe was a man "of deep religious sentiments, with complete scepticism on most religious doctrines." The famous confession of faith in *Faust* is a pantheism which ends by declaring that Feeling is God, and that dogma is all smoke. Grand, deeper, holier thoughts, says Mr. Lewes, are not to be found in poetry; this confession is the same in substance with what the priest teaches in somewhat different language; and yet "to make feeling the essence of religion," says Feuerbach, "is nothing else than to make feeling the essence of God." The moral teaching of *Faust* is, first, a warning against sacrificing the future to the present; against the blindness to consequences caused by the imperiousness of desire; and against the recklessness with which inevitable results are braved in perfect consciousness of their being inevitable, provided a temporary pleasure can be obtained. The moral of the second part is positive. It shows how the toiling soul, after trying in vain the various directions

of individual effort and individual gratification, and finding therein no peace, is finally conducted to the recognition of the vital truth that man lives for man, and that only in as far as he is working for humanity can his efforts bring permanent happiness. All this moral doctrine is summed up in the one word, Renunciation; we must content ourselves with the knowable and attainable; we must renounce ideal and absolute happiness. We are only capable of a kind of relative content, which comes with weariness; in labour there is a stimulus which gives energy to life; and the thought that our labour tends in some way to the benefit of others makes the rolling years endurable. The surest way to reap all the enjoyment we can out of life is to take a kind of sentimental pleasure in sorrow and suffering, as giving a mysterious grandeur to the soul.

Such are the moral and religious lessons which Mr. Lewes learns from Göthe. They are taught also by George Eliot. With her, doctrines are but names for sentiments, beliefs are only useful to turn feelings into energies, and faith is an "illusion." To her mind, the substance of every religion is the same; there is the same meaning at the bottom of all Christian sects, and that one meaning is, love to man—a tender, self-sacrificing love, which embraces a life of labour and sorrow for no other reason than to comfort the sorrowful and to aid those who are in want. Like Göthe, she desires to expose the deep misery of the vacillating purpose, and the inevitable wretchedness that follows not vice only, but even imprudence; to preach the doctrine of renunciation; to hold up the labour which works for man as our highest occupation; and to exhibit the mighty effects of the sacrament of sorrow. All these doctrines are not only indicated symbolically as in *Faust*, but are preached in clear aphorism, *more suo*, by George Eliot.

That which gives the religious charm to George Eliot's novels is the way in which she handles the doctrine of renunciation and self-sacrifice for the benefit of others. In this she speaks as a Christian, even as a Catholic; for as the atheistical Buddhism is the most moral, spiritual, and pietistic of all the religions of paganism, so is the atheistical religion of the positivists the most like Christianity. It is indeed a Christian anthropology, without the basis of Christian theology. We may illustrate this by the persevering way in which George Eliot inculcates confession. Confession to a clergyman is the crisis in the psychological development of Tina in *Gilfil*, and of Janet in the third tale. In *Adam Bede* the whole chain of sin and shame fails of prevention, because Arthur fails in

his resolution to confess to the vicar ; a weakness which the author attributes to the fact that he attempted to do so at the breakfast-table instead of in a confessional. In the next tale the confession of Maggie to Dr. Kenn has not the same organic relation to the story ; its introduction, therefore, shows how important the author considered it for the moral development of her heroine. In *Silas Marner* and *Romola* the moral lesson is the evil of concealment, the brood of sins which a guilty secret generates in the soul, and the doctrine that "the contaminating effect of deeds often lies less in the commission than in the consequent adjustment of our desires—the enlistment of our self-interest on the side of falsity ; as, on the other hand, the purifying influence of public confession springs from the fact that by it the hope in lies is for ever swept away, and the soul recovers the noble attitude of simplicity." However indulgent George Eliot is to falsehood for a good purpose, she has no pardon for lies told to conceal a crime.

But though she is attracted to Catholicism by its moral side—probably for Feuerbach's reason, because it attaches itself to the sufferings of Christ through sympathy, while Protestantism attaches itself to His merits, and merely rejoices over instead of compassionating His sufferings—she has no faith in any one of its dogmas. She delights to show how these dogmas, whatever power they have at certain times over the feelings, are evanescent in their influence, and how faith, instead of being unchangeable, is a most variable and fanciful illusion. She quizzes religion by the irony with which she makes the self-sacrificing resolution of Tryan gradually, in the last weeks of his life, soften before the dark eyes of Janet, and the unlike devotion of Dinah find an appropriate consummation in matrimony. Marner loses his faith simply by a trust in a special providence, and becomes an infidel when the lots go against him. The final disgrace of Fra Girolamo springs from his rash acceptance of a miraculous ordeal which he shirks. The moral is, that he who expects a natural law to be set aside in order to vindicate any cause, however holy and however religious, embraces a degrading superstition, exciting hopes the inevitable disappointment of which leads men into desperation and atheism. The principle implied is, when absolutely stated, inconsistent with a religion founded on miracle, with the belief in a personal Providence, or in any other God than the system of the Universe.

There is no doubt that the humanitarianism so eloquently and warily inculcated by George Eliot responds to a feeling of modern days. Our forefathers thought that the first duty of man was to vindicate God, to put the perjurer and blasphemer

to death. We leave God to take care of Himself; and we feel, if we do not say, with the poet,

“But I, I sympathise with man, not God.”

They tolerated vice if it were covered with the robe of religion, and forgave the “*mœurs souterraines*” of a novel on the strength of its “*opinions supercélestes*.” We, on the other hand, tolerate pantheism, and atheism itself, if it comes to us in the garb of self-sacrifice, renunciation, and universal charity. We forget that such an unnatural union cannot last long; that the real object of all perversions of religion is to find a substitute for a violated morality; that, in the long-run, the denial of God and the soul, and the indifference to the next world, must make us luxurious in this, insensible to honour, and incapable of any great effort; that to substitute the temporal future of the race for our own eternal future as the motive of virtue, is a folly, because we cannot care much more for our remote posterity than for our remote ancestors.

But it does not follow, because the purpose of George Eliot is bad, that her books are altogether so. The best books, says Chamfort, do almost as much harm as good; conversely, the worst books may do some good as well as harm. Next to those who form the national taste and fix the national character, the greatest geniuses are those who corrupt them. For if they choose their side like fanatics, they are apt to defend it like philosophers; and the worse their cause is, the better must their reasons be. Again, there are well-disguised wickednesses, as there are well-dressed wicked men; and the more monstrous the wickedness the philosopher has to recommend, the more impervious will be the disguise in which he wraps it up. There is a limit beyond which this process defeats itself; the philosopher grows too cunning to be understood, and the disguise is more wholesome than the well-concealed purpose is deleterious. Thus it is with George Eliot's novels. The positive good of her sensible ethics outweighs the negative evil of her atheistic theology; and her books may be read not only with pleasure and profit, but—unless the reader is possessed by squint suspicion—without a conception of the hidden meaning which lies under their plot, their dialogue, and their characters.

THE FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH COUNTIES.

MORE than a hundred and fifty years ago Oxford turned out a succession of scholars who, with great zeal and ability, commenced the investigation of the ancient language and literary monuments of the country. In 1688 Hickes, the Non-juror, published his *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon and Mæso-Gothic languages*. Edmund Gibson, a poor scholar at Queen's, fresh from Westmoreland, was led by the work of Hickes to these patriotic but extra-academical studies, and in virtue of his edition of 1692 may almost be called the discoverer of the famous Saxon Chronicle. At any rate, he made it in his own day effectually known to his countrymen; and when Teutonic studies revived among us in the present century, the work of the young scholar, who afterwards rose to the see of London, was felt to be a real help in the enquiry. Hickes again, in 1705, published his bulky *Thesaurus Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium*, containing, besides the Grammar above mentioned, a number of original documents in prose and verse, many of which cannot now be met with elsewhere, with numerous engravings and facsimiles, and learned dissertations, not even yet utterly obsolete, on the philology and numismatics of the northern nations. Somner and Lye, both Oxford men, of whom the first lived somewhat before, the other a little after, the period of which we are speaking, compiled Anglo-Saxon lexicons which, though they show little critical power, are most valuable as repertoires of materials.

But the flame which these men kindled died out; it would be difficult to say why. Perhaps the tendencies of Pope were right. It was as if he said to the literary men of his day, "This English tongue of ours is still rough, and in some sense cross-grained and awkward to use; keep on for the present grinding, and rubbing, and polishing; learn thoroughly what the great ancients, through their more perfect instruments of expression, accomplished, and endeavour to naturalise their free, graceful, and flowing manner; when this is done, it will be time enough to apply your perfected instrument to the elucidation of the proceedings of our barbarian forefathers." This may or may not be the true explanation; but the fact remains that after the death of Hickes these studies were gradually neglected. Horne Tooke, in his strange book the *Epea Pteroenta*, showed that he possessed a considerable acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon, as well as other Teutonic languages; but etymology with him was

merely a handle for introducing his own heterodox notions in morals and politics to popular acceptance. Three generations passed ; the works of our great prose-writers in the last century made English a classic tongue ; our literature, too, had in every department its standard and classical productions. English culture had become an assured fact, connected with, yet distinct from, the general culture of Europe ; the true principles of criticism, anticipated by Vico, had been developed and applied by a hundred learned Teutons ; and the time was come when, with ampler means and wider views, the enquiry into the life and doings of the Teutonic colonisers of this island might be taken up at the point where it had been left by the disputatious Non-juror and the eager scholar of Queen's.

Oxford again led the way, with the valuable edition of the Saxon Chronicle, published by Dr. Ingram, President of Trinity College, in 1823. In this edition all the known manuscripts are carefully described, and the results of their collation are given in the notes ; an English translation accompanies the text in parallel columns, and the whole work is judiciously and copiously indexed. Between 1830 and 1840 Bosworth published the first edition of his Dictionary ; Thorpe translated from the Danish Erasmus Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar,—the best that we possess ; and John Mitchell Kemble published, in two small volumes, first the text, and then a translation, of the poem of Beowulf. Another industrious worker in the same field has been Mr. Wright, though perhaps his labours have been chiefly productive for the three centuries succeeding the Conquest. Between 1839 and 1848 the Historical Society enabled Kemble to publish, in six octavo volumes, the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*,—a work of really incalculable value. It contains many hundred charters (what we should now call grants or conveyances), transferring lands, in the majority of cases, from the hands of kings or bishops to those of ecclesiastical persons or corporations. Besides the illustration or correction which our early history receives from the occasional notices occurring in the body of the charters, the statements of *boundaries* which accompany a large proportion of the grants must, when thoroughly examined, throw a flood of light not only on the external aspect and condition of the country a thousand years ago, but also on the local history of many districts in later times ; since the comparison of the state of things now existing with that—often singularly different—which existed at the date of the charter will often lead to probable hypotheses as to the intervening changes, with the steps and causes of them. Nor should we pass over Dr. Lappenberg's History of England, published in 1834, and afterwards translated by Mr.

Thorpe, in which there is an excellent literary introduction,—a preliminary too often neglected among ourselves,—bringing together all the original authorities, and estimating their respective value and credibility. Mention should also be made of the many useful publications by which Mr. Thorpe himself has so largely promoted the spread of Anglo-Saxon studies. But more important than any work hitherto named is Kemble's last considerable publication, *The Saxons in England* (1849). This work is indeed unequal: the arrangement and connection of parts are defective; and a certain tendency may be noted to present probable or tenable hypotheses as if they were statements of actual facts; but, with all drawbacks, it must be held more than any other to introduce to us our rugged forefathers as they really were;—to show, with far greater clearness than had ever been done before, what, on earth or in heaven, they loved and revered; what were their ideas of justice, and how they gave effect to them; what of freedom, and how they guarded it; how they shared out and dealt with the land which they had won; how they welcomed and established the religion which Rome sent among them. From this gifted man, who had the imagination of a poet and the intellectual breadth of a philosopher, his country might have hoped for many more services in the department to which he had devoted his energies; but he was suddenly and prematurely cut off while on a visit to Dublin in 1857.

The list of works just given—to which many others might have been added—proves how popular the study of our Teutonic antiquities has become in this country. Relying upon this pre-existing interest, we proceed to investigate a portion of the field, in which Kemble's labours are of the highest value, yet in which, as it seems to us, he has been disposed to theorise a little too rashly. Our special subject is the formation of the English counties; but, in order to be intelligible, it is necessary to begin further back, and try to conceive, with the scanty documentary aid that has come down to us, the manner in which the Saxon colonisation was effected.

At what time the people living on both banks of the Elbe near its mouth, as well as in Schleswig, and probably Jutland, first began to make permanent settlements on the shores of Britain, is a point which we shall never know with certainty; but it is now generally thought that such settlements were formed long before the date of Hengist and Horsa. In the *Notitia Imperii*, a sort of gazetteer drawn up about the time of the great Theodosius, a "Comes Saxonici littoris" is mentioned among other high functionaries in Britain. If by "littus Saxonicum" were certainly meant "the shore inhabited by the

Saxons," no further argument would be needed; but it is not quite certain that the title may not have borne a sense analogous to that of "Warden of the Scottish Marches," so that it would mean "Count of the shore exposed to the attacks of the Saxon pirates." Nor, on the whole, does it seem likely that the Romans, who were masters of the sea as well as of the land, would have allowed any immigration of Saxon tribes into Britain during the period of their occupation. Of such movements, whatever might be their motive, Roman governors and generals were always extremely jealous: witness the driving-back or extermination of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri by Cæsar, when they had crossed the Rhine, and were attempting to settle in Gaul; and his, as it appears to us, cruel and wanton persecution of the Helvetii for having quitted their mountain-valleys in search of a more spacious and fertile territory. At any rate, the point is of no great consequence. It is possible that parts of the eastern coast may have been seized and colonised by Saxons immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman armies; it is certain that an element of fable is present in the traditionary accounts of the later occupation which we find in Beda and the Saxon Chronicle. Nevertheless, it cannot reasonably be doubted that the hundred years between the middle of the fifth and the middle of the sixth century was the period in which the colonisation of England by Teutonic tribes was substantially effected.

To these tribes Beda gives the names of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Much has been written—and to no great purpose, as yet—on the difficult question, how far these differences of name involved differences of language and national character; but thus much is clear,—that the language of the new-comers, taken as a whole, occupied a position between the Germanic and the Scandinavian tongues. This is just what the geographical position of their continental home, between Germany and Denmark, would lead us to expect. The Anglo-Saxon had not, indeed, the passive form of the verb, nor the curious Scandinavian formation by which the definite article *follows* and coalesces with its substantive; in these points it was Germanic; but in several words, and those of daily use, it agreed with the Scandinavian, and differed from the Germanic tongues. Thus the Anglo-Saxon *cwén*, *heafod*, *treow*, *wudu*, *winge*, *syllan* (English *queen*, *head*, *tree*, *wood*, *wing*, *sell*) correspond with the Danish *kone*, *hovèd*, *træ*, *ved*, *vinge*, *salge*; the Anglo-Saxon *bletsian* or *bles-sian* (English *bless*) corresponds with the Icelandic *blessa*: in all these cases the Germanic words are entirely different.¹

What manner of men were these Saxons or Angles to look

¹ *Haupt* is no doubt cognate to *heafod*, but has a secondary and figurative meaning.

at? Fair-haired, blue-eyed, strong, and tall: such was certainly the general type. Tacitus² speaks of the “truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ” of the Germans in general. Cæsar, speaking of the Suevi,—a German nation, inhabiting what is now Westphalia,³—says that their diet, their incessant activity, and the freedom of their life, nourish their strength, and cause them to be of huge stature: “immani corporum magnitudine.” There are many other testimonies to the same effect.

Did they bring their wives and children with them to their new home across the water, as the English do now when they go to Canada or New Zealand; or did they, like the Spaniards in Mexico, freely take wives to themselves of the women of the country? They brought their wives with them: such seems to have been always the Teutonic custom. Cæsar tells us that the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, when they crossed the Rhine with the design of settling in Gaul, were accompanied by a multitude of women and children: “cum omnibus suis domo excesserant, Rhenumque transierant.”⁴ So in the first book⁵ we read of the women who, weeping and with dishevelled hair, entreated the soldiers of Ariovistus, as they passed by them to the battle, not to allow them to be dragged into slavery by the Romans. It happens that from this passage a direct inference can be drawn as to the conduct of the Anglo-Saxons under like circumstances. For among the seven nations who are mentioned by Cæsar as arrayed under the banners of Ariovistus, and who had emigrated from Germany with him, the first-named are the Harudes. Now these Harudes (from an old High-German word, *harud* or *hart*, meaning “forest”) are identified by Grimm⁶ with the Holtingos (a word of like import, from *holz*, English *holt*), by which name, at a later period, were designated the people of Holstein, the cradle of the Angle race. Even the Danish pirates, whose chief object was plunder, brought their wives with them on their visits to our coasts, as we learn from two passages in the Saxon Chronicle, under the years 894 and 896. Indeed, the veneration which the Germanic races paid to their women was of so enthusiastic a character that it must have made the thought of intermarrying with the daughters of an alien people repulsive to all their deepest feelings. The “worship of woman” has been zealously preached by Celtic theorists in our own day;⁷ but the idea is Teutonic. “They deem a certain sanctity, and mysterious prophetic insight, to reside in their women; they neither despise their counsels, nor disregard their oracular utterances.

² *Germ.* iv.

³ *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 14.

⁵ Chap. li.

⁶ See *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1850-1860, p. 314.

⁷ By Michelet and Auguste Comte, for instance.

In the time of his late sacred majesty Vespasian, we have seen how Velleda long passed among the greater part of them for a goddess. But even long ago, Auriuia and many others were venerated by them, yet neither from flattery, nor with any idea of enrolling them among the gods."⁸

How were these invading Teutons officered, and upon what principle were their forces marshalled? The Saxon Chronicle describes Hengist and Horsa by the name "Here-toga" (Germ. *herzog*, literally army-leader), and Cerdic and Cynric, the founders of Wessex, by that of "ealdormen." In the conception of the chronicler it is evident that none of the leaders of the immigration were kings before the expeditions sailed; but that they assumed the royal title as soon as they had firmly established themselves in Britain. So Ariovistus, after settling with his followers in Gaul, assumed the title of king, though that title is said by Tacitus to have been naturally repugnant to a German ear;⁹ and Cæsar tells us that, in his time, regular and permanent monarchy was unknown among them.¹⁰ Whether they were merely powerful thanes in their own country, or members of the comitatus, or following, of their respective sovereigns, we cannot tell; but the latter seems most probable. The feudal relation of lord and vassal flourished among the Germans in the time of Tacitus;¹¹ the intervening centuries had doubtless strengthened and extended that relation; and a powerful *gesith* (so were the comites, or liege-men, called) could not be better provided for than by sending him to wrest a slice of the fair lands of Britain from its cowardly and worthless inhabitants.

In the rank and file of the emigration, the chief principle of order and arrangement was undoubtedly the family bond. The battalions of a Saxon army were not numerical aggregates, composed of any recruits that offered; nor were they, except accidentally, local corps, like the old London train-bands, raised from a particular town or district; they were, like the Highland clans, or the Albanian pharas, bands of men all connected together by the ties of more or less distant relationship, and probably bearing a common name. Upon this point the language held by Tacitus is explicit: "Nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates."¹² Cæsar also speaks of the "gentes cognationesque," who cultivated the lands allotted to them in common. Thus the inhabitants of each vicus or mark originally formed one kin-ship or gens; and this tie of blood was not obliterated, or even much impaired, for many

⁸ Tac. Germ. viii.

⁹ "Regis nomen invisum." *Annales*, ii. 44.

¹⁰ "In pace nullus communis est magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt." *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 22.

¹¹ *Germania*, 13, 14.

¹² *Ib.* 7.

generations. These kin-ships were called by patronymic names: thus in *Beowulf* we meet with *Wioingas*, *Brondingas*, *Brentingas*, and *Wylfingas*, meaning the sons or kindred of *Wio*, *Brond*, *Brent*, and *Wulf*, *ing* being the patronymic termination, and *as* the nominative plural inflection. What we should call in these days a colonising mania seized upon the Angles; they deserted their native seats in Schleswig-Holstein *en masse*; the country which they had occupied was lying waste in the time of Beda; and when the Britons had been sufficiently beaten and driven away, a large number of victorious clans or kin-ships must have been ready to step into the possession of the lands of the conquered, as soon as the allotment should take place.

But besides these gatherings of trooped kinsmen, we cannot doubt that another description of force—in many respects a more effective one—was at the command of the leaders of the emigration. This consisted in their respective followings, the trains of *gesiths*, who were bound to them for life and death, and must do their bidding, recklessly and blindly, without asking questions. The actual course which things would probably take is suggested by a passage of Cæsar:¹³ “When any chief has declared in council that he is ready to be a leader [upon an expedition], that all who desire to follow him may declare their intention so to do, all those who like the service and the man start up, and promise their aid, and are applauded by the throng. *If any among these desert the undertaking, they are esteemed no better than deserters and traitors, and no reliance is placed upon them ever afterwards.*”

Here we have already the germ of the relation between lord and liegeman, which in the time of Tacitus was much further developed. Then it was “disgraceful for a chieftain to be surpassed in valour, and no less disgraceful in a *comitatus* to fall short of the valour of its head. Life-long infamy was the portion of him who retreated safely out of a conflict in which his chief had fallen. The most solemn engagement which they knew was that which bound the follower to defend and watch over his lord, and even to desire that his own feats of arms should but redound to the other’s glory. The chieftains fought for victory, the followers for their chieftain.” The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755, records a tragedy which, in some of its circumstances, remarkably illustrates the words of Tacitus. Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons, was surprised by Cyneheard, his relative, in a house where he had gone upon a visit, and was slain. The king’s thanes rushed in to his defence; but too late. Cyneheard then offered them life and lands if they would condone the deed; but they rejected his offer, and died fighting to a man. In the morning,

¹³ *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 22.

the remainder of the king's thanes and followers heard of what had happened, and marched to attack Cyneheard. To these again he offered their own choice of money and lands if they would grant him the kingdom, adding that many of their own relatives were with him. But they said that no relative was dearer to them than their lord, and that they would never follow his murderer. On the other hand, their relatives refused for the same reasons to desert Cyneheard; and all, except one, fell with him in the battle that ensued.

As, therefore, we know from Tacitus that this institution of personal allegiance was vigorous in Germany in the first century, and find from the record just quoted that it was in full force among the West Saxons in the eighth, we may conclude with certainty that in all the intervening time it was one of the chief forces in Teutonic society. If so, the leaders of the emigration to Britain had each his band of devoted followers, who would be sure to vie with each other in deeds of perilous daring, and to whom, when the enemy was completely humbled, their lord would have to assign substantial rewards, in the shape of booty, lands, or posts of trust. Kemble has overlooked this class of settlers. He can see only the *mægða*, or kin-ships, settling on lands assigned to them by patriarchal kings; these lands formed into regular *marks*, according to old Teutonic custom; the *marks* gradually coalescing in *gás*, or federations of marks; the *gás* at a later period arbitrarily re-distributed into *shires* by powerful princes, just as Charlemagne dealt with the German *gaus*.¹⁴ This historic picture is beautifully elaborated by Kemble, who was a man of true genius and imagination; but, for reasons presently to be given, we doubt whether he has assigned its due influence to the feudal or quasi-feudal element which was present and active in Anglo-Saxon society from the first.

Let us now suppose a hundred years to have gone by since the first landing of Teutons on the Isle of Thanet. By that time the greater part of Kent and the Isle of Wight had been colonised by Jutes; Saxons had spread themselves over Sussex, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, and had occupied Essex and Middlesex; Angles had established themselves in Norfolk and Suffolk, in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. The miserable Britons were being continually pushed northwards by the West Saxons, and westwards by all the other colonists. Was there any general plan upon which this great colonising operation proceeded; and if so, is it possible now to ascertain its nature?

The common histories furnish no answers to these questions; but Kemble, in his admirable chapter on "The Mark," has undertaken the task, and, in a great measure, accomplished it success-

¹⁴ See Müller's *Deutsche Stämme*, iv. 14.

fully. He has shown that the different kin-ships, so soon as the old occupiers were routed out, were settled each upon its own portion of arable lands, with the woods, fens, pastures, &c. thereto appertaining. This home of a Teutonic community, enthroned amid the rich corn-bearing slopes and green level meadows of some river-valley; the houses of the colonists, standing on some rounded eminence where the ground was dry, and yet springs were plentiful; the nearer woodland on the hill-side, with its gnarled oaks, giving pasture to numerous swine; the less disturbed forest higher up, giving cover to various wild animals, and stretching up to the water-shed,—perhaps a barren heath, or a chalk down, or a rocky fell, or the unbroken forest still,—where the mark terminated, and the territory of the mark in the neighbouring parallel valley began;—this picture, every feature of which, where it needs it, may be verified by an appeal to copious documentary evidence, can easily be reproduced to the imagination of him who, walking on a summer's day round the boundaries of some old slumbering country parish,—boundaries which can often be proved to coincide with those of Saxon marks,—observes how beautifully adapted are the different portions of its territory to the supply of all the primary wants of human life.

The sites of the original marks may, as Kemble thinks, be very generally inferred from the presence of the syllable *ing* in English names of places. Thus, Mallingas (Malling in Kent), a place mentioned in a Saxon charter,¹⁵ is inferred to be the mark the lands of which were allotted at the original distribution to the Mallings, or kindred of Mall. A considerable number of names of places (Steyning, Bocking, Ealing, Halling, Epping, Gidding, Harling, Reading, &c.) are thus supposed to have a purely patronymic significance, and to point out in each case the site of the original allocation of lands to the Stænningas (kindred of Stæna), Bocingas (kindred of Boca), and so on. It appears to be a rule without an exception, that all places having names thus derived either stand upon, or are in the immediate neighbourhood of, extensive tracts of good land. Indeed, it would be inexplicable if the fact were otherwise; for colonists in a country of which only the best portion has been reclaimed, and who have expelled the native inhabitants even from that portion, will take care that the lines shall fall to them in pleasant places, and will leave all poor and hungry soils, much more the marshes, heaths, moors, and fells, to be occupied by those who come after them. We may draw, therefore, the practical inference that the owner of land near Bealings, or Packington, or Aldingham, or any place whatever involving the patronymic syllable, is likely, *cæteris paribus*, to be better off than the owner of an equal

¹⁵ *Codex Dipl.* no. 240.

quantity of acres near a Heathfield, or a Morley (Moor-ley), or a Puckeridge.

Many questions suggest themselves in connection with these patronymic place-names, which cannot be here discussed. Why, for instance, do these pure patronymic names occur so much more frequently in the eastern and south-eastern counties than in other parts of England? How comes it that while in a number of cases they have held their ground as local denominations to the present time, in a far larger number they are compounded with some locally descriptive termination, as in Oddinga-lea (Oddingley, in Worcestershire), Sempinga-ham (Sempring-ham, in Lincolnshire), and Cateringa-tun (Catherington, in Hampshire)? For answering these and many similar questions, the materials probably exist; for our present purpose it is sufficient to have proved the general statement, that the presence of the syllable *ing*, in an English place-name, if possessing a patronymic force,¹⁶ points out all over England the situation of the primitive settlements of the Teutonic population. The pure patronymic (*e.g.* Malling¹⁷) implies the whole tract of land assigned in the original division to the warriors who formed the kindred of Mæl or Mælla, and constituting their mark. The patronymico-descriptive names—such as EATINGTON in Warwickshire, or ARLINGHAM in Gloucestershire—imply that the actual work of colonisation is in progress; they show us the *tun*, or clearing, of the kindred of Eata, carved out of the encircling forest, and the *home* of the Arlingas, that is, the collection of their mud-huts and wood-cabins, placed upon the highest and driest ground to be found within their mark, whence they issued to their field-work by Severn stream in the morning, and to which they returned at night. The next class, that of personal descriptive names,—such as LILLESHALL, ADISHAM (Edes-hám), and LULLWORTH,—seems to point to a somewhat later period,

¹⁶ It is necessary to be on one's guard against assuming this point hastily, for the *ing* had several other meanings in Anglo-Saxon, and also occurs in many English place-names where it has no right to be. In such names as Ing-ham, Ing-atestone, &c., the *ing* signifies *meadow*. Sometimes, as Kemble remarks (i. 60, note), it signifies possession or belonging, as Folcwin-ing lond, the land of Folcwine. Sometimes, by a confusion between the ideas of descent and local belonging, it has the same force with *ensis* or *anus* in Latin: thus, Hohtúninga-meare means the mark of the Houghton-ings or people of Houghton; Micheminge-merke, the mark of the people of Mitcham. Kemble (i. 452) has wrongly assumed both these names to have patronymic significance. Again, in the place-names Abingdon, Assington (in Essex), Heddington (in Wiltshire), Huntingdon, and Seckington (in Warwickshire), the *ing* came to be inserted out of mere regard to euphony, the Saxon names being Æbban-dun, Assan-dun, Æðan-dun, Huntan-dun, and Seccan-dun. Kemble fell into error here; he inferred from Heddington and Seckington the existence of the ancient marks Heáfodingas and Secgingas. Compare the Sax. Chron. A.D. 755 and 878.

¹⁷ Mallingas, *Cod. Dip.* 240.

when individual character and energy came more into play, and, with the growing pressure of population, men began to wander into the "bush" in search of new sites for settlement; when some adventurous Lilla—perhaps the very man who gave his breast to the dagger of the assassin in defence of King Edwin¹⁸—struggling across the swampy plain to the north-east of the Wrekin, established himself on the commanding rocky hill which to this day bears his name; or when some Lulla may have received from a king of Wessex, in return for faithful service, a grant of lands for a *weorð* or manor on the Dorsetshire coast. The last class, that of purely descriptive names,—the Ashfords, Weybridges, Moretons, &c.,—became of course indefinitely multiplied as the country became more thickly settled,¹⁹ and would not admit of analysis within moderate compass.

Kemble gives a list of some six hundred patronymic names of marks, which he infers from the existing names of places in England. Some will be inclined to doubt the real patronymic character of this large number, because it will strike them that an extremely small proportion of them could have been formed from the common Anglo-Saxon names with which history makes us familiar. But this difficulty is dispelled by closer investigation. It is true that Ælfred, Egbert, Ethelwulf, Sigferth, Herebert, and indeed the whole class of historic names, do not admit of patronymics being formed from them. But upon inspection it will appear that each of these names consists of two parts,—a simple primitive name, and a qualifying or distinguishing term. Thus in Ælf-red, Ælf-gar, Ælf-ric, Ælf-sig, Ælf-wine, we have the simple name Ælf, and distinguishing affixes signifying counsel, defence, government, victory, and friendship. From the older name Ælf, the patronymic Ælf-ing, Ælf-ingas is readily formed, and the place-names Alvingham (in Lincolnshire), Alving-ton (in Devonshire), become at once intelligible. So in Os-wald, Os-bert, Os-ric, &c., we have

¹⁸ Sax. Chron. A. D. 626.

¹⁹ The suggestion may be hazarded, that an element which enters into the composition of several of these names has been hitherto misunderstood. The *gren*, *green*, or *grin*, in such names as Grendon, Greenwich, Grinstead, has always been understood to represent the Anglo-Saxon word *grêne*, *green*. But is it probable that the men of a rude time, when, as in the Homeric age, keenness and distinctness of perception made up for deficiency in reflective powers, should, in naming localities, make frequent use of a qualifying term which in this country and climate so little qualifies? Occasionally the notion of greenness may have been intended; but in the names of Greenwich, Greenham (in Berkshire and Somersetshire), Grendon (in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire), Gransden (in Huntingdonshire), and several others, is it not more likely that some lost Anglo-Saxon word is involved, corresponding to the German *gränze*, a border or limit? The notion of 'border-town,' 'border-hill,' &c., exactly suits the actual position of all the places named, which are close to the boundary-line of their respective counties.

the old name Osa (which actually occurs in the list of the bishops of Selsey, given by Florence of Worcester), and we then understand how Ossing-ton and Ose-by obtained their names. A long list of these older Saxon names might be partly compiled from the lists in Florence of Worcester, and from the *Codex Diplomaticus*, partly deduced from the newer compound names in the manner just explained; and it would then appear that a very large proportion of the patronymic place-names might be traced to simple names that are still producible. For instance, the Adding-tons and Adding-hams in various counties, the Alling-tons in Kent, Dorsetshire, &c., Bassing-bourne in Cambridgeshire, and Bassing-ham in Lincolnshire, Eating-ton in Warwickshire, Molling-ton in Cheshire, and Podding-ton in Bedfordshire (we are merely giving a small sample), may be respectively traced to the simple names Adda, Ælle, Bassa, Eata, Moll, and Podda—all which occur in the lists in Florence.

One more caution should be added. When *ings* takes the place of *ing*, one may feel certain that the name of an individual, not of a kin-ship, is intended. Thus Ettingsall (in Staffordshire) is a corruption of Etinges-hæl,²⁰ where Etinges is the genitive case *singular* of Eting. This rule is probably applicable to Billingshurst in Sussex, Billingsley in Shropshire, Hemmings-ton in Leicestershire, and many other places. Where the name of a kin-ship is intended, the possessive *plural* form is used, which ends in *inga* (Modinga-hám, Mæssinga-hám); and it is hardly conceivable that, in the process of abbreviation and corruption, an *s* should be introduced *de novo* into such words.

Leaving now the subject of the primary or mark organisation, we come to the secondary or Scír-organisation. Kemble, as was before intimated, is of opinion that the colonisation of England followed precisely the same course which the researches of German writers have shown to have prevailed in ancient Germany. He thinks that as in Germany several marks freely united to form a gau, which was a self-governed federation of free communities, and as this organisation extended through all the Teutonic lands on the Continent, so in England the marks were at first universally united in gás, although he admits that this organisation fell to pieces at a period anterior to historic record. Now, without disputing the possibility, or even the probability, of the partial establishment of gás in the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon settlement, it is necessary to point out how extremely unsubstantial is the evidence upon which Kemble's assumption rests. Nowhere throughout the Saxon Chronicle, nor in the most ancient charters, nor in the Saxon laws,

²⁰ *Cod. Dipl.* 329.

does the term *gás* occur. It is only found in a strange document of unknown date, which Kemble extracts from Spelman's Glossary, and which appears to be a list of territorial divisions, as existing in England at the time of its compilation, specifying the number of hides contained in each. Kemble appears to take this list for an imperfect "catalogue of the English *gás*," but as only two out of thirty-four divisions named in it are described as *gás* (*Noxga-gá* and *Ohtga-gá*), while others, such as *East Engle* and *West Seaxna*, represent large kingdoms, the natural inference would rather be that none of the divisions were considered by the writer as *gás* except the two so described. Besides this unintelligible document, there is absolutely no evidence other than that which the analogy of Germany supplies. This, however, does not amount to much. The rude republican equality which characterised the earliest-known society in Continental Germany, and with which the institution of the *gau* would naturally fit in, has little to correspond to it in the Anglo-Saxon system, at whatever stage or epoch we may view it. Colonists who have to fight their way inch by inch, against an equally civilised native population, cannot dispense with that military organisation which implies large powers in the central authority. When the Britons were subdued, the kingdoms which the different victorious chieftains had established on the ruins of the ancient system necessarily came into hostile collision; and to maintain his dignity or his independence, the Saxon was still obliged to entrust large power of government to his king. The very fact of the *Bretwalda*-ship, which is traced back to the fifth century, implying as it does a great accumulation of power in the hands of the *bretwalda* for the time being, seems inconsistent with the general institution of *gás*, which, according to the fundamental idea of them, were so politically independent, that Kemble "can imagine the *gá* . . . declaring war against a neighbour."²¹

Without, then, denying that the marks may in some parts of England, and under peculiar circumstances, have coalesced spontaneously into *gás*, though there is no direct evidence in favour of the assumption, it seems to us that the general set and spirit of the historical and other evidence suggest some such view as the following.

The first kings, in proportion as their people spread farther and farther from the seat of government, would appoint sub-kings,—sub-reguli, as Beda calls them,—to govern as tributary, but practically independent, rulers in the remoter districts. This state of things is described by Kemble in the following

²¹ Phillips, in his *Angelsächsisches Recht* (Göttingen, 1825), takes a similar view to that here given.

passage :²² "Among the territories which at one time or other were incorporated with the kingdom of Mercia, one is celebrated under the name of Hwiccas ; it comprised the then diocese of Worcester. This small province not only retained its king till a late period, but had frequently several kings at once ; thus, Osric and Oshere, Æðelweard, Æðelheard, Æðelric, and, in all probability, Oswudu, between A.D. 704-709. A few years later, viz. between 757 and 785, we find three brothers, Eanberht, Ealdred, and Uhtred, claiming the royal title in the same district ; while Offa, their relative, swayed the paramount sceptre of Mercia. That other parts of that great kingdom had always formed separate states, is certain ; even in the time of Penda (who reigned from 626 to 656) we know that the Middle Angles were ruled by Peada, his son, while Merewald, another son, was king of the West Hecan, or people of Herefordshire. In the important battle of Winwidfeld, where the fall of Penda perhaps secured the triumph of Christianity, we learn that thirty royal commanders fell on the Mercian side. Under Æðilred, Penda's son and successor, we find Beorhtwald calling himself a king in Mercia. During the reign of Centwine in Wessex, we hear of a king, Baldred, whose kingdom probably comprised Sussex and part of Hampshire ; at the same period also we find Æðilheard calling himself king of Wessex. . . . Friðuwald, in a charter to the monastery of Chertsey, mentions the following *sub-reguli* as concurring in the grant : Osric, Wighard, and Æðelwald."

These sub-kings must have been *gesiths* or *comites* of the paramount sovereigns ; and it is reasonable to suppose that they would have already received large grants of land in the districts placed under their authority. Let us, for the sake of clearness, imagine in a particular instance the manner in which the system would work. Many and various historical notices prove that Kent consisted of at least two kingdoms²³ down to a very late period, of which the capitals were at Canterbury and Rochester. Canterbury (*Cantwara-byrig*, the fortified city of the dwellers in Kent) was the abode of the paramount king of Kent ; the valley of the Stour, and the many fertile tracts between the Stour and the east coast, having doubtless been occupied very early by the Jute colonists. A broad sweep of comparatively undesirable land, much of which is woodland to this day, intervenes between the Stour and the Medway. This would be left by the early settlers nearly untouched ; and they would press on to the rich lands in the valley of the Medway. Here a large population would soon spring up, for which the natural capital would be Rochester, an old Roman port and station, where the navigation of the Medway commenced. Here we

²² *Saxons in England*, i. 149.

²³ Kemble, i. 148.

suppose our paramount king to place one of the most trusted and powerful of his gesiths, giving him the title of king, but reserving a tribute and the right of summoning him and his free-men to follow him in his wars. The boundaries of this petty kingdom would at first be in great measure undefined. To the north, the Thames offered a convenient frontier. To the east, the border settlers, advancing gradually towards each other from the Medway and the Stour, would, probably not till after some fighting and much wrangling, and many appeals to the witan of the two kingdoms, agree upon a boundary-line. The same process would go on on the side of Sussex and Surrey; and a compromised frontier would at last be agreed on, such as we find it at the present day. The men of Sussex would be suffered to retain a portion of the land upon the head waters of the Medway and its affluents, which they would perhaps have reached from the Rother sooner than the Kentishmen pressing up the Medway; while barren hills and heaths would form a natural march on the side of Surrey, with the exception of an encroachment of the latter, at its south-east corner, into the Medway basin.

Such subordinate kingdoms were long permitted to exist by the Romans under their paramount rule, as that of Hiero in Sicily, and the tetrarchies in Palestine; for while their administrative system was yet imperfect, the arrangement saved them trouble. But it was inevitable that these petty sovereigns should ultimately be swept away in the advancing tide of imperialism and centralisation. A similar arrangement used to form one of the regular stages in the deglutition of an Indian principality by the East-India Company. When the Company felt itself strong enough to interfere, but not as yet to assume the entire government, it used to secure the succession to the throne of a competitor won over to favour its interests; the "protected sovereignty" lasted for a while, but was swallowed up by the Company as soon as the administrative difficulty had been overcome through the general expansion of its governmental system. Even so, it was not in the nature of things that the petty kings whom we read of in Kent and Mercia and Wessex should preserve their thrones in face of the gradual consolidation of the monarchies to which they respectively belonged, any more than it was possible that when one of those monarchies had obtained a decided start over the rest in policy, population, and resources, it should not absorb them within itself. As early as the year 800, we learn from an entry in the Saxon Chronicle that kings had ceased to reign among the Hwiccas; in that year they were governed by an caldorman, acting under Cynwulf king of Mercia. This substitution of caldormen for kings marks the

rise of that shiral organisation which, with comparatively trifling modifications, prevails over England at this day. After explaining a few of its original fundamental relations, we shall be in a position to speculate, with the aid of the existing county geography and such imperfect documentary evidence as we possess, on the various modes in which our counties assumed their present shape.

The ealdorman was the head of the shire, for civil, military, and judicial purposes. The office was certainly not hereditary, though in the later Saxon reigns, particularly under the weak and vicious Ethelred, it tended to become so. The king, we find, could depose an ealdorman; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that he could also appoint one. They were frequently near relations of the king, and would probably be in every case members of his comitatus. When the ealdormen succeeded to the petty kings, it seems that in some cases the shires over which they ruled were smaller, and in some cases larger, than our present counties.²⁴ Thus we have no reason to believe that the kingdom of the Hwiccas, when it first passed to an ealdorman about the year 800, was at that time divided into the present minor districts of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. In Kent, on the other hand, the ealdormen who succeeded the kings ruled each over a fraction of the present county. This would be very much an affair of population; the divisions would be small when the population was dense, and large when it was scattered. But when Kemble, contrasting the shire with his imaginary *gá*, speaks of it as²⁵ "a political division," "without peculiar individual character of its own or principle of internal cohesion," a protest must be entered against language which, while it would suit well enough the formal parallelograms or rhombs, called states and counties, into which the Americans map out their territory, cannot truly be applied to the formation of our English shires. The geographical argument, as we shall presently see, tells against the theory of arbitrary delimitations.

To return, however, to the ealdorman. It was his business twice in the year, after Easter and Michaelmas, to hold the shire-mót, or county court, in which he and the bishop presided with equal jurisdiction. This assembly exercised both administrative and judicial functions. In its administrative capacity it represented the whole landed property of the shire, and there-

²⁴ The word ealdorman is used in two senses in the Saxon Chronicle: for the governor of a province, comprising many shires (*e. g.* Edric ealdorman of Mercia, A.D. 1007); and, in a stricter and lower sense, for the head of a shire. After the reign of Canute, the word "*eorl*," earl, is similarly employed; Godwin is Earl of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent, and all his sons are earls under him.

²⁵ Vol. i. p. 87.

fore required the attendance of all the great proprietors, either in person or by approved deputies. By it questions of disputed boundary between mark and mark, which the inferior courts had been unable to arrange, were examined and settled ; and it would certainly also have to deal with that still more important class of questions which related to the boundaries between its own and adjoining shires. Such questions would be continually arising, owing to the want (which of course in those days it was impossible to supply) of a survey of the territory previous to settlement. A settler in one county in America does not encroach upon the land in an adjoining county, even though unoccupied, because certain *blazed* lines in the forest, cut by the government surveyors, prescribe to him the limits beyond which he may not pass. But, in the absence of a previous survey, every border thane would push his occupation as far as he could ; and when the herdsmen met in the woods, the only peaceable mode of arranging antagonistic claims was by appeal to some higher authority. Such an authority was found in the shire-mót, and, probably, in the last resort, in the witena-gemót of the kingdom.

But upon what principle was the site of this important central authority in each shire determined ? Generally upon that of placing the government as nearly as possible in the centre of the rural population which it had to govern. Large seaport towns, having a distinct municipal government of their own, were left out of the account ; thus Gloucester was fixed on as the shire capital without reference to Bristol, and Winchester without reference to Southampton. In a country where much of the surface is still uncultivated, the population only gathers thickly where the land is good. Thus the fertile plain of the Severn all round Worcester must have been well peopled while the outlying parts of the county, about the Malvern Hills in one direction, the Bromsgrove Lickey in another, and the hilly district round Bewdley in a third, were still in a wild state. South of Worcester the Severn plain is much contracted, and it opens out again around Gloucester. Here, therefore, a second nucleus of population would be formed, and a second site be found for a shire capital. We know that while the Hwiccas constituted a kingdom, Worcester was its capital ;²⁶ here, therefore, the first ealdorman would hold his shire-mót. But as the population down the river increased, the Gloucestershire thanes would think it a hardship to bring their business to the court at Worcester, and they would at last solicit the King of Mercia to form a new shire, and appoint a new ealdorman over it. The new shire capital would be fixed at Gloucester, as the most central point

²⁶ *Florence of Worcester*, A.D. 717 ; and App., article "Hwiccia."

relatively to the existing population. And it results from what has been said, that long after the shires of Worcester and Gloucester had been constituted, the land on both sides of the border would in many parts be still a wilderness,—“No Man’s Land,” to use a phrase which still attaches to many a bleak moor and hill-top in England. For colonists in a new country select the good land and reject the bad by as sure an instinct as that which guides the bee in its rambles among the flowers. A few years ago the colony of Tasmania had a population of but seventy thousand souls, about half as many as the parish of Marylebone. Yet more than half of an island as large as Ireland was even at that time occupied in every part by this handful of settlers, in the sense that no considerable tract of good land, which had any possible means of communication with a market, was even at that time left uncultivated, though the fertile strips were often separated by miles and miles of “bush,” where the land was too poor to admit of profitable cultivation till the population had become greatly increased.

We can now understand the origin of the ragged edges which many of our county boundaries exhibit, the interlacings of the territory of adjoining shires, and the complete severance and isolation of portions of a shire in the midst of the lands of another. Boundaries are of three kinds,—natural, conventional, and artificial. The first comprise mountain and hill ranges, the sea and unfordable rivers, extensive marshes, and barren table-lands. The second, fordable rivers and streams, and preëxisting well-marked roads. The third, all boundaries that are marked by stones, poles, ditches, fences, &c., employed for that express purpose. Of the first kind our county boundaries present many instances. Such are the Malvern Hills between Worcestershire and Herefordshire, the Pennine Range between Lancashire and Yorkshire, the high mountains from Helvellyn to Wrynore Gap that part Westmoreland from Cumberland, the Thames between Kent and Essex, and the Humber between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. It depends, however, on the direction and position of a hill-range with reference to the county capital, whether it shall enter into the boundary or not. A range of hills occurring near the line of collision between the border settlers of two shires would, as the marches were gradually filled up, be willingly acquiesced in as the boundary; under other circumstances the stream of settlement would pass beyond it. When the borderers met in the midst of a cultivable country, the march would not be settled so easily. Individual energy would come into play; a bold and active settler would make a push in advance, now from one shire, now from the other; the lie of the ground would favour such squatting enter-

prises here, and impede them there; each shire-mót would sustain its own thanes; and the general result would be, to compromise matters by agreeing to take rivers and streams for the shire boundary, so far as their direction permitted, and to unite these conventional portions of the frontier by running artificially-marked lines across the intervening hills. The trouble of marking out such lines, and of keeping them up, would induce the selection of river and stream boundaries to the utmost extent possible. We find accordingly that water lines form by far the largest portion of the total length of shire boundary in England.

The inclusion of portions of some shires in others may be conceived to have arisen in various ways. A commanding hill, visible from afar across the marches, and offering a strong site for a castle, might be seized and fortified by an enterprising thane,—say from Worcestershire,—while the country round it, lying upon the whole more conveniently for the men of Staffordshire, would be gradually occupied by them. Such was perhaps the case with Dudley and its district, a piece of Worcestershire completely enclosed in Staffordshire. Dudley Castle, built on a high hill with abrupt sides, which, with reference to medieval warfare, constituted an almost impregnable position, is commonly said to have been “founded by Dodo or Dudo, a Saxon prince, by whom it was owned at the time of the heptarchy, and who built a castle here about the year 700.”²⁷ Such is the stuff which we are often called upon to take for history. This vague and worthless statement is taken from Camden, who gives no authority for it.²⁸ But it is highly probable that there was a castle here in the Saxon times; and if so, it must have been founded by a Worcestershire thane, whom, thus securely posted, Staffordshire, though she could cut off from his county, was never able to dislodge.

Such is a brief general theory of the manner in which the counties south of the Humber may be supposed to have attained to their present forms. It follows, if we adopt it, that in the order of history the county town precedes the county; the original shire was, in mathematical language, a function of its capital. According to the force and weight of the central authority repre-

²⁷ See Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, 1848. Yet, in spite of a few flaws, this work, in the form which it bears in the latest editions, deserves very high commendation for the completeness and value of the information it affords.

²⁸ The very name which suggested, really militates against it. Dudley is a corruption of Duddan-lege, that is, Dudda's lea. (The name Dudda or Dudd occurs both in the Saxon Chronicle and in Florence.) *Lea*, which means arable land lying fallow, must have originally referred, not to the rocky castle-hill, but to the land lying at its base, which was probably named from some Dudda, who first cleared and brought it into cultivation. Had not the locality already received its name when the castle was built, the name of the town would certainly have been Duddan-byrig, or Dudbury.

sented by the shire-mót, and summed up in the ealdorman, the shire would expand its borders at the expense of a weaker, or contract them under the pressure of a stronger, neighbour. It may not be without interest if we proceed to examine the known facts with respect to certain particular counties, or groups of counties, considering them in connection with the Saxon or Angle kingdoms, and taking them in the order in which those kingdoms were established.

Kent ceased to be a separate kingdom in 823, when it submitted to Egbert king of Wessex. But the shadow of royalty hung round it for some time; joined with Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, it was given by Ethelwulf as a dependent kingdom to his son Athelstan (A.D. 836), and passed to another son under the same conditions upon Ethelwulf's death, in 859. On this occasion it figures for the last time in the Saxon Chronicle as "*Cantwara-ric*," *kingdom* of Kent. But already in 851 it was governed by an ealdorman, Elchere, appointed by Athelstan; so that it had then sunk into the condition of a shire to all intents and purposes. Its boundaries had been fixed long before, while it was still a kingdom.

The small kingdom of Sussex, founded by Ælla in 477, maintained a hard struggle for independence against its powerful neighbour Wessex, to which, like Kent, it was finally annexed in 823. Its boundaries are to a large extent natural; it consists of the basins of the streams running out of the Weald into the English Channel between Romney Marsh and Havant. Its boundaries, like those of Kent, must have been fixed long before it became a shire. The shire capital in the Saxon times appears to have been Lewes, a town situated in the centre of the county. It was strongly fortified by Alfred, and Athelstan gave it the privilege of a royal mint.

Wessex, founded by Cerdic in 495, included all the counties south of the Thames and the Bristol Avon, except Kent and Sussex. The word *scír*, shire, appears to have originated in Wessex; at least the oldest document in which it occurs is the Laws of Ina, which date from about the beginning of the eighth century. It is in harmony with this that the county to which the Saxon Chronicle first gives the name of *scír* is Hampshire (A.D. 755), the oldest part of the kingdom of Wessex. It would not be difficult to trace the operation of the general causes before described as governing the formation of shires in regard to each county in Wessex, excepting Cornwall. The local names indicate that the West Saxons pushed their settlements across the Tamar; and a small shire seems to have been formed, including probably the land on both banks of the river, with Launceston for its capital, which is mentioned in King Alfred's will under the

name of Tricon-scire. But a considerable British population long held its ground in Devonshire, and even in the city of Exeter, till expelled from both by Athelstan in 926, who, according to William of Malmesbury, compelled all persons of British race to retire west of the Tamar, and fixed that river as their boundary. Cornwall has ever since retained the limits then assigned to it.

The student of political geography observes with interest that, whereas in all other parts of England the larger rivers run *through* counties, the Thames alone *borders* those counties of Wessex and Mercia which lie along its stream. The fact requires explanation; for in the natural course of colonisation the same body of settlers occupies both banks of a fordable river, and spreads itself to the natural boundaries on either side; and, having a common origin, they naturally fall under a common government. In the earlier times there are indications that the Thames was no exception to this rule. The West Saxons made conquests from the Britons in the sixth and seventh centuries, far to the north of the Thames; Aylesbury, Ensham in Oxfordshire, and Bedford, are said to have fallen into their hands, and they also penetrated some way into Gloucestershire. But as the Mercian kingdom grew stronger and more populous, the West Saxons were beaten back. After the middle of the seventh century we hear of successful Mercian raids into the southern shires, in one of which, in 661, the Isle of Wight was temporarily severed from Wessex and given to the King of Sussex. It seems clear that the result of the struggle was a compromise, by which the two kingdoms agreed to take the Thames as their common boundary. To this conclusion it is probable that the remembrance of the Roman practice contributed, the Thames having for many generations constituted the boundary between the provinces of Britannia Prima and Flavia Cæsariensis.²⁹

Essex was first colonised about the year 527. This small kingdom included the counties of Essex and Middlesex, and one half of Hertfordshire, clearly the eastern half, which is the basin of the Lea, and is separated by a high watershed from the basin of the Coln, which forms the western half. Essex seems to have been seldom, if ever, entirely independent. Of this the charter no. 52 supplies a remarkable proof. In it Suaebræd king of Essex, in the year 704, grants lands at Twickenham to Waldhere bishop of London; but, as if his act alone were insufficient to secure the title, the Comes Peogthath, "cum licentia regis Ethel-

²⁹ The Romans, in all parts of their empire, neglected the natural boundaries, and chose as the demarcations of provinces the sharply defined lines supplied by the courses of rivers. They cared little for the "holy bounds of property," but carefully defined the limits of power.

redi," king of Mercia, joins in the conveyance, which his father ratified by the signature of King Coenred, who succeeded Ethelred in this same year. The lands at Twickenham are said to be situated "in provincia quæ nun qu patur Middelseaxen." The Comes was without doubt the ealdorman of Middlesex, appointed not by Suaebæd, but by the paramount sovereign. Strange that "Twickenham in Middlesex" should have conveyed—so far as situation is concerned—precisely the same ideas to the English who lived eleven hundred years ago as to the English of this day! Many continental towns have had a name to live from a far remoter antiquity; but where can one be found which stood a thousand years ago in a little territory with the same boundaries and the same name at it bears in 1863?

The kingdom of East Anglia, which included Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire, was founded towards the close of the sixth century. The division into the provinces of North-folk and South-folk (though Kemble is wrong in supposing that it is not recognised in the Saxon Chronicle: see A.D. 1075) seems to have arisen late; the counties had not a separate government till after the Conquest. The history of East Anglia is nearly a blank in our annals; but in the formation of its counties the operation of the general causes above enumerated may be traced. Cambridgeshire, exclusive of the Isle of Ely, which had an independent jurisdiction, may be described as the basin of the Cam; to the north, and on the side of Bedfordshire, its boundaries are to a great extent natural; its capital, as in most cases, lay near the centre of the county.

Henry of Huntingdon, a monk of the twelfth century, is our earliest authority for the details of the colonisation of Mercia. He states that about the year 584 a body of Angles from Northumbria, under Crida or Creoda, crossed the Humber and laid the foundations of a new kingdom. The death of this Crida is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 593. These Angles probably pressed up the rich valley of Trent, leaving the greater part of Lincolnshire, with its inferior soils, unoccupied for a time. Penda, a fine honest old pagan, who succeeded to the Mercian throne in 626, was the first king of any note or influence. The stout old barbarian was a terrible scourge to the Christian kings of Northumbria and Wessex. He did not oppose the preaching of Christianity among his people, though he would not himself embrace it; but he utterly scorned those who had accepted the new religion, but did not fulfil the works and duties which their faith imposed on them. "They," he said, "were contemptible and wretched who did not obey their God in whom they believed."³⁰

³⁰ *Beda*, iii. 21.

It is nowhere stated what was the Mercian capital between 584 and 755.³¹ In the latter year a king of Mercia was buried at Repton, and under the year 874 Repton is distinctly named as the capital; probably therefore it was so from a remote period. Its position on the south bank of the Trent, near the great bend at Burton, by which the Northern were divided from the Southern Mercians,³² was as central as could be desired. We do not hear of shires in Mercia till after the year 1000; and though that is no proof that they had not been organised some time before that date, it seems probable that the word—which we have already seen grounds for believing is of West-Saxon origin—was not introduced into Mercia till after its thorough incorporation with Wessex. The earlier divisions mentioned, besides the South Humbrians or Northern Mercians, and the Middle Angles or Southern Mercians, are Lindisse, or Lindsey, the northern half of Lincolnshire, the kingdom of the Hwiccas, Peaclond in Derbyshire, and the Majesætas or people of Herefordshire. In the time of Alfred all that part of Mercia lying to the north and east of Watling Street and the river Lea was given over to the Danes, who had terribly ravaged the country for many years. Edward, Alfred's son, reëstablished the royal authority among the mixed population of Danes and Saxons, and placed Mercia under the rule of an ealdorman, Ethered, whose wife was Ethelfleda, Alfred's daughter. After her husband's death Ethelfleda became the lady of Mercia, and a right valiant and able lady she seems to have been. She removed the seat of government from Repton to Tamworth, about the year 913, evidently because, by the gradual settlement of Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, it was become more central than Repton. But the Danes, by fortifying five strong towns,—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, and Stamford,—known as the *fif-burgas*, maintained an *imperium in imperio* till 942, when these towns were reduced by Edmund, brother of Athelstane. In 1013 they fell into the hands of Sweyn, but were again recovered by Edmund Ironside in 1015. Up to this date we only hear of Lindisse in the Saxon Chronicle. But thenceforward that name disappears, and we only hear of Lincolnshire; from which we may perhaps infer that, when Lincoln and Stamford were recovered the second time, the former was made the shire capital, and the shire augmented by the annexation to it of Stamford and its territory.

It is impossible here to enter on the wide and intricate subject of the division of Northumbria into counties. Danish settlers; a Cymry remnant gallantly striving, but finally merged and lost;

³¹ In Murray's *Handbook for Oxfordshire* it is gravely asserted that *Oxford* became the capital of Mercia about the year 638.

³² *Beda*, iii. 2.

saints whose transcendental virtues moulded the rough world into new forms and institutions ; Norman kings exercising feudal acts of high supremacy ; border warfare carried on for ages between peoples, both “unknowing how to yield ;”—these and many other details would enter into the composition of that stirring picture. The history of Durham is a perfect romance, and might furnish matter for an article by itself. The relics of a man of God, who in his lifetime conquered desire, fear, pleasure, and pain, and gained the world’s enthusiastic admiration by despising the world, are dislodged from their first resting-place in Holy Isle by the dread of Danish pirates, are carried about hither and thither for a hundred and fifty years, and at last, not as was believed, without preternatural suggestion, are deposited by the winding Wear in a rude wooden chapel on the hill of Dunholme. Miracles are reported ; franchises and lands are given to the see—“all the country between Tees and Tyne” in one gift ; a noble cathedral rises ; the bishop begins to exercise quasi-regal powers, governing “by stole and sword ;” and the county palatine of Durham springs into existence.

These imperfect and fragmentary speculations must here be brought to a close. They will have answered their purpose if they deepen the conviction, which has for some time been gaining ground among the students of English history, that the period during which our Saxon and Angle forefathers were engaged, fighting and toiling onwards as best they could, in colonising this country, so far from meriting the scoff of Milton, deserves the warm interest of the patriot, and the earnest attention and investigation of the scholar.

DANTE AND HIS COMMENTATORS.¹

THE life of Dante is the life of the Italian Middle Ages, the history of a nation summed up in that of one man. The great poet is the type of a whole people, the personification of Italy itself, when Italy was the living centre of European civilisation, literature, science, and art. Dante, in fact, was much more than a poet; he was the founder of a literature, and the perfecter of a language; in part creating the materials with

¹ *Le prime quattro edizioni della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate per cura di G. G. Warren Lord Vernon.* Londra: T. e G. Boone, 1858.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna da Carlo Witte. Berlin: R. Decker, 1862.

Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola. . . . Commento Latino sulla Divina Commedia. . . . voltato in Italiano dall' Avvocato Giovanni Tamburini. Imola, 1855-6.

Comento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, pubblicato per cura di Crescentino Giannini. Pisa, 1858-62.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri col Comento di Pietro Fraticelli. Nuova edizione. Firenze, 1860.

Storia della Vita di Dante Alighieri compilata da Pietro Fraticelli. Firenze, 1861.

Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Alighieri proposto da Giambattista Giuliani. Firenze, 1861.

De' spiritali tre Regni cantati da Dante Alighieri nella Divina Commedia analisi per tavole sinottiche di Fortunato Lanci. Roma, 1855.

The Trilogy, or Dante's Three Visions, translated into English, with Notes and Illustrations, by the Rev. John Wesley Thomas. Inferno, 1859; Purgatorio, 1862. London: Bohn.

La Divine Comédie traduite, et précédée d'une Introduction sur la vie, la doctrine et les œuvres de Dante. Œuvres posthumes de F. Lamennais. Paris: Didier et Cie, 1862.

Memorie Storiche intorno a Francesca da Rimini raccolte dal Dottor Luigi Tonini. Rimini, 1852.

Francesca da Rimini, her Lament and Vindication, with a brief Notice of the Malatesti, by H. C. Barlow, M.D. London: David Nutt, 1859.

Il Conte Ugolino e l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri, a Sketch from the Pisan Chronicles, by H. C. Barlow, M.D. London: Trübner, 1862.

Il Gran Rifiuto, what it was, who made it, and how fatal to Dante Alighieri, by H. C. Barlow, M.D. London: Trübner, 1862.

The Young King and Bertrand de Born, by H. C. Barlow, M.D. London: Trübner, 1862.

Versuch einer blos philologischen Erklärung mehrerer dunklen und streitigen Stellen der göttlichen Komödie von Dr. H. G. Blanc. Die Hölle, 2 Heft. Halle, 1860-1.

Dante's Divina Commedia, translated, with Notes, by Mrs. Ramsay. Tinsley Brothers, 1862.

Vorträge und Studien über Dante Alighieri von C. F. Gœschel. Berlin, 1863.

which his noble edifice is built up. Embracing all the science of his day, he added observations and reflections of his own, which join his acquirements to those of the present time. On the great stage of human life he acted in reality those parts which others only imitate and imagine. His wisdom was that of a personal experience; and the lessons which he had learned in the world he transmitted as an heirloom to future ages, polished and perfected by that inexhaustible love of learning which had been his passion from a child. He gave his countrymen a language, a poetry, and a political principle. He gave a divided and distracted country a unity in himself, and thus laid the secure foundation for a subsequent union of Italians with one another. The *Divina Commedia* contains the creed of a self-regenerating Italy; and this will always be Dante's merit in the eyes of a discerning posterity.

Commentaries on this poem have a history of their own, which may be considered apart from the work they were intended to explain. Their existence dates from the death of Dante, or even before it. There is a foolish story, often repeated, of the poet, when about to quit Italy for France, in 1308, having consigned the first cantica to the hands of one Frate Ilario, of the monastery of Santa Croce del Corvo, at the mouth of the river Magra, a stranger to him, with a request that he would furnish it with such notes and explanations as it might seem to need, and then convey it, in the name of the author, to Uguccone della Faggiuola, podestà at Arezzo. This fiction, as old, it would appear, as the time of Boccaccio, a period to which other remarkable stories may be traced, shows the early existence of the belief that even Dante deemed some explanation of his meaning necessary. Pietro Fraticelli, in his recent *Storia della Vita di Dante Alighieri*, has revived this little romance, and given *in extenso* the letter of the friar to Uguccone, describing the interview with the poet, and the nature of his request, "That if I could attend to such studies, I would with brief notes explain the sense, and then, in this dress, transmit the work to you. The which, although I have not fully declared the meaning hidden beneath the veil of words, I have executed with fidelity and a willing mind." If this letter did not bear upon the face of it the evidence of having been fabricated for a specific purpose, the period assigned to the completion of the *Inferno* would alone suffice to condemn it. But obviously it is a mere invention. Ilario informs Uguccone that Dante desired him to say, should he wish some day to see the Purgatory and the Paradise, which were to follow the *Inferno*, he must ask the

Marquis Moroello Malaspina for the former, and with the illustrious Frederick, king of Sicily, he would find the latter. The Purgatory was not finished till 1314; and when Dante died, in 1321, the concluding cantos of the Paradise had not been seen. It is utterly impossible, therefore, that in 1308-9, when the Paradise was not composed,—for the poet had not yet completed his theological studies,—he should say that it would be found with the King of Sicily. Frederick, who survived Dante many years, never received from him any dedication whatever; nor did his political conduct deserve it.

In 1317 Dante dedicated the portion of his Paradise which he had completed to Can Grande della Scala, of Verona, imperial Vicar in Lombardy since 1312. In the memorable letter accompanying this dedication, he shows the principles on which his poem is to be understood, and the various meanings in which his words are to be taken; thus giving an outline plan of the manner of expounding it, of which the early commentators gladly availed themselves, completing the details as best they could.

This is the first and most authentic commentary we have, and should be made the basis of every other. Had the poet's life been prolonged for another decade, it is not improbable that he would have given us a lengthened commentary upon the entire poem, similar to that on the first canto of the Paradise, and analogous to what we have in the unfinished *Convito*. This would have settled for ever many matters still in dispute; but it would have left less to discover; and the permanent stimulus to unceasing study might have been diminished. As it is, however, we have ample materials for completing the poet's design; and by the aid of his writings in prose, and his lyrical compositions, we may fill up the sketch he has given, and reach with moral certainty the penetralia of his thoughts. But this is a study to which few, comparatively, can dedicate their time; nor were the materials, until these minor works were printed, easily obtained.

Dante, therefore, with a wise and considerate purpose, explained the more recondite matters in his great poem as he proceeded; difficulties which occur at the beginning are solved as we read on, so that with diligence and attention, and keeping close to his footsteps, doubtful senses disappear, and the more recondite meanings of the poet are revealed, as a reward, to the persevering student. Dante thus becomes his own interpreter, and a short and ready road is furnished to the general significance of his poem; but this expedite method does not supersede, for more specific purposes, the profound study of all his writings. The principle of exposition here.

noticed has not, we think, been sufficiently attended to even by professed commentators, who, had they followed their author thus closely, and compared together his equivalents, would not have differed among themselves so much as they are often found to do. In a clever little work published by Professor Giuliani, *Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Allighieri*, this principle is well illustrated, and Dante's letter to Can Grande is made the basis of a commentary, which includes the first four cantos of the *Inferno*, and the first three of the *Purgatory*, and of the *Paradise*.

The poet informs his noble patron that, in the beginning of every doctrinal work, six things have to be investigated; the *subject*, the *agent*, the *form*, the *end* or *object*, the *title of the book*, and its *kind of philosophy*. In three of these things—the *subject*, the *form*, and the *title*—this cantica of the *Paradise* differs from the rest of the poem; in the others it does not. He then proceeds to state that this work has many senses; the *literal*, and the *allegorical*, which is *moral* or *anagogical*; these he illustrates, as also the preliminary matters to be considered. The *subject* of the whole work, according to the letter, is “the state of souls after death, considered simply as such;” but allegorically the subject “is man, who, in the exercise of his free will, according to his merits or demerits, is subject to the justice of reward or punishment.” The *end* of all and each part, observes the poet, is both immediate and remote; but, omitting all subtle researches, it is “to remove those now living from a state of misery, and to lead them to a state of happiness.” But this short definition gives no idea of the encyclopedic character of the poem itself, nor of the treasures of erudition which its cantos contain; looked at from different points of view, it presents as many varied characters. As a *résumé* of medieval lore, the final expression of the ethics, the metaphysics, and the theology of the schools, it is the most precious monument bequeathed to posterity. It also exhibits the physical science of the period, whose character is reflected in it as from a polished mirror. Nor does it stop there: the observant and thoughtful mind of the poet has anticipated much of that which was to follow, and his remarks often read like those of modern writers. Dante was a great orator, and the *Divina Commedia* is fertile in examples of fervid eloquence. A student of the classic poets, and their modest associate, he has made it the middle-age manual of their symbolical mythology. A leading actor on the political stage of Italy, his poem gives the “very age and body of the time, his form and pressure.” Essentially dramatic in its structure, it brings the reader into personal intercourse with the leading spirits that

rise in every scene: we sympathise with the courageous Farinata, are filled with horror at the recital of Ugolino, and listen with admiration to the discourse of Marco Lombardo. To the patriotic Italian the book has become a permanent preceptor, where the prosperity of Italy is imprinted on every page; for Dante, like a wise physician, freely exposes the evils which then afflicted his country, and, in pointing out their causes, prescribes also the remedies required. Not content to have given Italy a language and a poetry, he gave her a policy also, and put her in the only path to freedom, prosperity, and peace.

Nor do we overstep the bounds of truth in saying that much of the profound sympathy which Europe feels for the country of Dante is due to him alone: the universality of his genius has made mankind his friends; the most civilised nations rival each other in the honours paid to his memory, and translations into foreign tongues may be counted by scores. To the philosophic naturalist the *Divina Commedia* presents peculiar charms. A devout lover of nature, Dante regarded her beauties with the eye of an artist, and described them with the pen of a poet; he not only depicts her outward attractions with the accuracy of a master, but he also warms our affections at the glowing shrine of that Supreme Goodness which "has made all nature beauty to the eye, and music to the ear." Himself skilled in design, he has given descriptions of imaginary works of art, as though he had been familiar with the marbles of Phidias. As a teacher of morality by examples, and of kindness by winning illustrations, no writer surpasses or even equals Dante. Envy was the root of all bitterness among his countrymen, and the moral source of their national calamities: this vice the poet set himself to root out. He also had at heart the union of the Italians as a nation under one ruler, and his politics were directed to this end; hence the more this book has been read and studied by the people of Italy, the better have they learned their individual and social duties, and the more perseveringly and successfully have they pursued their political destiny. But when we have spoken of the *Divina Commedia* under all these aspects, we have still left its highest merit untouched. The work which, through good report and through evil report, in prosperity and in adversity, he had conceived, and carried out, and completed, only a short time before he was summoned hence,—this labour of a life the poet desired should be more than a bond of union among Italians, a memorial of the past, and a hopeful anticipation of the future, a book of history, of science and philosophy, of political credence and religious reformation; he

sought to make it also a hand-book to Heaven, a treasure of religious sentiments, and of aids to the perfection of the spiritual life. No wonder, therefore, that a work so marvellous in its character and so noble in its purpose should early have drawn to it the admiration of Italy, and made the exposition of its contents a subject of public solicitude; nor can we be surprised that Christian advocates should quote its authority in their pulpits as inferior only to that of the Scriptures themselves.

It was owing to the appointment of public professors of the *Divina Commedia* in Florence, Bologna, and Pisa, that several of the more important commentaries were written, as those of Boccaccio, Benvenuto da Imola, and Francesco da Buti.

In the days of Dante, the university of Bologna was the leading school of literature and science in Italy. Thither her youth flocked from the most distant provinces to gather the fruits of learned industry and cultivated thought, and here, it would seem, the *Divina Commedia* was first made the subject of professional explanation. The earliest known entire commentary, on the authority of Alberigo di Rosciate, who translated it into Latin, was written by a licentiate in arts and theology of this university, *Dominus Jacobus de la Lana, Bononiensis*, who is supposed to have flourished here about 1330-2. Whether Jacopo della Lana gave public readings of the poem is not recorded; but it is extremely probable that he expounded it, either to a private circle or to a more numerous class. The desire to become acquainted with it must have been general among the students. The rarity and value of manuscript copies would prevent the youths themselves from possessing them; and hence it is reasonable to conclude that the poem was read and explained to them by some one. The circumstance that most of the early commentaries grew out of *ex cathedra* explanations would also tend to increase the probability that this did the same: it is, at least, equal to any of them in importance, if not anterior to every other in date. Between the early commentaries there is, in places, so great a resemblance, and often such identity of words, that we cannot help regarding their authors as having drawn their materials from the same source; and as Jacopo della Lana takes the precedence, it would follow either that his successors borrowed from him, or that they all derived their explanations from some common stock. The commentary of Jacopo was also the first ever printed, and appeared in the edition of the *Divina Commedia* published at Venice by Vendelin de Spira, in 1477, under the name of *Benvenuto da Imola*, a mistake of the

editor, Christofaro Berardi of Pesaro, which was long retained. It was reprinted, with slight verbal alterations, and a few additions of Guido Terzago and others, by Nidobeato, at Milan, in the following year. In the opinion of Professor Witte, Jacopo della Lana is to be esteemed as the principal among the commentators of the *Divina Commedia*. He follows the method laid down by Dante: "For understanding," he says, "the present *Commedia*, as is customary with the expounders of the sciences, four things require to be noticed. The first is the *matter* or *subject* of the present work; the second is the *form* of it, and whence the *title* of the book is derived; the third inquiry is, What is the *final cause*, or to what purpose or utility it is directed, and under what *philosophy* it is placed." Boccaccio, Benvenuto da Imola, and Buti also observed these distinctions. The first expresses himself thus: "Before proceeding to the letter of the text, three things, I consider, require to be shown, which, in the beginning of every doctrinal work, are usually inquired into: the first is, how many and what are the causes of the book; the second, what is the title of the book; the third, under what part of philosophy the present work is placed. The causes of this book are four: the *material*, the *formal*, the *efficient*, and the *final*. The *material* in the present work is double, as is the subject, which, with the matter, is the same thing, because the literal sense is one thing, the allegorical another." He then points out these double senses in the very words of Dante in his letter to Can Grande. Boccaccio's mode of commentating is the most satisfactory and efficient of any. Having given a general introduction, he proceeds to the literal explanation of the sense, displaying here, as elsewhere, an exuberance of erudition, which renders his remarks, independently of the subject they were written to illustrate, as pleasant reading almost as any piquant story in the *Decamerone*, and shows a mind richly stored with all kinds of curious lore, though the opulent possessor has not so thoroughly digested it as to make it the true exponent of his own acquirements; it appears in his pages as the learning of other people rather than his own. After the more literal explanation, the versatile Giovanni gives full rein to his imagination, and carries his reader cantering over such flowery prairies, as if he had ransacked whole libraries of their choicest contents, and flung them broadcast over the plain. It is much to be regretted that this very learned, very curious, and very entertaining commentary should end at the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*; what we have of it makes us still more desirous to possess what we have not. Boccaccio gave his first reading

of the poem in the church of S. Stefano at Florence, on Sunday, the 23d of October 1373. He held the chair of public professor for two years; but his commentary was not printed until 1724.

During the latter years of Dante's life, his sons Pietro and Jacopo lived with him at Ravenna; and from the deep interest they took in the poem, we might expect that they would become the depositaries of their father's thoughts and intentions in reference to those symbolical passages which the poet, for special reasons, had thought proper not thoroughly to explain. But when we examine the *Chiose* on the *Inferno*, attributed to Jacopo, which, by the liberality of Lord Vernon, were printed at Florence in 1848, we cannot but feel how utterly unworthy these are of the name they bear, and are forced not only to doubt their authenticity, but to deny that they can be his. Nor are those other anonymous *Chiose* on the first cantica, also printed by Lord Vernon at Florence, in the same year, much more deserving to be considered the work of Jacopo, as Batines thought they might be. The author of the *Dottrinale* had some poetic talent; but, excepting a passage which occurs in the *Ottimo*, and is found in the second of these works (p. 61), nothing can be discovered in either to warrant our ascribing them to him; the occurrence of his name in the proemio to the first is worthless in evidence, as it is found also in other codici. Whoever may have been the author of these notes, they were written some time previous to 1332: their antiquity, therefore, entitles them to consideration; and Lord Vernon rendered a service to students in printing them.

A much more important work than either of these is the commentary ascribed to Pietro Allighieri, also printed and published at the expense of Lord Vernon,—*Pietro Alligherii super Dantis ipsius genitoris Comœdiam Commentarium* (Florentiæ, 1846). This is a very learned volume, and, notwithstanding it contains no positive evidence of having been the work of a son of Dante, though Landino alludes to it as such in his remarks on *Purg.* xxxiii. 36, it shows its author to have had a thorough knowledge of the poem, and a familiarity with the works from whence the poet drew his well-assimilated materials. It is worthy of having been written by Pietro, though, from its tone, we can scarcely conceive that it came forth from the closet of a lawyer and man of business, but rather from the cell of a learned monk, or the library of some professional ecclesiastic. It is written on the plan laid down by the poet, though not in so formal a manner as the commentary of Boccaccio. The date assigned to it by Padre Ponta is 1340;

other authorities consider it to be later ; but it is by internal evidence anterior to 1344, as shown in the remark on the DVX (p. 532).

Boccaccio, in his life of Dante, relates that when writing the Paradise it was the poet's custom, as soon as he had finished six or eight cantos, and before any one had seen them, to send them to Messer Cane della Scala, whom he held in the highest reverence ; and he having read them, other copies were then made for whoever desired them. In this way, all but the last thirteen having reached Messer Cane, it happened that, without ever mentioning these, the poet died ; and as with the most diligent search Dante's sons failed to discover them, they were earnestly requested by their friends, both being men of letters, to finish the poem in their father's stead. This they had begun to do to the best of their ability, when a marvellous vision occurred to Jacopo, who was the more fervent of the two in the matter, which not only caused them to desist from their foolish presumption, but showed where the missing cantos were to be found. A gentleman of Ravenna, whose name was Peter Giardino, a grave and trustworthy signor, who for a long time had been a disciple of Dante, related to Boccaccio the singular story, that in the ninth month after the poet's decease, one night near the hour of matins, Jacopo came to his house, and told him that in his sleep he had just seen a figure of his father clad in white raiment, and his face shining with a supernatural light ; and that on his seeming to ask him if he were still alive, he replied, " Yes ; but with the true life, not with the life of this world." Whereupon he asked him if he had finished his work before he departed to the true life ; and, if he had, what he had done with the concluding cantos, since they could nowhere be found. To these questions he seemed also to receive a reply in the affirmative. " Yes ; I finished it," answered the luminous figure ; and forthwith taking the hand of his son, led him to the chamber where he had been accustomed to sleep, and, touching a part of the wall, said, " Here is that which you have so long sought for." And, these words having been spoken, Dante and the dream departed together.

The vision so affected Jacopo, that he could not rest without running to his friend Peter Giardino, to tell him of it, and to request that he would immediately proceed with him to the place indicated. So they went forth together, it being still dark, and coming to the house where Dante died, called up the master, who admitted them, and they proceeded to the place pointed out. There was a piece of matting fastened against the wall, as they had remarked before, when Dante

lived here. On removing it, an opening was discovered behind, which had hitherto been unknown to them; and here they found many writings which had become mouldy from the damp, and would have perished had they not at once been looked to. Having carefully cleaned them, they perceived the numbers of the missing cantos, and found to their joy that the papers contained the conclusion of the poem,—the last thirteen. These, therefore, they gladly copied, and, as was Dante's custom, sent them to Messer Cane, after which they were added to the incomplete work; and thus the labour of so many years was rendered perfect. Whether this narrative be true or not, it shows at least that Jacopo, the son of Dante, was believed to take a deep interest in his father's poem. We need not doubt that fact. The three chapters which we have by him on the three *Cantiche* are sufficient to show it. He gave his attention to the poem, and one might, *à priori*, expect that he would leave a commentary upon it worthy of his birth and reputation; not merely a few unsatisfactory *chiose* on the *Inferno* only, but a complete commentary on the entire poem.

The probability of this seems to ourselves so great, that it almost amounts to a moral certainty that he did so. But if so, where is it? or what is it?

Vasari, in his life of Cimabue, relates that his distinguished friend Don Vincenzio Borghini, prior of the Hospital of the Innocents at Florence, possessed a commentary on the *Divina Commedia* written some ten or twelve years after the death of Dante, while Giotto was still living; "that is," says Vasari, "about the year of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirty-four." Giotto died in January 1336, Florentine reckoning. This commentary, best known as the *Ottimo*, with the exception of two imperfect codici, is found only in Florence. Batines, who paid particular attention to this subject, states, in a letter to Seymour Kirkup (*Studi inediti su Dante Alighieri*), that it exists, more or less complete, in twenty-two codici; but that only one, the codice in the Laurenziana, Plut. xl. no. xix., contains the whole of it. Alessandro Torri, under whose editorial care it was published at Pisa in 1827, remarks in the preface that Salviati affirmed it to be a Tuscan version of the commentary originally written in the Bolognese dialect by Jacopo della Lana; and Pinelli confirmed this opinion, which Monsignor Dionisi of Verona subsequently showed to be false. Many portions of it, however, agree with that of Jacopo. Batines states that those which relate to the first six cantos of the *Purgatory* are literally the same in both. The commentary on the *Paradise* is ascribed by him to the Florentine notary Andrea Lancia; but that on the *Inferno* he regarded as original.

Some difference of opinion has arisen as to the date of this, from the statement in reference to the statue of Mars, which Batines seems not to have understood clearly. In the time of Augustus, a temple was built at Florence in honour of Mars, and a statue of the god was set up within, which was held in great reverence by the people until the middle of the fourth century, when, on the introduction of Christianity, it was removed. But the Florentines, believing in an ancient prediction that if the figure were broken, or thrown aside in some obscure place, the city would suffer great loss and mutation, had it placed on a tower near the Arno, and for a long time greatly feared their ancient idol (Villani, l. i. 42, 60). When Totila destroyed Florence in 541, the statue fell into the river, and remained there till the city was restored by Charlemagne (ibid. l. ii. 1). Between the dates 1125 and 1135 the chronicler Malespini mentions the figure as standing on a pilaster at the north end of the Ponte Vecchio, and says that it was the ancient custom of the Florentines to reckon from it the measure of the *contado* on that side of the city. On the 25th of November 1178 the Ponte Vecchio was carried away by a flood, and the statue of Mars fell into the Arno (*Ott.*, *Parad.* xvi. 145). Malespini notices the fall of the bridge under the year 1177, but says nothing about the statue, nor when it was taken out of the water. The *Ottimo* states that it was replaced by the people of Semifonte. In 1215 the broken figure was in its place, for Buondelmonte was murdered at its foot. The author of the *Ottimo* remarks that the figure was much corroded by lying a long time in the water; and this is corroborated by Boccaccio, who gives a description of it as he had seen it. The old bridge fell again on the 4th of November 1233, and the figure of Mars then finally disappeared. It is to this circumstance that the commentator (*Inf.* xiii. 144) refers, where he states, having personally inquired of Dante about this matter, and been informed by him, "that the ancients believed the city of Florence was founded in the ascendant of Aries, Mars being the ruler of the hour; hence he was reputed the patron of it, and a statue of marble, in form of a cavalier on horseback, was erected in his honour, which was treated with idolatrous reverence; and it was held that for every mishap which befell the statue, the like would happen to the city also. Wherefore, the bridge having fallen down on which the statue was placed, —just as it fell on the night of the 4th of November 1333, the year before this,—the said statue remained in the Arno many years, within which period Florence had numerous wars with the neighbouring cities." The words here introduced, as in parentheses, show either that this portion of the

commentary was written in 1334, or that the remark was then introduced by the copier. The note on *Purgatory*, xxiii. 97—"And thus it was, in the year 1351, a certain Agnolo Acciaiuoli being the bishop, &c."—is either an addition by some later hand or by the original writer at a later period. It was not unusual for the copiers of *chiose* to add remarks of their own. Scarcely any two of the copies of the *Ottimo* are precisely the same; and even that which was printed from, as the most perfect of any, is very incorrect, and is wanting in passages that will be found more complete in the commentary of Buti, written long after it. Ugo Foscolo seems to have doubted the reality of Jacopo della Lana, and to have suspected that he was one and the same with Jacopo di Dante. In fact, the early commentators, like their successors in recent times, were disposed to regard all explanations of the *Divina Commedia* as common property, and freely drew upon the general stock, without caring to specify the original contributors; but exceptions sometimes occur. Thus in the *Ottimo* (*Inf.* vii. 89) mention is made of a certain chancellor of Bologna, Sir Graziuolo Bambagioli,—one of those *letterati* who, like Jacopo della Lana, are indebted to others for ever being heard of,—whose remarks are occasionally quoted, and are introduced here for the purpose of being refuted as derogatory to the dignity of the poet. The subject is Fortune; and the writer says: "Nevertheless, according to the discretion of my youth, I will declare something on this matter in defence of, and for the conservation of, the honour and fame of this venerable author, so that by the infamy of the envious, and by evil speakers, no one may detract and derogate from his true science and virtue." Then follows an account of Fortune more in harmony with the sentiments of the poet. This passage reads like what we might have expected from a son of Dante, and it occurs also in the commentary which Batines attributed to Jacopo.

In a passage on *Inf.* x. 85, a statement is made which shows that the writer was on the most familiar terms with Dante, even more so than his disciple Peter Giardino; for the poet communicated to him one of the secrets of his style. "I, the writer, have heard Dante declare, that he was never led by rhyme to say what he had not intended, but that many times and oft he caused the words to express different senses to those in which they were used by other poets." Of all the compilers of commentaries, the author of the *Ottimo* makes the nearest approach to the mind of Dante; like him he dwells on the fallen fortunes of many a Florentine house, on the vicissitudes and changes which many noble families had undergone; his heart seems to be in this matter, as if he him-

self had participated in the revolutions of Fortune's wheel, as it is well known that Jacopo did. The author, or rather the compiler, who mixed much of his own with what he had gathered from others, writes like a relative of Dante, nay, even like a son; and the internal evidences furnished by his remarks agree perfectly well with what is known of Jacopo, who, born but not wholly educated in Florence, was living there in 1332 and in 1342. It is not known when he died. His elder brother, Pietro, lived till 1364; a younger brother, Gabriello, was living in 1351; and his sister, Beatrice, was living at Ravenna in 1350. And it is extremely probable that Jacopo had his full measure of years, like the other members of his family, and did not die till after 1351.

When Boccaccio, in 1373, commenced his course of public readings of the *Divina Commedia* in Florence, his friend Benvenuto di Rambaldi da Imola, who was his senior by seven years, and as enthusiastic in the study as himself, hastened to hear him. Two years after this, Benvenuto was called to Bologna to fill a similar office to that which his friend had held at Florence; and so numerous were his hearers, that the largest hall in the university was rarely able to contain all who sought to enter, and the professor was frequently constrained to adjourn his class to the public square of the city. The substance of these lectures, at the request of Petrarch, was formed into a commentary, which, to a certain extent, supplies what is wanting in that of Boccaccio. Benvenuto's statements may in general be relied upon as accurate. It is to be regretted that the publication of this commentary, in a translated form from the original Latin, does not fully bear out the character of its composer. The editor, the advocate Giovanni Tamburini, would have done better had he given us the Latin text, instead of the unsatisfactory version which bears his name. It is to be hoped that this will still be forthcoming; we are, however, thankful for what we have got, and in the mean time feel indebted for this instalment, which gives us the readings of Benvenuto, if we do not always get what we could desire besides. Each canto is preceded by a general description, or proemio; then follows the text, after which we have the explanation of it. The translation was made from a copy taken from the codice at Modena.

In 1375, the year in which Benvenuto opened his course at Bologna, an unknown author was writing a commentary which is known as the "*Falso Boccaccio*;" it is found entire in the Codice Riccardiano, no. 1028, and was the first of the four commentaries printed by Lord Vernon,—*Chiose sopra*

Dante testo inedito (Firenze, 1846); it is a bulky volume of upwards of seven hundred pages. The codice was a copy made in 1458; a similar commentary, but on the *Inferno* only, exists in the same library, no. 1037, which has been considered an earlier copy. The *Anonimo* appears to have been a Tuscan. The old academicians, with credulous faith in the rubrics, quoted it as an authority in their vocabulary; but how Lami and other learned men of the last century could receive it as the production of the Certaldese, seems to us marvellous, and a very libel on that eloquent and versatile author. It has neither Boccaccio's language nor his learning; the author, whoever he was, shows that his information had not always been drawn from correct sources, even in matters relating to Tuscany. Neither does it appear to be written in a Ghibeline spirit, as was once supposed, but rather in a purely independent spirit, without any leaning either to Ghibelines or Guelfs.

It is a valuable contribution, however, to early opinions and notions; and the author had evidently a taste for allegory, which he introduces in places with much novelty. He gives a tolerably good general summary of what in his time was understood by the *Veltro*—"some hold that he will be an emperor who will come to live in Rome, and drive the unworthy pastors from holy Church, putting good and saintly ones in their places, and will thus make a reform in Italy. Others consider that Jesus Christ is meant, coming at the last day to judge the world, when pride, avarice, and lust, with every other vice, will be sent, along with all sinners, to the infernal regions. Some think that a Pope is intended, so just and good that he will purify holy Church, and take care that her pastors lead virtuous lives; but I do not believe this." In reference to Beatrice, the author appears never to have heard that she really existed, or not to have thought it worth mentioning. The early commentators in this respect differed greatly from the majority of their modern successors. In that passage of the *Purgatory* (xxx. 49-51) where Beatrice declares, in the presence of the moral and theological virtues, that never in nature and art did any thing so delight the sense of Dante, or seem to him so beautiful, as "*le belle membra*" in which she was enclosed, and which are now turned to earth, the *chiosatore* betrays no uncertainty. To the question why Dante abandoned her, the author replies that he left her to follow ethics and poetry; whereupon Beatrice rejoins that he ought on no account to have quitted her, as no other liberal art or natural science, in giving pleasure, can compare with her and her books. In reference to the "*decenne*

sete" (xxxii. 2) he remarks : the author states that ten years had elapsed since he studied theology, and that geometry, philosophy, and other sciences had, in the mean time, received his attention. For the pretty love-story touching Dante and the daughter of Folco Portinari we are indebted to the real Boccaccio.

In the second half of the fourteenth century Francesco di Bartolo da Buti read and expounded the *Divina Commedia* in the University of Pisa. Buti is the name of a village situated on the fertile slope of an olive valley, over which, from the days of the Republic, Pisa has had jurisdiction; above it is Panicale, the native place of Massolino, who, in the regeneration of pictorial art, led the way to that perfection which, but for him and his pupil Masaccio, Raffaello probably would not have reached. Francesco was born in 1324, of an honourable family, one of whose members, in the beginning of the twelfth century, had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of the island of Majorca. He early showed a remarkable capacity for public business, and from his studies in the university passed to a seat in the Council of the Republic, where, as one of the Anziani, he subsequently attained to the dignity of supreme magistrate. He was frequently employed in important embassies, and was eventually appointed as the fittest person to fill the chair of the Dante professorship. This office he performed with great diligence and perseverance; and the fruits of it have descended down for nearly five centuries, in the most voluminous of all the commentaries ever written on the sacred poem. It was completed in 1385, and the painstaking author survived his great literary labour twenty-one years. He died on the 25th of July 1406.

Buti's commentary is a mine of literary wealth; and no greater service could have been rendered to the students of the *Divina Commedia* than has been done by the careful editor, Crescentino Giannini, and the enterprising publishers, the brothers Nistri of Pisa. The work was printed from the Riccardi Codici, nos. 1006, 7, 8, with the variations found in the copy in the Magliabechiana; it is gracefully dedicated to the Mæcenas of Dante literature. Buti's commentary was much consulted by the learned Landino for his own edition of 1481. As a faithful and conscientious expounder of the text Buti has not been surpassed; though he had not the fluency and flow of erudition characteristic of Boccaccio, nor the accurate knowledge of persons and places possessed by Benvenuto, yet for verbal explanations, and a careful method, he is in many respects unrivalled. Half a century later than

Buti, Guiniforto delli Bargigi of Bergamo read Dante in public at Milan (1435); and about this time he wrote his Commentary on the *Inferno*, which was edited in 1838, with notes and introduction, by the advocate Giuseppe Zacheroni. It had been known to Nidobeato, who mentions the author with much commendation among the principal *chiosatori* of the *Divina Commedia*. It is a valuable commentary both for literal and other explanations; what the writer says is always to the purpose. The history of the codice containing it is curious. Written in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century, it was presented to Francis I. of France, and lodged in the royal library; many years afterwards it was abstracted, and a copy substituted in its place. Subsequently it came into the possession of an eminent philologist of Marseilles, who lent it to the editor; and, by the assistance of the more perfect copy in the imperial library, he succeeded in giving us the interesting and important quarto volume published both at Florence and Marseilles.

With Bargigi ends the first series of commentators on the *Divina Commedia*, accessible in print, from the days of Dante to the latter part of the 15th century. They were succeeded by others of a different stamp,—men somewhat less acquainted with those sources of medieval erudition from which the great master drew much of his material, and also less given to allegory, but, for the most part, better classical scholars and better informed in matters of history. The second series of commentators commences with Christoforo Landino, once tutor to Lorenzo de' Medici, and subsequently secretary to the Republic of Florence. Landino's work has been characterised by Professor Witte as the first real critical production for fixing the reading of the text, and for determining the meaning of the poet. Though it is more diffusive than was necessary, and the author seems to take a satisfaction in parading his literary acquirements, yet as a work of reference it is indispensable to the student. It was the first Florentine edition, and was published in 1481; the many reprints of it render its acquisition easy. In most, if not all, of these, however, the text of the poem differs from the readings in the commentary. Landino was followed by Alessandro Vellutello, 1544, who condensed the remarks of his predecessor, and added a few of his own. To him succeeded Bernardino Daniello, in 1568, who was more original. These three, though they do not fill up the interval between the old commentators and the new, yet form the connecting link between them, and may be regarded as a transition group. Now it was that Dante's Hell was considered critically in reference to its lo-

cality, form, and dimensions. Landino set the example; the mathematicians lent a hand; even Galileo did not think it lost time to calculate the diameters of the infernal circles, and to sound the depths of the awful abyss. Plans and sections of hell were drawn to a scale, and carefully figured. Vellutello improved upon Landino, and the scrupulous accuracy of Antonio Manette left scarcely any thing more to be desired: the dimensions he gave have been universally received, and the place of torment has remained to this day such as he made it. But, with all proper respect for these ingenious expositors, we humbly conceive that they are all wrong, and that Dante never intended his *Inferno* to be treated in this way. The lord of these doleful realms also became a subject of curious measurement; and his height, from certain data given by Dante, was estimated by Landino as little short of two thousand braccia, or somewhat less than three-quarters of a mile (3830 feet). Between Daniello and modern commentators there is a gulf of nearly one hundred and sixty years, unless, indeed, the discourse of Vincenzo Buonanni (1572) on the *Inferno* be considered equivalent to a commentary; and then the interval will be reduced to one hundred and fifty-five years. The study of the *Divina Commedia* was then down at zero,—an index of the degenerate character of the age, and a proof of the little regard at that time paid to literature in Italy. In 1727 Giovanni Antonio Volpi, professor of philosophy in the Studio at Padua, published an improved edition of the text of the *Crusca*, with three indices explanatory of the words and phrases, of the historical and mythological names, and of the paraphrases, thus forming a very convenient and useful commentary in the alphabetical form, which has been of singular service to subsequent editors. Volpi left much that might be added to this valuable dictionary. There is a large-paper copy in the library of St. Mark's at Venice, with notes in the author's hand sufficient to increase it by nearly one-third of its size, and with many corrections. Five years after the work of Volpi, Venturi printed his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, with short and popular notes (Lucca, 1732). It was frequently reprinted; but nothing more was done until 1791, when Padre Lombardi published his Roman edition, with a commentary worthy of the name. Shortly after this a new light beamed upon commentators. Monsignor Dionisi, canon in the cathedral of Verona, discovered and made known a political sense in the opening canto of the *Inferno*. The *tre fieri* no longer signified only the three vices, Lust, Pride, and Avarice, hitherto so ungenerously ascribed to the poet, but three political

powers or states, Florence, France, and Rome, which were leagued against him. The *selva* also underwent a corresponding change, and other particulars received meanings of which the old commentators had never dreamt, notwithstanding their love of allegory. To Gasparo Gozzi the preliminary hint of a political meaning may perhaps be ascribed; but Monsignor Dionisi has the merit of having first brought the matter forward. Marchetti gave more consistency to the views of Dionisi, and Rossetti carried the subject to an extravagant length. Ugo Foscolo had sought to show that Dante wrote in the spirit of a religious reformer.² Rossetti went beyond this, and almost destroyed the orthodoxy of the poet, mixing up with his religious and political principles an amount of mysticism wholly at variance with the universal scope of Dante's sentiments. Rossetti, however, brought many things to light which had escaped the notice of commentators. He unlocked secret places, and showed a sense not previously suspected. His *Comento Analitico*³ was the most original which had appeared since the days of Landino. But the course on which he had entered was fraught with danger; and it required a less poetic mind than his to know when and where to stop. He suffered his imagination to run away with his judgment, and gave chase to a fiction of his own mind.

Six volumes of this work had been announced. Only two appeared; the others, we have heard, exist in manuscript; but their loss is less to be regretted from the author having, in his book *Sullo Spirito Antipapale*, given a compendium of his views on this subject.

There is certainly much truth in Rossetti's remarks; but his volumes require to be studied with caution and reserve, otherwise the reader may fall into the "*selva selvaggia*" of M. Aroux and his companions, and be for ever lost.⁴ In 1842 M. Aroux put forth a translation of the *Divina Commedia*, which, twelve years after, he confessed was less faithful to the sense of the original in proportion as it was more literal, and was no better than others which had preceded and followed it, for the reason that he had translated what he did not understand. His words are: "Cette traduction, j'ai hâte de le confesser, ne vaut pas mieux que toutes celles qui l'ont précédée ou suivie, et cela par le même motif, à savoir que, à

² *Discorso sul Testo e su le Opinioni diverse prevalenti intorno alla storia e alla emendazione critica della Commedia di Dante.* Londra, 1825.

³ *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, con Comento Analitico di Gabriele Rossetti.* Londra, 1826.

⁴ *Dante Hérétique, Révolutionnaire et Socialiste, etc.* Par E. Aroux. Paris, 1854.

l'exemple de leurs auteurs, j'ai traduit ce que je ne comprenais pas."

We think M. Aroux should have been contented with this discovery, and not have sought to have been wise beyond what was written. In 1854, having published this confession in a work the very title of which, like the brand on the forehead of felons, is sufficient to condemn it, in 1857 he tried his hand again, and published a version of the poem, "translated in verse according to the letter, and commented on according to the spirit." This spirit, as raised by M. Aroux, was and is a very evil spirit, whose parentage is evident from the first pages. His primary purpose was to show that the great poet of modern Europe was a consummate hypocrite, who used words only to disguise his meaning, and pretending to speak like a good Catholic, meant all the time the reverse of what he said. The result of a work composed on this principle may well be imagined. M. Aroux set out with a foregone conclusion that the *Divina Commedia* is in reality nothing more than a conventional disguise of heresy and schism; and, with this purpose in view, he wrote accordingly. But the spirit he invoked was not only *un esprit menteur*, it was also *un esprit voleur*, and largely appropriated to itself what was not its own. By means of false applications, false translations, and false quotations, an author may be shown as the very opposite of what he really is; and this is the sort of treatment which Dante has received from M. Aroux. One consolation, however, remains: Dante was no worse than Homer and Aristotle, and all the sages of antiquity; than Virgil, and all the Latin poets who followed him; than Petrarca, and Boccaccio, and Ariosto, and Tasso, and so of others down to the present day; who, according to M. Aroux, were all a set of perverse spirits, who kindled the fire of their genius at "le foyer de la doctrine occulte," and used a miserable burlesque sort of jargon which none but themselves understood. So that the world has all along been grievously mistaken in its estimate of these illustrious writers, and instead of imbibing freely, as it supposed, the nectar of the gods thus furnished at the feast on high Olympus, has only been drinking in the most subtle poison, distilled by diabolic agency from the regions below. There are few things, however, so wholly and absolutely false but that an infinitesimal fraction of truth may be found mixed up with them; and so of the book by M. Aroux, though not enough to save it from perdition.

At the outset of the notes on the *Divina Commedia* there is a fatal mistake, or rather a culpable perversion of the poet's meaning, which, like all false steps at the beginning, leads to

woful consequences in the end : thus, that which is spoken by the poet in a moral and political sense is interpreted by M. Aroux in a religious, or rather irreligious, sense ; and as Dante had already been dubbed *hérétique, révolutionnaire et socialiste*, the night he passed in the *selva* means the time during which he remained plunged in the errors of Catholicism.

Without reference to that malevolent spirit of untruth which characterises the whole class of which this commentator may be regarded as the chief, by representing an anti-catholic sense as taking the lead of every other in the *Divina Commedia*, the poem is not only misrepresented in its fundamental form, but a grave injustice is committed towards the poet himself, as his writings show ; for though he comes before us as a reformer in politics and religion, it is always on universal principles that his arguments proceed ; and with a profound reverence for sacred things he mingles an earnest desire that, freed from corrupt motives, the Church of Christ should stand before the world arrayed in all the beauty of holiness.

It may be an ingenious trick to transform the *Divina Commedia* into a handbook of freemasonry ; but such sleight-of-hand argues a very superficial knowledge indeed of its precious contents. A manuscript commentary of this sort was lately put into our hands by M. Molitourne, the courteous librarian on duty at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris : the work was written in an interleaved copy of M. Mesnard's translation of 1854, and was entitled *La Divina Commedia expliquée selon les rites maçonniques sur la traduction de MM. Fiorentino, Brizeux et Mesnard*, par F. Cobourg, 1845-1858. The writer, as it appeared, had no knowledge of Italian.

Many are the writers of monographs, and the compilers of *chioses*, whose names might be mentioned as belonging to the first half of the present century ; but commentators, properly so called, of that period are few. Carlo Troya, of Naples, author of the *Veltro Allegorico*, ought not, however, to be passed over in silence, not because he was successful in demonstrating the individuality of that mysterious personage, which we think he was not, but from the effect his work had in giving a stimulus to increased study. From the days of Dante himself the Veltro had always been a questionable subject. The early commentators had but a very indistinct idea of his personality. There were who believed that some celestial influence had been intended by the poet, some happy conjunction of planets which would restore a second golden age of truth and righteousness. Others thought the poet looked to the supposed Millennium, and that the Veltro was put for Jesus Christ coming in the clouds of heaven, to reward the good and punish the bad. The

expression of Dante "*tra Feltro e Feltro*" was then generally believed to signify *tra cielo e cielo*. There were students of Dante, however, who had a more local notion of the poet's meaning: as we learn from the commentary of Pietro Allighieri, or that which goes under his name, where the author states that some affirmed these words to apply to parts of Lombardy and Romagna, and to signify between the town of Feltre and the mount of the same name, but instructs his reader or pupil to explain the passage as meaning between heaven and heaven.⁵ The majority of commentators recognised in this unknown Veltro the saviour of Italy and Rome, that is, one who was to deliver Italy and Rome from the hands of the foreigner, to root out the abuses of the papal dominion, and restore good government to the Italians. But before the period of Vellutello, who published his commentary in 1544, no one appears to have pointed to Can Grande della Scala as the personage intended. Vellutello in his sketch of the character of this prince sought to show its agreement with the character of the Italian liberator as described by Dante, and with what Cacciaguida reveals to him in the heaven of Mars in reference to his future prospects (*Par.* xvii. 76-93). This passage certainly does refer to Can Grande; but the history of this captain-general of the Ghibelines does not bear out the prophetic character of the Veltro; for, however he may have despised money, he had a covetous desire of territory, and fought hard to obtain it.

Uguccione della Faggiuola had also been invested with this title, and was at one time the lord of Lucca and Pisa. The chief merit of Uguccione was his skill in war: he was the greatest and most successful general of his age, and his achievements in the field might well have filled with renewed hopes the heart of the exiled Ghibeline who was his intimate friend. But whatever these hopes may have been, they were soon destined to be disappointed; and in 1316 Dante and his friend were both glad to take shelter with the lord of Verona.

Uguccione and his patron fought with other weapons than "wisdom and virtue and love;" they were real men of war from their youth, and in the business of war they died. Uguccione was carried off by a fever in 1319, caught at the siege of Padua, where he commanded the army of Can Grande; and the latter ten years after, in the midst of his triumphs, died by drinking, when hot, too freely of cold water. After the death of the emperor Henry VII., at Buon Convento near Siena, in 1313, the political hopes of Dante centred in

⁵ "Dicunt quidam: hoc est in partibus Lombardiæ et Romandiolæ, inter civitatem Feltri et montem Feltri. Tu dic inter feltrum et feltrum, id est, inter cælum et cælum."

Can Grande ; and however the brilliant exploits of Ugucione, especially his great and unexpected victory over the Florentine Guelfs and their friends in the Val di Nievole, on the 29th of August 1315, may have dazzled the imagination of the poet and kindled new expectations, it was to the established power of the family

“ Che in su la Scala porta il santo uccello,”

that he looked up for the restoration of the imperial authority.

Other individuals have also been named for the Veltro. Father Ponta of Rome, whose opinions, and even conjectures, are worthy of consideration, thought that Pope Benedict XI. might, at one time, have been intended by Dante as the Veltro, in whom, as says the chronicler Dino Compagni, the world rejoiced as with new light ; but, unfortunately for the world, this light went out in a year, and not without a strong suspicion of having been violently extinguished.

But to return to the commentators and compilers of notes on the *Divina Commedia*. Portirelli's edition, with some original matter, was printed at Milan in 1808. That of Biagioli, which is more frequently mentioned, came out at Paris in 1818-19 : his notes are those of a *littérateur*, one well up in words and grammar, but of no authority beyond the form of a sentence or the expression of an opinion ; he had taste to appreciate what pleased him, and what did not he had the want of taste to revile in language unbecoming a professor of *belles-lettres*. In 1822 there was published in London, by Murray, the first part of a remarkable commentary by an anonymous author, sometimes called Count Taaf : it is very diffuse, and extends only to the first eight cantos of the *Inferno* ; no more of it ever came out, a circumstance to be regretted, for it showed much learning, an intimate acquaintance with the subject, and great originality. Cesari's *Bellezze* appeared in 1824 : a comment is here woven up with the text, in the form of a dialogue between three intimate friends, Giuseppe Torelli, the Doctor Agostino Zeviani, and Filippo Rosa Morando. If each had spoken for himself his own proper sentiments, instead of those held by Antonio Cesari, the work would have had more value ; as it is, however, it may be consulted with some advantage, for the opinions of its author on words and phrases. Rossetti's commentary appeared in 1826-27 ; and at the same time the historical comment of Ferdinando Arrivabene, entitled *Il Secolo di Dante* : it was published in the edition of the *Divina Commedia* by Quirico Viviani, commonly called the *Bartoliniana*. Ugo Foscolo's

edition was published in London by Rolandi in 1842: it had lain for fifteen years in a bookseller's box before it was given to the world. The fourth volume contains a dictionary of words and proper names, which is no improvement on that of Volpi, published more than a century before. Ugo Foscolo's chief work on Dante is his Illustration of the *Divina Commedia*, the first edition of which was published by Pickering in 1825, entitled *Discorso sul Testo*, &c.

In Italy, compilers of notes who may have added something original of their own, at least *their* opinions and remarks on their predecessors, are very numerous: we may name, among the more celebrated of them, Paolo Costa, Tommaseo, Pietro Fraticelli, Emiliano Giudici, Lorenzo Martini, and Brunone Bianchi; all editors of commentaries, some of which have passed through various editions, and who have sought to give distinctive characters to their work. Professor Parenti of Modena, who, besides the portion of a model commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, has written many critical papers on the poem, must also be mentioned. Writers of monographs and dissertations on special subjects are numerous: we can only here name a few of them. At Rome have been printed, from time to time, the elegant essays by Michelangelo Gaetani, duca di Sermoneta; the learned and diligent researches of Prof. Filippo Mercuri, several of which will be found in the *Giornale Arcadico*; the elaborate analysis of the poem published by Fortunato Lanci; and the works of the Procuratore Ponta, already mentioned. At Venice, the name of the Cavalier Filippo Scolari is deserving of all honour: his numerous and learned contributions to the literature of Dante afford perpetual testimony to the high character of his intelligence, and to the goodness of his heart. It were to be wished that his merits had met with more consideration and better treatment at the hands of those in power. At Pisa, Alessandro Torri greatly distinguished himself: he was the pains-taking editor of the *Ottimo* Commentary, and published, among other things, an edition of Dante's minor works. At Florence, the name of Pietro Fraticelli stands prominently forward: though we cannot always agree with the tone of his politics, nor with his critical conclusions, yet no one has rendered better service to the advancement of Dante studies, as an editor both of the *Divina Commedia* and of the minor works of Dante, to which he has contributed valuable notes and dissertations. He has published three editions of the poem, and two of the *Opere minore*: the first edition of the former (1837) contains notes by Lami, which are distinguished from the others by an L.; his own are marked by the letter F. It was

in three volumes. In the last edition (1860), in one volume, these distinctions are not observed, and there is a general fusion of notes, with little notice of authorities. This we think is to be regretted; in other respects the edition is much to be commended; and it brings explanations down to the present time. Of political meanings the editor is somewhat shy. The political sense of Dante's poem has yet to be fully developed. It was intended to do this in the great national edition which was announced in glowing language some two years ago, and of which very great things were expected; we regret to say that this has been, for the present, put in abeyance. The light which was to blaze forth from the beacon-towers of Florence and illuminate all Italy, though it has not gone out, is for the time being hid under a bushel. No other candlestick than Rome is now deemed worthy to receive it; and until the Eternal City become the capital of the kingdom of Italy, the national edition of the *Divina Commedia* is not to appear. The most recent work of Pietro Fraticelli, a contribution to the history of Dante, is a very useful book, and supplies much that Dantophilists are expected to know, with some few new facts and many important documents. To the above works and names must be added those of Professor Picci of Padua, Professor Picchioni of Basil, Cesare Balbo, M. Missirini, Dr. Tonini of Rimini, and M. Torricelli of Fossombrone, who has printed many very interesting papers in a journal called *L' Antologia*. The work of the Abbate Giuseppe Bianchi, *Del preteso Soggiorno di Dante in Udine od in Tolmino* (Udine, 1844), forms an important addition to that of M. Ampère, *Viaggio in Italia sulle Orme di Dante*.

In taking a brief review of what has been done in Germany of late years in reference to Dante, we must put aside chronological order, and begin with the King of Saxony. In Dresden, some years ago, Dante Allighieri was much in fashion. Royalty once more had taken the poet by the hand; and his revived spirit, closeted with the heir-apparent Prince John, led to the production of a translation and a valuable commentary, which were published in three volumes quarto, under the name *Philalethes*. Courtly artists also laid their heads together; scenes from the *Commedia* were got up and acted; a clever Neapolitan furnished what music was required; and the dramatic character of Dante's poetry was demonstrated to the satisfaction of an admiring circle. It is singular that the Italians do not give more attention to this capability of their great national poet. As the most distinguished Dantophilist, and, we might say, a miracle of learning, Professor Karl Witte, of the University of Halle, ranks above every

other in Germany, and, in fact, in Europe; his contributions to the literature of Dante are most numerous; many of them have appeared in Italian and German journals, others have been privately printed, and some published. His great work, which has employed many years of his laborious life, is the new text of the *Divina Commedia*, published by Decker of Berlin in 1861, a copy of which, beautifully printed on vellum, rejoiced the souls of bibliophilists in last year's International Exhibition, and was priced at two hundred pounds. Of this work we shall speak presently. A fellow-labourer in the same field of literature, and a brother professor of the same university, Herr Blanc, a veteran leader, holds a high position as public expounder of the poem, and for the services rendered to students by his *Vocabolario Dantesco* (Leipzig, 1852) deserves their best thanks.

Some years ago, at Treviso, we were shown a large folio manuscript volume, a *copia verborum* of the poem, compiled with great labour and diligence by the Abbate don Giuseppe Polanzani, then of that place; but no bookseller could be found willing, at his own risk, to print and publish it. Students of Dante have reason to be thankful that Professor Blanc was more fortunate. He has since published two parts of a series of philological remarks on numerous readings of the *Inferno*. The work is carefully and diligently executed, and, from our own experience in this line of the almost intolerable labour of comparing many authorities, and noting down their differences and peculiarities, and, if possible,—for this is not very easy,—getting scores of references perfectly right after all, we can quite understand why the professor has come to a pause at the foot of the purgatorial mound. Since the first appearance of the *Vocabolario*, an Italian version of it, in an abridged form, dedicated to Lord Vernon, has been published at Florence. The Florentine editor, however, did not take the trouble to verify the references; and, in consequence, some few errors in the original have been repeated in the copy.

We cannot here catalogue all the names of German and other northern authors who have translated the *Divina Commedia*, or written on Dante and his works, and must content ourselves with mentioning Professor Böttiger of Upsala, Kopisch, Streckfuss, Kannegiesser, Professor Schlosser of Heidelberg, and Geheimerrath Göschel of Berlin. There is a very useful life of Dante by Wegele, who, though a Catholic, does not understand the religion of Dante; and a theological commentary on parts of the *Paradiso* by Dr. Döllinger.

Seven years after the commentary by Vellutello was published at Venice, Guglielmo Rovillio printed at Lyons a pocket

edition of the *Divina Commedia* (1551), with short annotations from the former. This was the first edition of the poem which appeared in France. Towards the close of the century (1596) a translation of it was published in Paris, "mise en ryme françoise et commētee par M. B. Grangier, Conseiller et Aulm^{er} du Roi:" this was, we believe, the first version made into any foreign language, and preceded our earliest English version by Boyd (1802) by more than two hundred years. It was in three convenient duodecimo volumes, and was dedicated to his Most Christian Majesty Henry IV. After the address to the reader followed a very full list of contents, as well subjective as nominal, forming a sort of analysis of Dante's doctrines and sentiments, and after each canto came annotations of some length. It was a conscientious production, and neatly got up. Of late years numerous translations have been published in France; that of the *Paradise*, by M. Artaud de Montor, in 1811, may be regarded as taking the lead among modern productions. In his introduction he notices the work by M. Grangier, the only one in verse which up to that time had appeared, and characterises it as being obscure where Dante is obscure, and very often where he is not, owing to the translator making his version of the same number of verses as the original. But M. Artaud admits that in the sixteenth century there was a greater similarity between the French and Italian languages than there is now, and that Grangier's notes are very intelligible, useful, and instructive. The next complete translation, he says, is attributed to the Count Colbert d'Estouteville, grandson of the great Colbert, and was edited and printed at Paris in 1796. But this version, if such it can be called, is much less correct than the former; the translator has not faithfully followed the text: whatever he did not understand, or did not like, he omitted, and by the introduction of proper names where Dante has used paraphrases he destroyed what is a great charm in poetic works. The translation of the *Inferno* by Moutonnet de Clairfons, in 1776, is considered by M. Artaud as free from many of the faults ascribed to it, and as rendering well the sense of the poet. The version of the *Inferno* by Rivarol, in 1785, is, he says, much esteemed. Rivarol, in general, well understood Dante's meaning, but had not that intimate knowledge of the Italian language which is only to be acquired by a residence in Italy, and is so necessary, he adds, to the translator of a poet who, though he often rises to the sublime, sometimes descends to the level of the *Mercato vecchio*. As M. Artaud lived much in Florence, and there undertook the translation of the *Paradise*, he must have known that the language

of the Old Market, instead of being low and degrading, is in fact the reverse; that here, and here only, can be picked up the remains of that rich colloquial *volgare* which delighted the ears of Boccaccio, and found a place in the verses of Dante. Those who want a lesson in the style of the *trecentisti* may always gain it in the *Mercato vecchio*. M. Artaud consulted for his translation forty texts; and he commenced with the Paradise, wisely thinking that in France people had already had enough of the Inferno; this, however, appeared in the following year, and the Purgatory in 1813. It has frequently been reprinted, but with little or no improvement on the original version, which, considering the pretensions of the author, is not exactly what might have been expected. The third edition (1849), in one volume, contains many additional notes, and a *résumé* of the labours of Dantophilists in different parts of Europe. M. Artaud, in 1841, published a history of Dante: it had been a long time in hand, and was put forth, the author tells us, as an isolated French homage rendered by him to the great poet. Since then numerous translations of Dante's poem have issued from the French press, which are for the most part preferable to that of M. Artaud. We have the very faithful and accurate one by M. Brizeux, the author of a clever essay on the *Divina Commedia avant Dante*, which is in prose, as all faithful translations must be; also the version by Pier-Angelo Fiorentino, a Neapolitan, with an introduction; that of M. de Saint-Mauris (1853), of M. Mesnard (1854), of M. de Mongis (1857), of M. Louis de Ratisbonne (1859), crowned by the Institute; and more recently (1862) a new edition of the version by Lamennais, with notes and a commentary. The influence of Ginguené, in the elaborate analysis and criticism of the *Divina Commedia* given in his *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, first printed in 1811, must not here be overlooked; it promoted the study of Dante, and directed the minds of literary men in France to the great Italian poet. This was subsequently aided by the very admirable work of M. Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au treizième Siècle* (1845), without which we cannot duly appreciate the theological learning of the poet. The work on Dante by M. le Baron Sigales should also be mentioned. It is one which goes to the foundation on which the *Divina Commedia* rests; the author duly appreciates the magnitude of his subject, and expresses the result of his studies in judicious and appropriate language. In his Avant-propos he asks, "What would Greece have been without her Homer? She owes every thing to him: religious sentiment, nationality, art, sovereign intelligence, and imperishable memory. The word of her poet has outlived

all her institutions, her monuments, her marbles, and her bronze. The austere figure of the Tuscan exile dominates also over all the Middle Age. His soul, his voice, his life, his sorrows, his sufferings, are those of the world in which he lived." Undaunted navigator of an unknown sea, he launched his little bark across untraversed waves, the leader of a noble enterprise which had for its object the regeneration of Italy. The author's conception of the poem must be given in his own words: "*La Divine Comédie* est une sublime manifestation de ce dogme régénérateur qui se réalise au sein des peuples par la justice, le droit, la liberté et l'art. C'est une révélation de cette société vivante qui se bâtit et s'élève sur les fondements jetés par l'ouvrier de Galilée." "The genius of Dante is ever living in the midst of us all. M. de Lamartine, in the discourse delivered on his reception at the French Academy, spoke most truly when he said, 'Dante appears as the poet of our own epoch; for each epoch adopts and gives new youth in turn to some one of those immortal geniuses which are also always men of the time and circumstances, in whom its own image is reflected and its predilections are made apparent.'" How different are the noble sentiments of the Baron Sigales from those miserable expressions of a perverted sense which we noticed in reference to M. Aroux! "Nous avons pris Dante Alighieri," says the author, "comme étant l'expression synthétique la plus complète, la plus vaste de cette réalisation de la pensée et de la vie du Christianisme dans la société." Among the literary men in France who have distinguished themselves by their writings in reference to Dante, should be mentioned the names of MM. Villemain, Fauriel, Sebastian Rial, Ampère, Philarète-Chasles, Benedetto Castiglia, Calémard de Lafayette, Vericour (in English), Saint-René Taillandier, and Emile Montégut: by the former of these last two is a very able article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the 1st of December 1856—"Dante Alighieri et la Littérature Dantesque en Europe au XIX^e Siècle,"—and by the latter an interesting paper in the number for the 15th of November 1861—"Une Interprétation pittoresque de Dante."

In England we have numerous translations of the *Divina Commedia*, from that of Boyd (1802) to our own day, several of which contain notes of more or less interest, as those of Cary, Wright, Dr. Carlyle, Pollock, Cayley (with a fourth volume of annotations and references); the version in progress, by the Rev. J. W. Thomas, whose Paradise is still to come; and the very elegant and fluent rendering of Mrs. Ramsay, two volumes of which have already appeared. Mrs. Ramsay is the first lady, so far as we know, who has ever undertaken the

difficult and delicate task of translating the *Divina Commedia* into a foreign language; and her modest little volumes are distinguished by the clearness and delicacy of the notes. Dr. Carlyle, however, deserves something more than the mere mention of his name. Nothing could have been better devised than the style and character of this very able prose version. Our language does not readily run into rhyme, but easily admits of cutting up into verse; it shows some self-restraint when a writer can refrain from this practice, and Dr. Carlyle did wisely in putting Dante into good, honest, right-meaning prose. We wish we could add that the reading public also acted wisely by encouraging his work; but it did not; the translation stuck fast after the first cantica was published. England also has her contributors to the literature and criticism of Dante, and may mention, among others, the names of Lyell, Mazzinghi (in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for January 1844), Leigh Hunt (who seems to have read Dante without fully understanding him), Francis Simpson, Mr. Church, Dr. H. C. Barlow, Mr. Dante Rossetti, and Mr. Theodore Martin. In America Mr. Elliot Norton of Cambridge must be mentioned.

Dr. Barlow, besides numerous articles in the *Athenæum*, has recently published several essays bearing on controverted readings in the *Divina Commedia*, and on historical allusions not hitherto satisfactorily made out. We shall here give a short account of three of them. Ugo Foscolo was the first to come forward, like a knight of the olden time, and break a lance with the critics touching the fair fame of Francesca da Rimini: he endeavoured to show that her case was not so bad as merciless commentators had sought to make it. But at that time no literary ground had been found to build a good defence upon. Foscolo, though he possessed a very rare old codice, does not appear to have had much taste for poring over manuscripts. About the year 1847, the Abbate Mauro Ferranti of Ravenna found in a codice in the Biblioteca Classense the remarkable reading of *mondo* for *modo*, in the 102d verse of the fifth canto of the *Inferno*:

“Che mi fu tolta, e il *mondo* ancor' m' offende.”

He also found this reading as a *variante* in a second codice. The discovery, for such it was deemed, was hailed with applause by many distinguished *letterati* to whom it was communicated, —men of renown in the republic of letters, and passionate admirers of the great Italian poet, but none of whom had ever heard of it before. Niccolini remarked that although he approved it, yet he doubted if the reading of the *volgata* could

be changed on the authority of two codici only. It was also quite new to Giovanni Marchetti, who stated, in reply to the communication sent him, that the more he considered it, the better he liked it. Troya also greatly approved of it, and said that it also pleased many others who believed themselves to be much advanced in the study of Dante. The difference between *modo* and *mondò*, between the manner of Francesca's death and the wicked things which the world said about it, is great indeed; the former admits the guilt attributed to her, the latter indignantly rejects it as a vile slander. Had Ugo Foscolo ever seen this reading, he would have rejoiced at it. The question was in this state, only two codici bearing witness for Francesca, when Dr. Barlow commenced his researches in the Roman libraries, including the Vatican: here, out of forty-two codici examined on this verse, *fourteen* were found with *mondo*, just one half of those which had *modo*. *Mondo* is often written with a line over the *o*, instead of the *n* after it, thus *mōdo*; and Dr. Barlow thinks it very probable that the origin of the reading *modo*, was the carelessness of some scribe in omitting to put the required mark over the *o*. What tends to confirm this suggestion is, that although not one of the early editions have *modo* in the text, the two earliest with commentaries, the Vendeliniana and the Nidobeatina, have *mondo* in the notes, and explain it in reference to the evil report which the world gave credit to. The author then enters into the historical details and notices of this event as found in Italian chronicles, compares them together, shows how they contradict one another, and how very little they can be trusted; some resting on the authority of the poet, and led astray by the word *modo*, the supposed manner of Francesca's death, others relating the story as they had heard it. The question, guilty or not guilty, is then argued with reference to authorities; dates and distances are examined critically; Boccaccio and others are examined, and made to confess their shortcomings. Muratori stands at the author's elbow with his ponderous tomes; Dante's regard for the family of Francesca and their great respect and abiding friendship for him are dwelt upon; the tables are turned on Francesca's traducers; and the pleadings in her favour are wound up with a peroration, the substance and concluding sentence of which is that, touching her untimely end, "the malicious credulity of the world did her a grievous wrong in receiving as true the reported account of it." The episode of Francesca da Rimini is one of the most beautiful, the most highly finished and touching in the entire *Commedia*. Dante, with his thorough knowledge of the human heart, his perfect skill and mastery in delineating

character, and in expressing sentiment, never surpassed this exquisite scene, from which even the most desperate lovers may extract consolation: "in that world of truth beyond the grave, where there is no self-delusion, no corporeal reality, Francesca clings to Paolo still, and can rejoice even in this, that his spirit will never more be separated from her own." Dante has generously tempered justice with mercy.

The sketch of the family of Malatesta which follows illustrates the deadly animosities and strifes between the Guelfs and Ghibelines which occurred in Rimini, after the death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, and the treachery, deceit, and guile by which the Malatesta family came to be the lords of that city.

The essay of Dr. Barlow entitled the *Young King* is, like the former, partly philological, partly historical, and is founded on an examination of Italian codici and French and English chronicles. The young king, "il Re giovane," is the eldest son of King Henry II., who, though nominally associated with his father in the government, died before coming to the throne; and the purport of the work is to show that in the passage of the *Inferno*, canto xxviii. verse 135, where Bertrand de Born is seen by Dante carrying his severed head in his hand, we ought to read "*re giovane*," and not "*re Giovanni*," as in the printed editions. The character and court of King Henry is exhibited in the lively language of Peter of Blois, the Archdeacon of Bath, when writing to his friend the Archbishop of Palermo; the unhappy discords among Henry's sons, and their undutiful behaviour to their father, are briefly related; and the essay concludes with a specimen of Troubadour poetry, in the lament of Bertrand over the deceased prince. The essay entitled *Il gran rifiuto* is one that relates especially to Dante. From the earliest days of commentators on Dante, much uncertainty and many doubts have existed as to the individual whom the poet had in his mind's eye when, among the sect of the *Cattivi*, having recognised several of them (*Inf.* iii. verses 58-63), he looked attentively, and saw

" the shade of him

Who made through cowardice the great refusal."

The common notion, and that which has hitherto been received by modern readers and editors of the *Divina Commedia*, following the opinion expressed by some of the early commentators, is that Celestine V. is here meant. But several of these latter protested against this admission, and contended that, although they could not for certain say who it was whom the poet meant, assuredly he did not intend to put so holy a man as Pietro da

Morrone in the mouth of hell. Dr. Barlow shows that Boccaccio, the *Ottimo*, Petrarca, Benvenuto da Imola, Jacopo della Lana, Landino, Volpi, either had serious doubts on this subject, or boldly protested against regarding the unknown shade as that of the holy Peter. The popular notion had been ably combated years ago by Barcellini in his *Industrie Filologiche*. Among the early commentators, Benvenuto da Imola, than whom no one is entitled to more consideration, affirms positively that Dante neither did nor could have here meant Pietro da Morrone, the subsequent Celestine V. The author then enters into the historical events of the time; sketches the troubles in Florence; describes the deadly factions of the Neri and Bianchi; points out who was more especially the ruin of Dante and his party, through the base cowardice shown when Charles of Valois came to Florence in the interest of the Guelfs and Boniface VIII.; and argues that the poet meant by that despicable shade the recreant soul of him whose name was unworthy of record "in Italy's imperishable book."

We must now turn from these light matters to the weighty labours of those great leaders in Dante literature, Lord Vernon and Professor Karl Witte; of whom we are indebted to the former for a reprint of the first four earliest texts of the *Divina Commedia*, and to the latter for the production of a new one. The originals of the former had become so rare that in no other European library than that of the British Museum did they exist together, and nowhere but in London could copies have been found to print from: we may add, that nowhere but in England could an editor have been forthcoming to superintend so delicate and difficult a work as that which Mr. Panizzi has so ably performed. In the course of this article we have had frequent occasion to mention the works in reference to Dante printed and published at the expense of Lord Vernon; in presenting the world with this valuable reprint he has shown a taste and liberality seldom equalled. The editions here reproduced in a new but still somewhat antique dress, with facsimiles of the originals, are the *editio princeps* of Foligno, by Numeister, 1472; the edition published at Jesi by Frederico Veronese, in the same year; the edition of Mantua, by the Germans Georgio e Paolo, in the same year; and the edition of Naples, edited by Francesco del Tuppo, and printed by Reussinger, in 1475-6. We may form some idea of the great value of this volume from the fact that in 1847, when book rarities were much less extravagant dainties than they have since become, a defective copy of the Jesi edition fetched ninety pounds. The text of the

Naples edition follows that of the Foligno, or nearly so; the editions of Jesi and Mantua were taken from different sources; the text of the latter, in the opinion of Mr. Panizzi, is preferable to that of either of the others.

In the frequent comparisons we have made of the early texts with the reprinted copies, we have never found the slightest difference between them, and have reason to place the most implicit reliance on their exact correspondence with their originals in every particular. This agreement, however, is subject to one exception,—the copies of the Foligno edition vary. From the comparison of two in the Museum Library, Mr. Panizzi found that they had variations, as if certain pages had been composed more than once and set up differently. On comparing these two copies with a third, obtained from the library of the Duke d'Aumale, other variations were observed which did not occur in the Museum copies. We had previously suspected this to be the case in the edition known as the Nidobeatina, from the statements found in authors who professed to have consulted it, but have not succeeded in discovering any difference between the copies in our great national library, one of which, in the King's Library, is printed on vellum. The rarest of these four editions is that of Naples, of which only one other known copy is said to exist—that which is in the library of the King of Wirtemberg at Stuttgart. The whole taken together, and reproduced as they are in this noble volume, corresponding portions from each edition being printed on the same page, we are enabled with facility to compare them, and consider the evidence which they furnish as equivalent to that of four good and early codici, of which these texts are apparently the faithful copies. Even their errors, if considered critically, may be turned to account, as suggestive of corrections not fully carried out.

The results of these comparisons have furnished an interesting fact, that they are similar to those derived from a large number of codici. Thus, the examination of the fourth verse of the first canto of the *Inferno*, on which critics are divided between a conjunction and an interjection, in one hundred codici in the public libraries of Italy, France, Germany, and England, gave for the conjunctive form seventy-three codici, for the interjectional twenty-seven codici, or about three to one; the same result is furnished by these four early editions—the Princeps, the Jesi, and the Naples have *et*, the Mantua edition has *ah*. Thus, again, in reference to the sixtieth verse of the second canto of the *Inferno*, in which some copies read *mondo*, others *moto*, one hundred and twenty-three codici gave for the first sixty-eight, for the second fifty-

five; the four early editions agree with this in a majority for the former, the Princeps being the only one that has *moto*, a circumstance which shows that the Naples edition was not a mere repetition of the Foligno one. In the case of *parte* for *porta*, in verse thirty-six of the fourth canto of the *Inferno*, a point which has been warmly contested by the critics, the evidence from codici is overwhelming: an examination made some years ago of one hundred and twenty-one codici, including the most important in Italy, gave one hundred and twenty-one for *parte*, not one for *porta*; but a codice in the Vatican had *porto* (C. Vat. 2373). In this the four early editions also agree. It will be found generally that the result of their comparison corresponds with that furnished by the examination of codici, however numerous; and this is no insignificant fact, but a very important one; these four editions thus going far to compensate their possessor for not having it in his power to consult written texts. No autograph copy of the *Divina Commedia* is known to exist, nor any copy which can be assigned to either of the poet's sons, Pietro and Jacopo. The earliest copies do not date till from fifteen to twenty years and more after Dante's death, and even these are somewhat doubtful; nor is it always certain by whom they were made. The copy in the Vatican library, ascribed to Boccaccio, bears no date; that by some attributed to Filippo Villani, in the Laurenziana at Florence, has the date 1343. The earliest codice with a date to it would be that in the Olivierana at Pesaro, if we might put implicit faith in a marginal note: "Palmizanus de Palmizanis foroliviensis, 1328." But the writing of this note is not like that of the text, and it has been adjudged to be false; it occurs at the beginning of the ninth canto of the *Purgatory*. The Marquis Antaldo Antaldi pronounced this codice to be one of the worst among the very bad. There is a codice in the Riccardiana at Florence (no. 1046) with the date 1329; but this is a mistake for 1399. The famous codice formerly in the possession of the Marquis Landi at Piacenza, who very courteously allowed us to examine it in 1851, bears at the end the date 1336; but we must confess that we had serious suspicions at the time touching its genuineness, and thought that the inscription itself might possibly be a copy of an older one. In the Laurenziana there is an imperfect codice of the *Divina Commedia* (Plut. xc. sup. no. 125) with the date of 1347, which is considered to be genuine. The manuscript copies of the *Divina Commedia*, as scattered through Europe, amount to somewhat less than 500; of these not five can with positive certainty be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century. Professor Witte remarks,

with great justice, that it is difficult to tell from the writing whether a codice be of the first or second half of a century, and this is especially applicable to the earliest. By a careful collection of the *varianti* of the third canto of the *Inferno*, as found in four hundred and seven codici examined by Professor Witte and his friends, the professor was enabled to ascertain the parentage of codici, and to form a classification of them according as they agreed to or differed from each other, and came nearer to or were more distant from a primitive character. Into this primitive type or standard various elements entered,—the character of the writing, the history of the volume when that could be ascertained, the orthography, the expressions used, in other words, the readings; thus, for instance, when an easy reading took the place of a more difficult or less obvious one, the former was considered to be the substitution of some ignorant scribe who did not understand the original one, and so put another in its place. This difference was held by the professor as sufficient to distinguish the older from the newer text in volumes otherwise alike. The process adopted was so far satisfactory that it confirmed the opinions previously propounded by many learned students of Dante, who had arrived at their conclusions by other and less laborious means. In this way the codici in the Laurenziana, called of Villani, was confirmed in its claims to be regarded as the first in value, and to come as near to the long-lost original as might be. Having thus found a standard of comparison, it was not difficult to ascertain what codici should be classed along with it. Here the indefatigable labours of the late Viscount Colombe de Batines were of the greatest use: without the *Bibliografia Dantesca* of that lamented author, who fell a victim to his passion for the poet's works, and whose monument is now in every European library, the process of Professor Witte would have been impossible. Batines had numbered the codici of the *Divina Commedia* according to the same standard. In this way twenty-six codici were found by Professor Witte to belong to the first class; and *four* of these were selected from which to compile a new text;—the codice Villani, of which a copy was taken; the codice Caetani, in the library of the Duca di Sermoneta at Rome, from a copy made by the permission of the duke; the codice in the Vatican, called of Boccaccio, the text of which as printed by Fantoni of Roveta, in 1820, required only a few corrections; and the codice at Berlin that formerly belonged to Dr. Nott of Winchester, of which Professor Witte obtained the loan. There is not a word, not a syllable in this text, says the professor, that does not rest on the authority of one or more of these four manuscript texts. Even

where neither of these four codici furnished a satisfactory reading, he still adhered to the principle of printing his text from at least one of them, putting what he considered the reading ought to be in the margin, with an asterisk to distinguish it from the others. The principle of regarding a difficult reading as more genuine than an easier one was contrary to the canon set up by the four Florentine editors of the text printed in 1837; but Professor Witte defends his principle in this way—"whoever reflects that an inconsiderate copyist, not understanding an obscure passage in the poem, believed he was correcting the text by substituting an obvious and easy one, while in fact he was only adulterating it, will easily perceive the critical rule to be most just, that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the more easy one." Many will probably differ from this view, which nevertheless contains much truth. The professor, in his *Prolegomeni Critici*, gives an interesting account of the history of editions, but presses rather hard, we think, on the amorous Bembo, to whom Aldus was indebted for his text of 1502, which may be considered as the foundation of all the subsequent editions for three centuries and a half, or from that day to our own. The copy which Bembo, afterwards cardinal, wrote for the printer is in the Vatican library (no. 3197): it was begun on the 6th of July 1501, and finished in one year and twenty days. The edition of Aldus was finished not long after Bembo completed his task, the sheets being sent off to Venice as soon as they were ready.

The great work of Professor Witte had been six-and-thirty years in preparation. His original purpose was to collate all known codici; but this was soon found to be beyond his powers, and he was constrained to confine his researches to one canto of the poem only: the *varianti* of this would alone, he says, fill a bulky volume. We most sincerely congratulate the learned professor on the successful termination of his herculean labours. He has given us an improved text, in which many readings that latterly had found but little favour with editors have been restored; and the volume will be an imperishable monument to his memory, so long as readers and students exist to appreciate the divine poetry of Dante Allighieri.

MEDIEVAL FABLES OF THE POPES.¹

It was a saying of Hegel's that if all the dreams which men had dreamed during a particular period were written down, they would give an accurate notion of the spirit which prevailed at the time.² A collection of the fables accepted as true in different ages would be more seriously instructive; for imaginary facts exercise a real power over the thoughts and deeds of men. The recognised inventions, indeed, by which a party supports its views possess scarcely even a momentary importance; but those fictitious events which, by imperceptible degrees, have established themselves in unquestioned belief, actually control and modify, and sometimes even form, opinion on matters both of theory and practice. Among the different elements which go to make up the body of opinion in a given age, there is scarcely one which has been so little investigated as this belief in fables. The interests and passions of each age, its ruling ideas, the degree of its enlightenment, and the extent of its knowledge, have often been carefully studied by historians who have cast aside, as unconnected with the investigation of truth, and as only likely to mislead; ideas which are proved to be absolute and unreasonable delusions.

There are at all times many false notions which are traceable to no facts at all, and many historical fancies which are of no practical significance. It would gratify merely an idle curiosity to know what the soldiers of Charlemagne, or the companions of St. Francis, thought of the exploits of Alexander, or how they represented to themselves the court of Haroun. But men are influenced directly by traditions which they understand to be their own. A thoroughly fictitious idea of French history had much to do with the Revolution; and a living writer, justly arguing that the results of Niebuhr's researches have not impaired the value of the legendary records of early Rome, because it behoves us to know not only the true course of events, but that impression of it which was a living force in the Roman mind, has rehearsed with erudite solemnity the poetic fables of Picus and Evander, of the she-wolf, and of the grove of Egeria.

If this is a consequence of that continuity which unites past and future in the institutions of states, it is still more

¹ *Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte.* Von J. v. Döllinger. München, 1863. Literarisch-artistische Anstalt.

² Heine, *Französische Zustände*, iii. 194.

important in the Church. For here precedent is the sovereign argument, and the present is controlled by the past. A stubborn reliance on an imaginary fact or a spurious text may affect for centuries the course of theological speculation, and the administration of the canon law. The ignorance of history in an uncritical age is the most insidious channel by which error penetrates into the Church. Against false doctrines and erroneous interpretations she possesses an unfailing defence. But historical untruths, of which she has no sure criterion, may, in their practical consequences, infringe on the fundamental principles of her discipline and her law; and yet, while she casts out error of doctrine, she sometimes cherishes errors of fact. Her history, whether true or false, is constantly bearing fruit. It is perpetually adopted and introduced into her present life, either as canonical precedent or as devotional example. It is always fashioning habits and opinions; and any important discovery concerning it may lead to a very extensive revision of accepted views.

In the Church, therefore, fables are often serious realities. They may cause an imaginary person, or even a heretic, to be revered as a saint; they may find their way into acts of councils and bulls of Popes, into the Missal and Breviary; they may give currency to superstitions very difficult to eradicate; they may become the basis of laws, and the test of theological opinions; they may influence for a time the constitution of the Church, or permanently alter the destinies of nations. In the ecclesiastical sphere they possess a tenacious vitality which they nowhere else acquire. For that confidence and veneration which support the Church are weakened if men discover that they have been deceived. Heresy, they are told, sustains itself by inventing an imaginary past, and is known by the falseness of its instances and authorities. What if they should find that a fact asserted by the Church in her solemn utterances, mingled with her authorised devotions, introduced into the Mass, appealed to in controversy by her divines, trusted by the Popes as the origin and the proof of their rightful power, is the product of ignorance or fraud? They are told that to apply the mythical theory to the history of religion is a malignant artifice of those who would resolve all Christianity into a catalogue of fancies and inventions. If they should discover that some of the stories most universally received in the Lives of the Popes and of the Saints have arisen in much the same way as the stories of Hercules or Romulus, they will be puzzled to know where this process is to stop, and what presumptive authority and what prescription amounts to a certain test of credibility, or

possesses any claim on our assent. The progress of knowledge has exploded some narratives, which, four centuries ago, it was deemed heresy to question, and which it would have been impossible to contradict without open defiance of the ecclesiastical power. If we admitted that at one time it might be absurd to believe what at another it was sinful to doubt, should we not be saying that the supreme authority of the Church had used its anathemas to defend untruth, and that the facts on which it had raised up its system were doomed to vanish one by one before the increasing light of modern science? These considerations have hitherto made it no easy matter to profit by the discoveries of a better-informed age, in order to revise the mass of ecclesiastical fancies that were believed in credulous times; and even fables of no innocent or gratifying description have long been protected by the same dread of enquiry.

The difficulty consists not in any hesitation to accept the scientific results of research,³ but in solicitude for the preservation of the legend. For the legend, like the parable, has a value of its own, which is independent of historic truth. A critical examination threatens to dissipate many edifying examples, and to introduce an unnatural and unreasonable comparison between legend and history.

The tone of a narrative must correspond with the character of the events described. A reasoning and reflecting age demands a rational prosaic record, and an intelligent and intelligible explanation of the practical or interested motives of its actors. But the early life of nations, before the rise of civilisation and method, before the distinction between custom and law, reason and faith, furnishes arguments for epos rather than materials suitable for history, and is naturally recorded in verse. For then nature and impulse predominate over the reflective powers and cultivated will of man; there is a want of intention in the sequence of events; the past survives by its impression on the imagination; and men

³ Even this feeling, however, may be discerned in some writers. In the preface to his *Life of St. Francis* (p. xiv.) M. Chavin de Malan says: "La Réforme avait produit de telles calomnies que les savants catholiques crurent qu'il était nécessaire de faire des concessions à l'opinion publique trompée; et une fois entrés dans cette route périlleuse, la vérité s'obscurcit et s'altéra. Les plus beaux monuments littéraires du siècle de Louis XIV sont incomplets, quand ils ne sont pas faux. On a défiguré les faits, travesti les meilleures intentions, mutilé les textes des auteurs anciens, et l'antiquité chrétienne, si pure et si courageuse, se trouve avec stupeur complice des lâchetés du présent. Je ne veux pas citer les noms de Launoy, de Baillet et de tous ces écrivains douteux et presque schismatiques, aujourd'hui dédaignés avec une sorte de rancune, mais je prononcerai avec une respectueuse tristesse les noms de Fleury, de Tillemont, et de leur savante école."

look forward to the future without deliberate calculation, in a spirit of resignation or adventure. This romantic and poetical character belongs to certain classes of events even in a refined and civilised age, wherever there is the same general uncertainty or improvidence, the same sense of subordination to the forces of nature, the same feeling of helplessness before the manifestations of the power or the anger of God. Legends and fables still spring up in the midst of our prosaic existence where there is war, or pestilence, or maritime adventure, or settlement in savage countries; and they group themselves round the early history of our mercantile colonies, round Polar voyages, and Indian campaigns.

Events which are preserved by oral tradition, and are put on paper long after the epoch to which they are attributed, live during the interval in the mouths of those classes which, in their ignorance and their imaginativeness regarding the things of public life, approach most nearly the simplicity of the romantic age. In early and barbarous times oral tradition is preserved by the most intelligent and cultivated part of society; in a more civilised age, when all important things are speedily put on record, it is left exclusively to the most ignorant. Now the memory of the people, though unfitted to retain facts, is very capable of developing legends. The lives of the saints particularly invite this sort of treatment. They defy the rational explanations which are suited to ordinary life, and founded on the known principles of human nature. A supernatural order of grace is revealed in them, governed by its own laws, and exhibiting a regularity and method unknown to common experience. It is this system of laws, and this mode of divine action on souls delivered from many of the curses of sin, that the legend illustrates. It furnishes instances—the application of which to a particular person is sometimes arbitrary, and sometimes an anachronism—of God's ways with His saints, of the inner life and the suspension of natural laws;—instances which may be as true to the nature of that sphere of existence as the story of *Lear* or *Hamlet* to the common nature of man, but with which actual historical truth has nothing to do. The regularity, harmony, and probability of the mystic life are entirely distinct from those of the common world; and when it is proved that a particular circumstance related of one saint is told with better authority of others, the spiritual truth and fitness of the story—the only quality which makes it worth repeating—is confirmed, whilst its historic character is destroyed. But the men to whom these legends are repeated believe that they express what really happened; and this conviction forms part of their men-

tal and moral resources. The most edifying and suggestive narrative leaves them cold, unless it is connected with some individual who is a reality in their eyes. An uneducated person can feel a special devotion and personal affection only for a limited number of saints; but the number of pious legends he is able to believe and to enjoy is boundless, and must be distributed among comparatively few individuals. There is consequently a species of competition in legendary renown among the saints of different countries; and a process of accumulation and redistribution, utterly inconsistent with truth and probability, is, in the nature of things, unavoidable. This is the reason why so many biographies of holy persons, written for the purpose of edification, are so colourless and monotonous and vague, so deficient in individuality, and so like one another.

Religious people will not willingly surrender legends which, in their particular connection, have become precious to them. To be told that what they have been used to believe of a saint whom they knew and loved was borrowed from the biography of some other person whose name they had never heard, or that their favourite legend was founded on a mistake or an imposture, would often be a grievous trial to them. Yet this must follow whenever a serious attempt is made to separate truth from falsehood in hagiography, whenever therefore exertions are made to authenticate a portion of the legends of the saints. For the laws of evidence, by which true facts may be rescued from the suspicion which poetry often engenders, are fatal to the whole fruit of that process of assimilation and selection which makes many typical narratives the common property of many different saints. Where there is the authority of contemporaries, or the sworn testimony of eye-witnesses in the acts of canonisation, it is generally of decisive value, and a safe test of subsequent narratives, collected at second-hand, after the fame of the saint has occupied the popular fancy. The effect of this kind of test is far greater when it is applied to miraculous than when it is applied to profane history, which is less liable to be travestied and transformed by repetition. Such a revision was executed long ago for the acts of the early martyrs; but it has not yet been accomplished with equal success for the lives of the medieval saints.

To educated Catholics it is a matter of spiritual necessity to know the saints, and to obtain distinct notions of their personal qualities. It would be intolerable to think that their idea of St. Francis of Sales is furnished forth with some traits borrowed from St. Charles Borromeo; or that, instead of studying the examples of a real life, they are reading a work

of imagination. In particular, it is needful that we should know in accurate detail the character of those canonised saints who have played a great part in history, like St. Gregory and St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Thomas, and St. Lewis. Further : we are compelled to seek proofs against those who may deny the sanctity or dispute the history of particular saints, and to apply to the establishment of facts those resources of criticism by which adversaries endeavour to demolish legends. To these general causes the present age has added one which is decisive. The manuscript texts in all the libraries of Europe have been collated by the laborious authors of the new critical editions ; interpolations have been discovered ; the original form has been restored ; and many a popular and venerable anecdote has been swept away. It would be well, indeed, if this revision could be completed, and if we could obtain for the period of the Crusades what we already possess for the days of persecution. Every advance of enquiry since Baronius's first essay has dissipated some fable, exposed some fraud, or corrected some error. Before long, all the medieval records will be even more critically edited than the works of the Fathers by the Maurine Congregation. Ample materials will then exist for sifting all the legends of the Middle Ages ; and these materials will not be accessible to Catholics alone. They will be in the hands of men who are interested in the demolition of the Catholic legend, and who will be eager to avail themselves of the effective argument *ab uno disce omnes*. They will spread confusion and perhaps anxiety among the faithful ; and it is to be feared that the defenders of Catholicism will yield ungraciously, even if they resist the temptation to fight a battle as wicked as it is hopeless against the rules of evidence and the demonstrations of science.

An investigation of this kind, while it clears away much that is ludicrous or unedifying, will be especially fatal to the most beautiful and touching legends ; and, while it places authentic miracles on a firmer basis, will considerably alter our notions of religious biography. For instance, we possess three lives of the most wonderful of the medieval saints, Francis of Assisi, all written within one generation of his death by persons who had been his contemporaries. From none of them does it appear that he wrought miracles during life, if we except the cure of sickness. But in the latest of these books, that by St. Bonaventure, it is related that a man whose eyes had been put out recovered his sight by the intercession of the saint. This circumstance, however, was not recorded by St. Bonaventure ; but, as the Bollandists have shown, the passage in which it is mentioned was inserted in the work after his

death. Malvenda has crowded his extraordinary life of St. Dominic with an account of the miracles he performed. But the first biographer of the saint declares that the stories he had heard were so contradictory and so difficult to verify that he thought it better to omit them.⁴ It is well known how abundant are the contemporary notices of the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. But the writers during the first half-century after her death record no miracle as having been wrought by her in her lifetime. The beautiful legend of the roses first appears with the fifteenth century, and is in direct contradiction to the report of the landgrave's conduct given by his chaplain in his recently published biography. The story that the birth of Elizabeth was predicted by the famous magician Klingsor of Hungary, is repeated even by her latest and most critical biographer, Simon, a Lutheran clergyman; and Count de Montalembert, in telling the story, is solicitous to guard against the suspicion of believing in astrology. Yet Klingsor is a mythical personage, and it is perfectly certain that he never existed. Great part of the legend of St. Elizabeth may be traced to Theodore of Apolda, who tells the ridiculous story of St. Dominic, that he compelled the devil to hold his candle until it burnt down to his fingers, and caused him horrible pain.⁵

If a natural and lawful regard for their devotional value has continued to protect the legends of the saints against discriminating researches, the fables that once clustered round the public history of the Church have obtained no such favour. The scholars of the seventeenth century, beginning with Baronius and ending with Tillemont, swept away an incredible mass of late traditions and deliberate fictions in the history of the early Popes. As the genesis of error is an important element in the study of dogmatic progress, the influence exercised by fictions likewise deserves to be investigated as a part of the constitutional history of the Church. An enquiry into the history of some of these fables has been published by Dr. Döllinger, as a prelude, he tells us, to a comprehensive work on the history of the Papacy. Each of the essays which it comprises is complete in itself. In their isolation, and in the profusion of ecclesiastical learning which they display, it is easy to see that they are broken fragments of a

⁴ "Constat eum fulsisse virtutibus, coruscasse miraculis, et ex iis plura audivimus, sed ob diversitatem narrantium scripto mandata non sunt."

⁵ On which the celebrated Dominican Melchior Canus remarks: "Non autem decebat veras sanctorum res gestas falsis et commentitiis fabulis contaminari."

larger work. Such universal and yet microscopic knowledge of medieval literature could never have been acquired in order to be deliberately wasted on episodes like these.

At the beginning of the chapter on Pope Joan, which is the first of the nine dissertations, a passage occurs which suggests some preliminary observations. The opinion of those who maintain that the fable of the maiden of Mentz who dishonoured the See of St. Peter is a satire on the Rhenish origin of the spurious decretals is manifestly false, inasmuch as the fable arose at a time when the authenticity of the decretals was questioned by none. Dr. Döllinger, having shown this, goes on to say that in those days there was no sense for satirical allegory; and he derides the contrary opinion of Gfrörer as utterly inconsistent with the character of the thirteenth century. The point is of some interest, for it illustrates a fundamental difference in the interpretation of medieval historians; and it appears to us that, although one view is the exaggeration of a perverse ingenuity, the opposite theory, which is maintained by Dr. Döllinger, is too absolute and inflexible.

The plain rule of historical criticism, which is simply the teaching of common sense, is, putting aside all those writers whose date or position deprives them of immediate knowledge and authority, to rely exclusively on those who were nearest to the time and scene of the events described, and to examine in all cases the source whence their information is derived. The application of this rule differs in dealing with different ages. In ancient history, where the sources are few and much has been lost, later authorities do not always lose their value. In consideration of the lost books he had read, Plutarch may be quoted by the side of Thucydides on the Peloponnesian war. In modern times, where enormous masses of materials are unpublished, a later writer who consults them often understands events far better than a contemporary; and we may fairly prefer Ranke to Thuanus, and join Guizot to Clarendon. But in the Middle Ages later writers neither consulted works which have subsequently perished, nor documents which were not previously known. A writer of the thirteenth century is on the same footing as a writer of the fifteenth century for the history of the eleventh. The value of testimony is of course further qualified by the intellectual stature, the motives, and the disposition of the writer. Gfrörer, the most brilliant and dexterous of the German historians, made this the basis of a critical method as revolutionary as that of Niebuhr, and equally surprising in its results. In most medieval histories there is a lack of colour, and little beyond a dry record of

facts. This poverty of art is due to two causes. Sometimes the writer did not comprehend the reason and connection of transactions; sometimes the fear of offending deterred him from explaining what he knew. A competent scholar, who is familiar with every source of information, and surveys the whole course of events, is able to supply this deficiency. He has to make that intelligible which has been left in obscurity; he must introduce harmony and connection where there is confusion; he must bring fragments together from distant quarters; and the whole result may be very different from the parts. In many cases he must follow a hint, and interpret an allusion, where the author has been studiously reserved; and he may be sure that all such timorous reservation conceals some iniquity, and must be explained to the disadvantage of some leading character. The effect will be consequently very vivid, but very unfavourable as to the moral aspect of the times.

This theory, in which truth and error are dangerously mingled, is in substance rejected by Dr. Döllinger. He refuses to add by his own combinations and conclusions to the text of his authorities, and to allow his narrative to be composed of probabilities and certainties united. He sets aside later authorities, however plausible their statements, unless he can trace them to their sources; and he never reconciles conflicting statements by devising a third view which is different from both. His method is founded on the theory that the writers of the Middle Ages, however they may have been swayed by partiality or interest, express simply and directly their real thoughts. It was an age of much rudeness, ignorance, and violence, but men were sincere in their speech: the motives for duplicity and the capacity for simulation were wanting, and history was seldom written to court popularity or to influence opinion. It is not, perhaps, unfair to attribute these canons of criticism to the theological training and to the special dogmatic opinions of the author. The monuments of tradition possess in the eyes of the Catholic divine a special sacredness. They are the immovable basis of the system of the Church, the standard by which she defines her doctrine, the guide of her progress, her bulwark against innovation. If they are exposed to the hazards of conjecture, there can be no certain knowledge of her teaching, her nature, or her spirit. Therefore Catholics attach an importance to the authentic record of the acts and decrees of the Church such as Protestants assign to the Bible alone. By reason of this supreme value and authority all historical information respecting them, if sure and authentic, is invaluable, and must be gathered with infinite

care ; but if only conjectural, and the result of plausible combinations, it is not only worthless but injurious. This is more particularly the view which a divine will naturally take who holds the theory of the development of doctrine. No temptation is more common among men of a different persuasion than the impulse to describe the theology of a particular age from the testimony of later writers. From this point of view it is fatal to an opinion that it cannot be shown to have been ancient or continuous ; and to hold, for instance, that the Fathers before St. Augustine erred in the doctrine of grace is to renounce the principle of tradition, while to prove it would be to overthrow tradition. It was an extreme caricature of this idea when Melancthon said, that although there was no evidence in favour of the Lutheran doctrine during the Middle Ages, yet it was unquestionably held by men wiser than those whose opinions are recorded. This sort of reasoning is of necessity abhorrent to that theory of development which our author has worked out farther and more consistently than any other theologian. He is bound, therefore, to ascertain the belief of each period from its own monuments and records, and rigorously to exclude all inferences drawn from later times, and all forced or far-fetched interpretations. But ideas and customs are flexible materials, which tradition can more easily deface than the simplest record of deeds and events, and in respect to this rule of criticism theology and history are not strictly analogous.

The thirteenth century dealt largely in both satire and allegory. Poetry was often allegorical, and historians condescended to be satirists. When the indignant feelings that appear in Matthew Paris and in Dante, in Freidank and Rutebœuf, penetrated among the people, they found expression in allegory. It was precisely in the thirteenth century that this censorious discontent began to be prevalent among all classes. The old popular allegories supplied a framework, and a satirical intention was infused into them which was foreign to their original nature. Thus it was with part of the great cycle of the legends of the Holy Graal, and with the ancient fable of the Beasts. "Reineke Fuchs" and the "Roman de la Rose" grew into satirical allegories ; and the first great poem in our language, the "Vision of Piers Ploughman," is animated by the same spirit.

Forty-four pages of Dr. Döllinger's work are devoted to the fable of Pope Joan ; a fable of which the ages of faith were quite as tenacious as of those which were honourable to the Holy See. Critics have been hitherto so unsuccessful in their attempts to explain its origin, that a recent writer has declared

his belief that the enigma can never be solved. Baronius thought it was a satire on the weakness displayed by John VIII. in that dispute with Photius which was the beginning of the great Eastern schism. Others referred it to the period when Theodora and Marozia governed the rulers of Rome. Gfrörer connects it with the false Isidore. Some thought it was a calumny invented by the Greeks, though no Greek writer mentions it before the fourteenth century. Pagi attributed it to the Waldenses; but its chief promoters were not heretics or schismatics, but their most determined enemies, the mendicant orders. All these explanations fail because the fable arose at a time when the events of the ninth century were too little known to provoke legendary interpretations. There is no trace of it prior to the middle of the thirteenth century. This fact has been only recently ascertained, since the manuscripts of the medieval writings have been examined and compared. No mention of the fable can be discovered in any manuscript written before the year 1240. It found its way into the text in later times, as a marginal note, and was first inserted into some books by the editors in the sixteenth century. Its earliest appearance is in an unprinted work by Stephen of Bourbon, who died in 1261; but it obtained general credence only through the popularity of the chronicle of Martin of Poland, written towards the close of the century. Even there it was an interpolation; Martin did not speak of it himself. It is not found in the earlier Mss. of his work, but was added after his death, first on the margin, and then in the text. This must have happened almost immediately, for Martin died in 1279; and Ptolemy of Lucca, who terminated his ecclesiastical history in the year 1313, says that Martin introduces Johannes Anglus between Leo IV. and Benedict III., but that no other chronicler knows of his existence. From this time the story was constantly repeated by the friars in the fourteenth century, at first as a mere report, but soon without reserve or hesitation.

In the first years of the fourteenth century, therefore, the story of Pope Joan is found only in Mss. of a single writer; almost immediately after it becomes universally credited, and the authors of its popularity are the Franciscans, and still more the Dominicans. Next to the origin of the legend, this is the most curious part of its history. It was of course considered a grievous scandal, and a lamentable disgrace to the Holy See. Now, from the end of the thirteenth century, the mendicant orders were bitterly hostile to Boniface VIII. They opposed his policy, reviled his name, and took a particular delight during many years in crowding their chronicles with

stories against the Popes. Under these circumstances, nothing could be more welcome than the fable of Pope Joan; and they multiplied copies of the books in which it was contained. It soon ceased to be doubted. The bust of Pope Joan was set up among those of the other Pontiffs in the cathedral of Siena, and remained unchallenged for two hundred years. When, at the Council of Constance, John Hus defended his thesis, that the Church could get on without a Pope, by pointing to the interval of two years and a half during which a woman had occupied the See of St. Peter, nobody disputed the fact. Gerson himself had shortly before used the same instance for a somewhat similar purpose. Even the great defender of the papal prerogative, Cardinal Turrecremata, treats it as a notorious fact, and makes it support a theory. It was spread by the zeal of the Dominicans against the Holy See, and for eighty years was incessantly repeated in books published in Rome, in books dedicated to Popes, and in the writings of the Popes themselves. But its origin was free from any motives of hostility or malice.

The tale is told with many variations. The earliest authority, Stephen of Bourbon, supposes the event to have occurred towards the year 1100. How it came to be transferred to the year 855 is explained most ingeniously by Dr. Döllinger, as follows:—First, it is found in late Mss. of the biographies of the Popes that bear the name of Anastasius. In that series the lives of Leo IV. and of Benedict III. betray different hands. Consequently there must have been copies which ended with Leo IV. Probably the fable was afterwards added as a curiosity at the end of one of these, and this was then supposed to be its right date. Secondly, Martin the Pole, who gives a line to the events of each year in his Chronicle of the Popes, had nothing to say for the last years of Leo IV., and left a blank from 850 to the election of Benedict III. in 855. So the tale passed easily from the end of Anastasius to the top of the page in Martin of Poland which embraces the second half of the ninth century. Thirdly, Dr. Döllinger uses an argument which pushes ingenuity almost too far. According to the fable, Joan owes her elevation to her great proficiency in knowledge; therefore, he says, it was necessary to assign her a date when learning was a ladder to the pontifical throne. Now, during four centuries and a half, from John VI. to Gregory VII., Martin of Poland knows of no Pope conspicuous for learning except Leo IV. About the time of his pontificate, therefore, learning was esteemed at Rome, and an accomplished adventuress was more likely to have succeeded then than at any other time. Still this would not be a reason

for altering a date which was originally fixed immediately after Gregory VII.,—that is, in a very literary age.

Four things combined gave rise to the story: the use of a chair of uncommon form at the coronation of Popes, which was introduced about the year 1100, when Pope Joan first appears; an inscription and a statue, found close together, which it was assumed were respectively an epitaph and a female figure; and the custom of taking a circuit in processions in order to avoid a particular street, which was so narrow and incommodious that it was afterwards removed. The statue and inscription have disappeared. The former represented a pagan divinity or a priest, together with the figure of a child. The inscription, put up by a priest of Mithra in commemoration of some solemn sacrifice, appears to have contained the following words:

Pap. Pater Patrum P.P.P.

“Pater Patrum” was a title borne by the priests of Mithra, and the words stood for—

Papirius Pater Patrum Propria Pecunia Posuit.

Curiosity was awakened by the strange shape of the porphyry chair, and by the obscure inscription and nameless statue, and the practice of avoiding the street in which they were found. The popular imagination devised a solution which harmonised all the difficulties. It was said that a woman, who concealed her sex, had been chosen Pope for her great learning; that, whilst passing in a procession through a street which was ever afterwards avoided in consequence of the scandal, she had given birth to a child; and that, dying there, she had been buried on the spot. A statue of her and her child was supposed to mark the place; and the event was thought to be commemorated by an inscription, of the several readings of which the most ingenious is,

Papa Pater Patrum Peperit Papissa Papellum.

Ever since then, the legend added, the sex of the new Pope must be ascertained on the day of his coronation. This was the only reason that could be discovered for the ceremony of seating the Pope, once only in his life, on one of these chairs, which had in reality belonged to the Roman baths, and were selected on account of the splendour of the material. This fabulous custom is first mentioned by Robert d’Uzez, who died in 1291, and is therefore as old as the fable of Pope Joan. During many ages, until late in the seventeenth century, this stupid and degrading story continued to be repeated, and was

not contradicted, though every prelate in Rome knew its falsehood, and the porphyry chair had been disused ever since the time of Leo X.

At first Pope Joan is described as *Johannes Anglus, natione Moguntinus*. She comes sometimes from Mentz, and sometimes from England. Her English origin may point to the time of the quarrel between King John and Innocent III., when England was regarded at Rome as the most hostile of the Christian states. In like manner she came from Mentz because the legend was used as a satire on the Ghibelline Germans, and Mentz was regarded as practically the capital of Germany: *Moguntia, ubi maxima vis regni esse noscitur*, says Otho of Freising. She studies at Athens because Athens was the old seat of learning until the *Studium* was transferred to Paris. The time of the transition was but vaguely conjectured; but one chronicle says, *Anno D. 830 Romanum studium, quod prius Athenis exstitit, est translatum Parisiis*.

The most important thing in Dr. Döllinger's volume is an investigation of the origin and history of the famous instrument by which it was once believed that Constantine had conferred temporal dominion and royal dignity upon the Popes. It is commonly supposed that the great domains which became the basis of the temporal power were partly the gift of Constantine; and the Life of St. Sylvester enumerates the grants of land which were attributed to him. Dr. Döllinger, however, is disposed to question the accuracy of this belief, and to deny altogether that the emperor bestowed any landed property on the Holy See. There is no contemporary authority for it. In the year 370 it is probable, from the words of Ammianus, that the Church had no estates. The Life of St. Sylvester, a late compilation, is little to be relied on; while it attributes so much land to the gift of the first Christian emperor, there is no mention of any other imperial donations until the time of Justinian. It appears, therefore, to Dr. Döllinger that the compiler of that work simply referred to Constantine the origin of all the possessions which the Church of Rome owned at the time when he wrote,—that is, in the seventh or eighth century. No doubt it is true that the Life is full of fables; but there must have been some better reason than this would be to determine the selection of those grants which are attributed to Constantine. In the Epistles of Gregory the Great we have a record of the Roman domains which includes estates not mentioned by the biographer of Sylvester in the seventh or eighth century. It is, therefore, hardly credible that he can have included the whole of the possessions of the Holy See in his time among the gifts of Constan-

tine. If, on the one hand, there is no conclusive authority in favour of donations of land made by him to the Pope, it appears to us that there is no strong motive for doubt. The Roman Church possessed land, though without legal sanction, even under the pagan emperors; and after the confiscations under Diocletian, Constantine ordered it to be restored. By the edict of 321 he permitted the Church to receive bequests (*bona*); and this permission must have included land. At the beginning of the fourth century the Church of Rome had some landed property. In the sixth we know that it had a great deal. A Greek writer of that age, indeed, says that this was not the practice;⁶ but his statement is a flagrant contradiction of the testimony of St. Gregory; and we must suppose that at one period the estates that were bequeathed to the Popes were sold, in order to enable them to pursue the vast work of charity of which we read towards the faithful of other churches. In the year 370 a restriction was imposed on the accumulation of wealth by the clergy. It is scarcely probable that this wealth increased more rapidly afterwards than before; and if it is a mistake to suppose that the Popes owned no land in the middle of the fourth century, it is unreasonable to reject the report that Constantine, having opened the door to such bequests, having restored the confiscated lands, and having exhibited great generosity to St. Sylvester, included domains in the gifts which he bestowed. It is possible that Dr. Döllinger may have it in his power to throw new light on the policy of Constantine towards the Holy See; but until he has more fully explained his view, we are inclined to receive it with much hesitation.

His subtle and powerful argument for the earliest of the three periods to which the origin of the edict of Donation may be plausibly referred, will carry conviction to many minds. The answer to Baronius, Bianchi, Richter, and those who attribute the forgery to the Greeks, is decisive. The document was not known to the Greeks for three centuries after it was current in the West. The opinion of Morinus, that it was written in the tenth century, is thus met by Dr. Döllinger:—"His chief argument is that Otho III., in his deed of the year 999, designates a certain deacon John, who was nicknamed *Digitorum mutius* (*mutilus*), as the man who wrote the document in the name of Constantine with letters of gold. Morinus supposes that this Johannes Diaconus is the same whom Pope John XII. first made use of as his instrument, and whose right hand he afterwards caused to be cut off, in

⁶ Ἐθος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀκίνητα μὴ κρατεῖν δίκαια. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, ii. 63.

964. But he is wrong; for a man who had lost his hand would not be called 'with mutilated fingers'" (p. 70). Dr. Döllinger's own opinion is in favour of the eighth century. His argument is as follows:—The Donation is mentioned by Hadrian I. in 777, and was probably composed about the time when Pepin gave the Pentapolis to the Pope, in order to justify his territorial independence, and to show that it was no injury to the Empire, as it had been already conceded by the first Christian emperor. The document cannot have been written after the year 774, when the establishment of the Frankish monarchy in Italy deprived the Holy See of the hope of political sovereignty. There is another document, of the time of Charlemagne, a symptom of the same tendency that produced the Donation, which purports to be Pepin's account of his negotiation with the Greeks and with the Pope, and represents him as bestowing the whole of Italy on St. Peter. The edict is adopted by the author of the spurious decretals; but it cannot be his work, for it was written at Rome, and its sole object is to exalt the Holy See and the Roman clergy. Several of its articles point distinctly to the middle of the eighth century. The old senate had disappeared for more than a hundred years, when a new senate arose, which is first mentioned in the year 757, and consisted of the new nobility. Now the edict extends the senatorial honours to the clergy of Rome, and makes the priests rank with the patricii and the consuls, dignities which were also revived precisely at the same time. The statement which it puts into the mouth of Constantine, that he had given to the Church of Rome lands in the East and in the West, in order to keep up the lights which burn perpetually before the tombs of the Apostles,—*quibus pro concinnatione luminarium possessiones contulimus*,—exactly tallies with the words of Paul I., that Pepin made war on the Longobards in order to restore the lights of St. Peter,—*pro cujus restituendis luminariis decertatis*. The Donation was therefore forged at Rome, between the years 754 and 774; was circulated by pseudo-Isidore from the year 840; and is mentioned vaguely under Nicholas I. by Hincmar and Ado, and distinctly, in 868, by Æneas, bishop of Paris.

Of course if Dr. Döllinger is right in saying that Hadrian I. mentions the document in the year 777, his case is proved. But the words of Hadrian are: *potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est*. This is a very inadequate description of the contents of the Donation, and rather applies to the grants of land enumerated in the Life of St. Sylvester, and to the consequent authority which many Popes, such as Celestine, Leo, and Gregory I. and II., are known to have

exercised: for he goes on to speak of *alia quæ per diversos imperatores, patricios etiam et alios Deum timentes—in partibus Tusciæ, Spoletio seu Benevento, atque Corsica . . . concessa sunt*. These things are reckoned in continuation of the similar gifts of Constantine; but if the latter had been understood in the sense of the Donation, there would have been no occasion to add the rest, for all Italy was included in it. Hadrian would not have quoted a deed forged in his own lifetime, and only a few years before he wrote. If we put aside his testimony as irrelevant, the argument founded on a comparison of the terms of the Donation with the state of things at Rome towards the year 755 remains. But this conformity between the text and the circumstances of the Church is not quite confined to this particular period; and, in insisting on the coincident revival of ancient Roman institutions, Dr. Döllinger treats the fact, that a period singularly poor in historical records is silent on the subject, as equivalent to a proof of the actual suspension of those institutions. It is not likely that, at the very moment when the Church of Rome was receiving a large portion of the territory of Italy, she would set up a claim for the whole; or that this claim, by which the merit of the gift was diminished, should not have been put forward under Charlemagne. The Roman clergy were still imperial subjects, and there had been a succession of Greek Popes. Such ignorance of the law and nature of the empire as the author of the Donation betrays would at that time have been unnatural.

If the victory of Charlemagne in 774 deprived the Popes of the chance of recovering their rightful power, this would be a further argument against Dr. Döllinger's interpretation of the words of Hadrian. If it was useless to compose the Donation after that year, it was vain to quote it. But those hopes of dominion over Italy which were unsuited to the time when the foundations of the Carolingian empire were laid became more reasonable after its fall. In the tenth century the monarchy of Charlemagne had fallen asunder, and the partial sovereignty which the Holy See had enjoyed was at an end. At such a time the hope of recovering, and even increasing, the power which was lost might revive. The idea involved no menace to the empire, for the empire had long disappeared from Italy. When, therefore, the Popes conceived the design of calling in imperial aid for the restoration of their own authority, they might naturally deem it expedient to take the precaution of raising such a claim as should secure them from the danger of its control. The opinion that the Donation was fabricated in the tenth century has this advantage over every other hypothesis, that it gives the name of the

author on almost contemporary authority. Dr. Döllinger's answer to the argument derived from the act of Otho III. is founded on a mistake. It is not true that John, the cardinal-deacon, lost his hand. Two of his fingers were cut off, and therefore the designation *digitorum mutilus* was exactly appropriate. Liutprand, who is Dr. Döllinger's authority, describes the punishment inflicted by John XII. on his enemies, the cardinal-deacon and the protoscriniarius Azo, *quorum alterum manu dextera, alterum lingua digitis naribusque abscisis, Johannes abdicatus defœdaverat*. The order in which the names stand has misled many writers into the belief that John lost his hand, and Azo his fingers and nose. But this is an error. Benedict of Soracte, in his barbarous Latin, says: *Azzo protoscrinium manum abscidi precepit, cum quo brebe scribebat, et Johannes diaconus nasum ejus abscidi fecit*.⁷ The acts of the Council of Rheims confirm this version: *Octavianus* (John XII.) *Romam redit, Leonem fugat, Johannem diaconum naso, dextrisque digitis ac lingua mutilat*.⁸ Otho unquestionably believed and intended to say that the forger of the Donation was that Cardinal John, who, after having been an agent of Pope John XII., denounced him at the synod of 963, and was afterwards punished by mutilation.

The terms in which the emperor accuses the Popes of having squandered the property of the Church apply perfectly to the middle of the tenth century. The first thought of Octavian, when he was raised to the pontifical throne, was to recover the ancient rights and territories of his see. He declared himself the enemy of Berengarius of Ivrea, who was recognised in the north as King of Italy; and he commenced an unsuccessful expedition against Benevento and Capua. Finding himself too weak to erect the Roman See into a great temporal sovereignty, and to obtain for himself and his clergy the political importance for which he longed, he betook himself to the King of the Germans. Since the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, its successors had ceased to be formidable to Italy or to the Church; and it was hoped that Otho would restore the Papal power in return for the imperial crown, and would not be eager to exercise rights which had long been dormant, and which he had shown no disposition to claim. In this conjuncture the edict of Constantine would be an invaluable safeguard. The agent of the Pope on this occasion was John the Deacon. He it was who brought the Germans once more to Rome, to renew the fallen empire of Charlemagne, and who, before proceeding on that eventful

⁷ Apud Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vita*, i. 42.

⁸ *Acta Conc. Rem.* cap. 28.

mission, wrote in letters of gold a document which promised to protect the Holy See from the ambition of its new ally, and to give to the measures which were expected from him the character, not of concessions, which might demand an equivalent return, but simply of a restitution. We know that John XII. was capable of entertaining and executing designs as nefarious as this; and the distinct statement of Otho III. forbids us to doubt that the Pope's confederate really wrote a splendid copy of the Donation.

The act was less iniquitous than Otho imagined, for the document was already in existence. It was copied but not forged by Johannes Diaconus, and had already been mentioned a century before, though never previously quoted by a Pope. Though neither Hadrian I., nor Ado, nor Hincmar, positively allude to it, we can hardly doubt that it was known to Æneas. Not that this is so clear to us as it appears to Dr. Döllinger, who certainly puts a forced construction on the words. *Maximam partem diversarum provinciarum ei subjecit*, does not mean that he gave the Pope authority over a great number of different provinces, "eine grosse Anzahl verschiedener Provinzen" (p. 77); but "a very large part of different provinces." Consequently the words apply to the domains, which were numerous and extensive, and in many provinces, rather than to the sovereignty over all Italy, as it stands in the Donation. Other passages in the work of Æneas are, however, more significant than those which Dr. Döllinger relies on, and we have no difficulty in surrendering the point. For we have evidence, the most decisive that can be imagined, that the Donation was extant at the time when Æneas wrote. It exists in a manuscript of the False Decretals which is as old as the pontificate of Nicholas I.⁹ This makes it certain that the Donation of Constantine is as old as 860, and makes it probable that it was a product of the same age that witnessed the stupendous forgery of the Decretals. The one occurred in France, the other in Rome; but their results were very speedily combined. This simultaneous and independent production of false texts tending to enhance the authority of the Holy See, and the readiness with which both were admitted even by men like Hincmar, a great master of Christian antiquities, and the first prelate against whom the new system was put into effect,—all this proves how little the ideas that prevailed at that time were exaggerated by the authors of these documents.

The importance which the writer of the Donation attaches

⁹ Camus in *Notices et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vi. 275, 288. As long as the fifty codices of the spurious Decretals have not been examined for a critical edition, this question can probably never be settled.

to pomp and dignities points to the same period, for Nicholas was the first Pope who assumed the crown. Whilst, therefore, we hold it on the evidence of manuscripts alone to be incontestable that the edict of Donation was in existence in the year 860, we cannot discover in Dr. Döllinger's arguments any proofs of equal force in favour of an earlier date.

It is very curious to follow our author as he traces the subsequent repute and influence of the spurious document. It was never brought forward by any Pope until the year 1054, when Leo IV. recited nearly the whole of it in a letter to Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, *ne leviter suspicemini ineptis et anilibus fabulis sanctam Romanam sedem velle sibi inconcussum honorem vindicare*. This is the only occasion, however, on which any Pontiff has openly challenged criticism by resting his claims on the text of the Donation. It was never cited by Gregory VII., although he ransacked the archives in order to obtain documentary evidence in support of his policy. But in 1091 it is used by Urban II. to establish the rights of the Holy See over Corsica, although it would have been more simple to quote the authentic grant of that island by Charlemagne. The next step was to assume that all the islands of the West were included in the original Donation; and this was soon so firmly believed that it was deemed by Hadrian IV. to justify the gift of Ireland to Henry II., although that island had never been subject to the empire, and was hardly known by name to the Romans in the days of Constantine.

Opposition to the prevailing view was not altogether silenced. In the year 1105 the monks of Farfa asserted that the jurisdiction of the Holy See was exclusively spiritual; and in 1152 the followers of Arnold of Brescia denounced the deed as a monstrous fiction. Meanwhile its tenor was gradually enlarged. Anselm of Lucca has it: *Constantinus Imperator Papæ concessit coronam et omnem regiam dignitatem in urbe Romana, et Italia, et in partibus occidentalibus*. Otho of Freising, in the middle of the 12th century, says that the See of Rome consequently claimed tribute from all the states of the West, excepting France and Germany. It necessarily followed, however, from the sense in which the words were taken, that the empire itself came to be regarded as a gift of the Holy See. Not that the successors of Constantine were imagined to have received their crowns from the Popes, but the Popes, as the sovereigns of Rome, inherited and exercised the right, originally inherent in the Roman people, of conferring the imperial dignity. The kingdom of Italy belonged of right to the Popes since the days of Constantine, and, as the empire now went

with it, they both indirectly proceeded from the same source. The prevalence of this view of the imperial power at Rome caused the storm of indignation that arose in Germany when Hadrian spoke of the crown as a *beneficium* which he had conferred on Frederick. At the end of the twelfth century the authority of the Donation was very firmly established; and, as it found its way into the canon law, the jurists became its decided advocates. Innocent III. believed in it; and in 1236 Gregory IX. declared that the empire belonged to the Popes, who surrendered no part of their supreme jurisdiction when they invested each emperor with the power of the sword. Then, in the year 1245, Innocent IV., going beyond all his predecessors, affirmed that Constantine had only restored or recognised that double authority which Christ gave from the beginning to Peter and his successors. Half a century later, the author of the two last books of the famous treatise *De Regimine Principum* describes the act of Constantine as an abdication in favour of the Popes, so that all temporal power is held by their gift. Ægidius Colonna, the Archbishop of Bourges, held the same opinion;¹⁰ and Dr. Döllinger thinks that the extreme views, which culminated in the writings of Augustinus Triumphus and Alvarez Pelayo, were provoked by the desire of meeting objections to the Donation of Constantine, and especially of counteracting such ingenious theories as that of Marsilius of Padua, who argued that as the authority of the Popes is derived from Constantine it is of human origin, and therefore inferior to that imperial power from which it sprang.

We believe it might be shown, however, that the successive exaggerations of the theory of the political supremacy of the Popes followed each other by a kind of logical necessity; that they arose naturally, not from an original delusion, but in the course of the warfare with the feudal power; and that this process, substantially independent of the Donation, was so vigorous and so agreeable to the tendencies of the day, that it disregarded the limits of the grant, arbitrarily altered its terms, and bore it along as an obedient and flexible instrument, rather than an initiating and controlling force, in the development of the hierarchical system.

When Hildebrand commenced the great reform of the eleventh century, he found the celibacy and the morality of the secular clergy grievously fallen, simony prevailing throughout the Church, and the civil power exercising an absolute control over the prelates, by virtue of a mode of in-

¹⁰ "Omnia temporalia sunt sub dominio Ecclesiæ collocata, et si non de facto, quoniam multi forte huic juri rebellantur, de jure tamen et ex debito temporalia summo pontifici sunt subjecta."

vestiture which disguised the true source of spiritual jurisdiction. In his first efforts to restore ecclesiastical discipline, he was supported, both in Germany and Italy, by a portion of the laity, but he was opposed by the simoniacal and dependent priesthood. The fidelity owed by a vassal was too powerful a link to be broken at the summons of the Pope, or out of anxiety for the welfare of the Church. It was necessary to emancipate the Bishops from this thralldom, the effect of their exalted position in the state. Gregory could not destroy feudalism and shatter the existing framework of Christian society. He had no choice but to make the Bishops resign their fiefs, or to deprive the prince of the rights of feudal suzerainty. Long after his death the first of these alternatives was made a familiar idea to Catholics by the example of St. Francis, and by the theory of some of his later disciples. But at the time when that reaction occurred, wealth had become a source not only of political dependence, but also of moral corruption; and the reaction itself was caused by the luxurious life of the clergy, which estranged them from the people, not by the evils of vassalage, which made them dependent on the state. Gregory could invoke no force sufficient for so vast a revolution; he recurred to the other alternative. He exerted himself to induce the kings of Europe to acknowledge St. Peter as their feudal lord, to receive their crowns from his successor, and thus to invert the relations between the civil and the ecclesiastical power.

In Germany the position of affairs was different, for there the crown was elective. But the King of the Germans claimed to receive the crown of the Roman Empire from the Pope, and the empire included the protectorate of the Church. This office could not rightly be bestowed on an unsuitable person. It was monstrous that the Pope should be compelled to elevate to the dignity of his protector, and the arbiter of his election, a prince whose good-will he had reason to distrust, or whose religion he suspected. For the emperor still enjoyed substantial rights at Rome, and Gregory himself had submitted to have his election confirmed by Henry IV. If, therefore, he showed symptoms of heresy, that is, if he questioned or defied the laws of the Church or the authority of her ruler, it was impossible that he should retain the imperial crown. It followed that the Pope, whose right and duty it was to apply this test, could refuse or withdraw the empire on the same principle as that on which he might eject even sovereigns from his communion, not wantonly, but on valid grounds. He could not modify or curtail the power which belonged to the empire, but he could give it or take it away.

This was the course of reasoning which the Roman divines pursued between Gregory VII. and Gregory IX., guided rather by the nature of things than by any existing law, and, as it appears to us, without regard to the Donation of Constantine, which was never appealed to in critical moments, which was known, for instance, to Nicholas III. in its original modest form, and which was quite inadequate to support such a superstructure. The opponents of these opinions held doctrines quite as excessive; and of them it may be truly said that they were misled by their belief in the edict. Gervase of Tilbury says, that the Popes received their power from Constantine; that the giver is greater than the receiver; and that the imperial power is from God, the papal from the emperor.¹¹ Even the advocates of the Holy See, such as Leo IX. and Bonizo of Sutri, imagine that the primacy was not recognised before Constantine.¹²

Whilst, therefore, the imperialists could argue very effectively on the inferences from the supposed Donation, and the curialists were obliged gradually to interpolate and to disregard its text, it is hardly just to attribute to its influence the exaggerations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are due to the peculiar position of the empire in its struggle with the Church, and to the universal ignorance of Christian antiquities, which gave free scope to the speculations of the schools. These speculations constantly tended to work out to its uttermost consequences any principle which seemed honourable or advantageous to the Holy See. For in proportion as the scholastic literature increased and flourished, the study of ecclesiastical history decayed; and criticism deteriorated considerably after the end of the twelfth century. "If we reflect," says Dr. Döllinger, "how well history was understood as early as the twelfth century, we shall be inclined to say that for three hundred years this sort of knowledge went backward rather than forward" (p. 95). Leibniz uses still stronger language. "I hold the thirteenth century, and that which succeeded it, to have been the most stupid since the Christian era. Good writers suddenly disappeared; jurisprudence and the subtleties of the schools became almost the sole object of study. . . . The fables which had hitherto penetrated only the

¹¹ "Quis ergo major in terrenis, qui dat, an qui accipit? profecto qui dat autor est honoris, non qui accipit. Deus autor imperii: Imperator autor papalis triumphus." Leibniz, *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.* i. 882.

¹² "(Privilegium) contulit pontifici romano . . . ut in toto orbe sacerdotes ita hunc caput habeant, sicut omnes judices regem." *Leonis Ep.* 100. "Legem posuit evangelicæ doctrinæ consonantem, ut omnes episcopi Romanum episcopum haberent caput, sicut omnes judices regem." *Bonizo ad amicum. Osele Rer. Boic. SS.* ii. 795.

legends and the miraculous lives of saints rapidly inundated all literature."¹³

The Donation was of little practical service to the Popes. It directly influenced no important act except the grant of Ireland; and it gave rise, late in the Middle Ages, to the bitter attacks of men who believed it to be authentic. The rapid growth of the temporal riches of the clergy provoked an ardent and very general condemnation of a wealthy Church. The Waldenses and the Mendicants combined to spread the idea of the poverty of Christ, and to represent the gifts of Constantine in that gloomy light in which Dante speaks of them in one of the most famous passages of the *Inferno*. The fabled Donation came ultimately to be regarded as the origin of all the ills the Church was suffering; and a legend arose that on the day when it was made, the voice of an angel had been heard to proclaim that poison had been administered to her.

This was the point of view from which the fraud was for the first time unmasked. Doubts occurred about the same time to four celebrated men, who seem to have written independently of each other. Æneas Sylvius and Nicholas Cusanus speak with some hesitation. Reginald Pecock shows much less reserve. The first of all was Valla, who, writing in 1439, at a time when his patron the King of Naples refused to recognise the lawful Pope, maintained that the temporal power was the deplorable result of the fiction. It is true, as Dr. Döllinger says, that he afterwards received an appointment at Rome from Nicholas V., and that no retractation was ever exacted. But in a letter written in the year 1445, soliciting admission into the Papal service, Valla asks forgiveness for what he had done; partly, he says, at the instigation of others, partly out of contentiousness and ambition. Eugene IV., however, rejected his petition, and Valla fled secretly from Rome. At that time there still were writers, whom our author enumerates, who held that it was heretical to deny the genuineness of the Donation; and it continued to find defenders until it was rejected by Baronius.

The story of the Donation was supported by that of the baptism of Constantine at Rome by Pope Sylvester, which was believed for eight hundred years. It was incredible to the medieval mind that Constantine should have surrendered Rome to the Pope, and loaded him with wealth and privileges, without being a Christian; or that, after watching the Arian controversy, and assisting at the first general council, he should have postponed his baptism to receive it on his death-bed from an Arian Bishop. Although this was the account

¹³ *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.* i., Introductio, lxiii.

unanimously given by the genuine authorities on the history of the fourth century, a version more consonant with antecedent probability appeared at Rome about the year 500, in the spurious acts of St. Sylvester. Bede is the earliest author of eminence who adopted the legend, and his chronicle helped to circulate it; yet long after him, in books of the eleventh century, and even in a chronicle of the year 1175, the authority of Eusebius and St. Jerome continued to prevail. But the Popes themselves—Hadrian I., Nicholas I., and Leo IX.—publicly expressed their belief that Constantine was baptised at Rome; and after the time of Gregory VII. the story is commonly accepted by historians. The Greeks, who venerated Constantine as a saint, and would not, therefore, admit that he had remained so long a pagan, adopted the Roman legend much sooner than the majority of the Latins. Here, again, the first doubts were expressed by Pius II. and by his friend Cardinal Cusanus; but the fable continued to be believed by Pole, Bellarmine, Baronius, and others, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the comparison of testimony was for the first time methodically pursued.

Till that time the legendary tradition overwhelmed all real evidence, and wrought its wayward will with the history of the Papacy, converting one Pope into a heretic, inventing another, and, most strange of all, raising up an Arian anti-Pope to the honours of the altars. This was Felix II., who was consecrated by the Arians in the place of Liberius,—the Pope who wavered for a moment in the great Athanasian controversy, but who, as Dr. Döllinger shows, never fell into actual heresy. The legend was severe on Liberius, and represented his opponent as a holy man. The latter was revered as a martyr on the 29th of July, from the eighth century to the sixteenth. Baronius, becoming suspicious, wrote a book to prove that Felix was neither a saint nor a legitimate Pope; and a congregation was appointed to investigate the question. Just then an inscription was found, bearing the words *Corpus S. Felicis Papæ et Martyris*, which soon disappeared again; but not until it had removed the scruples of Baronius, and obtained for Felix a place in the corrected martyrology. The opinion of most learned men was against him; but even Benedict XIV. affirmed, *de S. Felicis II. sanctitate et martyrio nullam amplius superesse dubitationem*. Since that day, however, Dr. Döllinger can only find one writer who denies that Felix was an intruder.

In the middle of the twelfth century, when the bones of St. Ursula's companions were dug up, near Cologne, it happened that several skeletons of men were found from time to

time among them. This circumstance was calculated to throw suspicion on the legend of the British virgins, had not a number of epitaphs been brought to light, attributing these bones to a variety of priests and bishops, to an archbishop of Ravenna, and to several cardinals. A stone was at length discovered, which bore the name of Pope Cyriacus. The abbot began to suspect that these inscriptions might be forged, and, in order to make sure, he sent them to St. Elizabeth of Schönau. She had already been occupied with the legend of St. Ursula; and it was desired that she might determine through her visions the nature of what had been discovered. The result of the enquiry was the following legend. Pope Cyriacus had occupied the Roman See for more than a year, when he received a warning in his sleep that he was to accompany St. Ursula and her companions, in order to share the martyrdom which awaited them. He obeyed, resigned his office, and departed; but the Romans were so displeased, that they struck his name out of the list of Popes. In the following century it began to be suspected that he had not acted from the purest motives. But his martyrdom was unquestioned; and his name stood in the Breviary until the time of the Council of Trent. In the time of Boniface VIII., when the right of his predecessor Celestine V. to resign his see was disputed, the example of St. Cyriacus was one of the three precedents quoted in his favour. These were all alike fictitious. Pope Cyriacus, whose supposed date is 238, was never heard of until the twelfth century. He held his ground in the collection of decretals down to 1553.

We have not space to follow Dr. Döllinger in his account of the rise and progress of several similar legends, respecting Marcellinus, Honorius, and Gregory II. The most singular case he mentions is that of Pope Sylvester II., who, after having been universally revered by his contemporaries, was believed, a century after his death, to have been a magician, and to have been carried away by the devil. Cardinal Benno, the bitter enemy of Gregory VII., is our first authority for this fable, about the close of the eleventh century. He says that Gerbert had introduced the black art at Rome, and had founded a school of its professors, one of whom taught it to Hildebrand. But our author deems it probable that some rumour of the kind was already extant in Rome, where the wise and learned foreigner was an object of wonder and dismay.

Dr. Döllinger's little volume is a masterpiece of critical art. In a psychological point of view it is a marvel. The author is renowned for his knowledge of medieval litera-

ture; and his powers of minute criticism were displayed in his work on Hippolytus. But there are two kinds of proficiency in historical science which have rarely or never been combined before in any high degree. Whilst the historian is sifting evidence and ascertaining his facts, he is obliged to put away from his mind all the influences of opinion, doctrine, and belief. He extracts the pure gold from the ore, without troubling himself as to whose image will be stamped upon it. In this preliminary operation no ulterior object can guide his hand without abating the value of his work, and he must be as free from all emotions as a surgeon when he is inflicting a salutary pain. But as soon as this is done, when the materials are to be used, and to receive their due place in history, when the lessons are to be drawn from them, and they are introduced into political, or literary, or religious discussions, a new rule of action interposes, different faculties come into play, and the facts are brought into contact with important interests and cherished opinions. The historian now converts his facts into arguments, fits them into the system of truths, and weighs attentively all the results they afford to previous enquiries. The union of these two things—the power of investigating facts, and the power of reasoning on theory—is extremely rare. It would have seemed to be barely possible for the same man to have equal familiarity with two such different states of mind,—at one moment to be utterly regardless of the argumentative value of his materials, and at another to study them with the keen eye of a controversialist. If he mingles the two, he is either an unreliable critic or a feeble dialectician, and he either injures science or damages his cause.

Now the author of this book is a practised controversial writer, very dexterous in the management of historical evidence, and vigilant in detecting the value and the bearing of every fact that will tell in the defence of religion. If any where there is any document or any circumstance which may be plausibly used against some Catholic doctrine, or made to excite a prejudice against the Church, it is to his coming volumes on ecclesiastical history that men will look to find it reduced to its just place and proportion. It is there that he will draw the conclusions which the Christian annals supply to the apologist of Catholicism and its theology. That he should be able, with this mighty task before him, and under the sense of the general expectation that has been sustained so long, to pause in his work, and examine the origin and influence of fables that were long mingled with questions of government and discipline, without betraying for a moment

the slightest bias, or seeming to remember that discussion is not yet over,—this is a memorable example to men, of whatever religion they may be, who imagine that the position of a Catholic divine involves some surrender of intellectual freedom, or some compromise between truth and interest. It gives promise that the work of which the present volume is a preliminary fragment will be an inestimable treasure in the literature of Catholics.

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54. *Victor Hugo; a Life related by One who has witnessed it.* 2 vols. Translated from the French. (London : Allen.)
55. *History of Christian Names.* By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." 2 vols. (London : Parker and Bourn.)
56. *Thorsbjerg Mosefund. Beskrivelse af de Oldsager som i Aarene 1858-61 ere udgravede af Thorsbjerg Mose ved Sænder-brarup i angel, et samlet Fund, henhoerende tel den Ældre Jernalder og bevaret i den Kongelige Samling af Nordiske Oldsager i Flensborg, af Conr. Engelhardt, Samlingens Bestyrer, med nogle Kemityper og 18 Plader med Afbildninger. Udgivet med Understoettelse af det Kongelige Ministerium for Hertugdømmet Slesvig.* (Kjöbenhavn: Gad.)
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Carus, Professor der Vergleich. Anat. in Leipzig ; und C. E. Adolph Gerstaecker, Docent der Zoologie an der Universität zu Berlin. 2^{ter} Bd. Arthropoden bearbeitet von A. Gerstaecker: Räderthiere, Würmer Echinodermen, Coelenteraten und Protozoen bearbeitet von J. V. Carus. (Leipzig: Engelmann.)

61. *Recherches d'Embryologie comparée sur le développement du Brochet, de la Perche et de l'Ecrevisse.* Par A. Lereboullet, Doyen de la Faculté des Sciences de Strasburg. (Mémoire couronné par l'Académie des Sciences de l'Institut de France dans la séance publique du 30 janvier 1854.) (Paris : Imprimerie Impériale.)
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1. War makes men love one another, because then they have most need of one another, says Shakespeare. Controversies like that raised by Dr. Colenso arouse a kind of Catholic reaction, if only by making religious isolation impossible, and by showing that no one believes Christianity by a mere internal conviction, independent of all authority. What Christian would keep his faith if he knew that no other person in the world believed the same things ? Here, then, we see that the existence of an external and visible body of believers is a necessary condition for individual belief, and that a Church is the salt of the earth, by preserving faith in the world. In quiet times, perhaps, men may believe without any consciousness of the existence of such a Church ; but history shows that without it the faith would not have been preserved down to our days, and prudence tells us that without it the faith will not be preserved to the next generation of our children. What will our children think of our teaching when they come to discretion, if they find that it is only *ours* ?

The necessity for answering Dr. Colenso drives Mr. Kingsley back upon the Catholic tradition contained in the Creeds and the Book of Common Prayer, and, if we except two or three sneers at "saint-worship," and certain ascetic practices, makes him talk in his *Gospel of the Pentateuch* in as churchman-like a tone as the Tractarians of 1844. Of course he is obliged to maintain that the Reformation was, on the whole, a progress, and a true development of Christianity. "We believe, I think, more firmly than our forefathers did five hundred years ago, on some points ; and therefore we have got rid of many dark and blasphemous superstitions about witches and devils, about the evil of the earth and of our own bodies, of marriage, and of

the common duties and bonds of humanity, which tormented them, because they could not believe fully that Jesus Christ had created, and still ruled, the world and all therein." But this is only a bone thrown to the Cerberus of progress; for the whole drift of these sermons is to return to the old ways, to assert that faith is a habit of mind that clings to the personal God, and not an assent to certain historical propositions about old wars and emigrations of peoples. To this habit of mind, Mr. Kingsley justly says, the criticisms of Dr. Colenso are simply irrelevant. The numbers may be inaccurate, the natural facts may be represented with the ignorant exaggeration of an illiterate age; but, after all, the Bible remains the true record of God's dealings with man, an example of practical theology applied to one portion of history, teaching us how to make a similar application to any other series of events, and telling us the secret of seeing God behind the veil of the visible world.

Mr. Kingsley treats the history and episodes of the Pentateuch in this spirit. Each episode, in his hands, has not only its historical, but its moral sense; it is not only a history, but a parable. In the sermon on Jacob and Esau he makes the following observations to the religious part of his hearers: "Never forget, my good friends, that you will be tempted as Jacob was,—to be dishonest. I cannot tell why, but professedly religious men, in all countries, in all religions, are, and always have been, tempted in that way—to be mean, cunning, and false at times. It is so, and there is no denying it: when all other sins are shut out from them by their religious profession, and their care for their own character, and their fear of hell, the sin of lying, for some strange reason, is left open to them: and to it they are tempted to give way."

2. Dr. Paul de Lagarde's learned publications follow each other in so rapid a succession that it is difficult for his readers to keep pace with him. His last is a contribution to the criticism of the Book of Proverbs. All the existing Hebrew manuscripts are derived from one original, and reproduce all its faults and imperfections. The only means of checking its readings lies in the Septuagint version, which represents a manuscript belonging to another "family." Before we can make a scientific use, however, of this version, it is necessary to possess a correct text of it, the ordinary one having been subjected to successive causes of corruption. An accurate acquaintance with the style of a translator will often enable one to detect a false and restore a right reading, whether in the original text or in the translation. Dr. Paul de Lagarde has certainly shown that a great deal can be done in this direction. And what he has done for the Book of Proverbs may give a tolerably fair idea of what remains to be done for the rest of the Old Testament. A very considerable number, however, of his proposed emendations must, in the absence of positive evidence, be considered as merely hypothetical. There can be no doubt that the text has suffered much alteration both from Jewish and Christian

handling; but the bare possibility of such alteration in any given case is not sufficient to justify us in taking it for granted. We give two specimens of this conjectural criticism: Prov. i. 28,—“I strike out *κακοὶ*, in opposition to all testimonies, as the addition of a Christian who wished to smooth over the contradiction with Matt. vii. 7, 8.” And again, iii. 28—“*אֵלֹהִים* is not in the Greek: I look upon it as the addition of a Jew who considered the command as expressed too generally.”

3. To bring before the general public the conclusions at which the greatest modern critics have arrived with reference to the text of the Holy Gospels, and to attempt a translation which shall be free from some of the more obvious errors of the common version, is the twofold object of Mr. Brameld's new version. This object has probably been attained within the limits of the possibility of the problem; but it is very doubtful how far the general public can have even a tolerably correct notion of the results without understanding the process by which they have been obtained. We do not see how even a good Greek scholar can estimate the general value of the emendations proposed by the very best critics, unless he has himself worked at the same problems and compared his labours with theirs. And it is impossible to convey to the mere English reader any thing like the impression of general uncertainty as to the text which a personal enquiry into it is sure to produce. Any one critic (Dean Alford or Dr. Tregelles, for instance) may feel perfectly convinced of the correctness of his own peculiar readings of the text; but it is impossible that any other independent enquirer should look upon them otherwise than as hypothetical, even though perhaps in the highest degree probable.

Mr. Brameld's remarks in his preface are, in general, unanswerable by all who admit the Protestant view of Scripture. If the Bible be what most Englishmen suppose it to be, the opponents of “revision” are withstanding the claims of the pure Word of God, and preferring to it the human traditions of the last two or three hundred years. It is by no means true that the variations from the received text are few and unimportant. Such a statement, Mr. Brameld very truly says, “is based upon a strange, one may almost say inexplicable, ignorance of the present state of the Greek text. So far are the various readings from being few, that they may be counted by thousands; so far are they from being unimportant, that they occasionally impugn the genuineness of a whole verse, in more than one case, of passages several verses in length. The reader will see, by the frequent occurrence of the asterisk in these pages, that the interpolations in the Gospels alone are extremely numerous; and the passages which the best scholars agree have been mistranslated are also many. We often hear it said that these variations or mistranslations do not affect vital doctrine. Now, if by this he meant that the great verities of the faith can be found in the text of Tischendorf as in that of Elzevir, and in the English version as in most others, the

assertion is correct ; but if it be implied that these variations do not affect, and seriously affect, much of the popular teaching and preaching of the day, the statement is open to very grave controversy." He quotes Dr. Ellicott, one of the foremost living advocates of theological conservatism, as allowing that "it is indisputably a fact, that but few pages of the New Testament can be turned over without our finding points of the greatest interest affected by very trivial variations of reading." He gives several instances in which pulpit teaching is influenced by the results of criticism. The first of these is striking enough. "How many sermons have been preached on the 'Search the Scriptures' of the common version, without the expression, on the preacher's part, of the slightest doubt of the correctness of that rendering !" Here is an instance of a text which has been translated in direct opposition to its real meaning, and on the mistranslation of which a popular doctrine, that of the *duty* of reading the Bible, is built. The incorrectness of the ordinary version is proved from the entire context of the passage. Were the verse isolated, it would be doubtful whether *ἐπευνᾶτε* were indicative or imperative. In such a case, the translation of it by the imperative would be restricting the sense of Scripture to a traditional interpretation, which might or might not be true ; but, as the case actually stands, the traditional interpretation is demonstrably false.

We can easily enough understand the fears of those who foresee that critical investigations applied to the New Testament will unsettle the faith of many. Nor do we think these fears are vain. Enquiry will, in very many cases, lead to doubt, and doubt to disbelief. We believe Mr. Brameld, and those who think with him, to be quite mistaken in saying that "there is no need to fear that faith will suffer from any amount of honest investigation." Investigation may be perfectly honest and accurate as far as it goes, and yet be unconsciously one-sided or ill-directed. Nothing is more common than for men to accept as absolute truth what is in fact but the *reductio ad absurdum* of the principles from which they started. That truth will in the long-run be the gainer by the critical investigation of the Scriptures we most firmly believe ; but the immediate consequence of these investigations may be the loss of faith, not only to individuals but to whole nations, and that for centuries. We do not distrust the reasoning process which leads to this result ; we believe the result to be the only logical one possible from the principles generally admitted by Protestant enquirers. The rational process may be faultless, and the result irresistible. Those, however, at least, who admit the principle have no right to complain of its consequences.

These consequences cannot affect those who, like ourselves, deny that the Bible was divinely intended as the sole guide and standard of faith and practice, and for whom, as individuals, the accuracy of text and version can have but a subordinate interest. It is not for the purpose of learning our creed that we have recourse to the Bible, nor can the direction of our belief be altered either by a change of

reading or translation, or by the discovery that certain texts are interpolations.

Mr. Brameld has not told us what is to be done with all the "interpolations" that have been discovered, though he indeed implies that they ought, one and all, to be expunged from the "sacred volume." Now this conclusion, though a very natural one, appears to us rather hasty. Critical science is one thing; the notion of a "sacred volume" is another. And the two things are absolutely independent of each other. It may be proved critically that the narrative, for instance, of the "woman taken in adultery" was originally no part of the Gospel of St. John; but the "sacred volume" is of wider extent than that gospel. On what grounds, after all, is a "sacred volume" believed in? It would probably turn out on enquiry that no canon of the New Testament could be defended on grounds which would not equally support the canonical claims of the narrative in question.

4. A very ambitious, but by no means satisfactory, attempt to popularise the results of modern biblical science with reference to the Gospels will be found in the work of M. Gustave d'Eichthal. The writer has, he tells us, passed through three phases of religious thought,—Judaism, Catholicism, and philosophical unbelief,—and has now arrived at a syncretistic view of Christianity, which probably combines together the successive results of his impressions at different periods of his life. Saint Simon, Auguste Comte, Salvador, and Gioberti, are mentioned as having been his teachers; and these names are far more significant as furnishing a key to the ideas of this book than a few important names of German biblical science which are frequently quoted as authorities. M. d'Eichthal tells us that the results of his researches had already been completely formed when he resolved to seek their verification in the labours of German criticism. With these labours he appears to us to be very imperfectly acquainted; but the works of De Wette and Ebrard gave him a notion of the great diversity of opinions on the most important questions of the criticism of the Gospels, and led him to the conviction that such a disagreement between men of science and good faith, on questions which had been debated for about seventy years, must be owing to the imperfection of the method followed, and to the insufficiency of the bases adopted; and he resolved to attempt the problem anew, with a different method and 'new bases.' He confesses to a certain amount of rashness in this attempt. He was more than fifty years old; he had not the practice, and still less had he the taste, of critical labour; and he had but an altogether superficial knowledge of ancient ecclesiastical history. But these defects he believes to be compensated to a considerable extent by the firmness and independence of thought which age bestows, and by a long habit of intellectual labour. Thus he set about comparing the Gospels. Hitherto this had been done, he says, "vaguement, et pour ainsi dire, par à-peu-près." This is not, we confess, our own impression of the labours of

Griesbach and his successors; but M. d'Eichthal plied his scissors, comparing first Matthew and Mark, and then Luke with the first two Gospels, and arrived at the conclusion that "Mark was an abridgment of Matthew, and that Luke was a combination of Matthew and Mark." "Such a process," says our author, "required, of course, no great effort of imagination, and one may with good reason be astonished at its not having been earlier put in use." This is a singular illusion on his part; the process in question having been put in use over and over again, sometimes with results similar to his own, and sometimes with very different ones.

It is in the next step of his reasoning that he stands alone. If it be true that the Gospel of St. Mark is a mere abridgment of that of St. Matthew, and that the Gospel of St. Luke is compiled from those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is natural to conclude that the first gospel contains every thing that is found in the two others. M. d'Eichthal's first conclusion is strangely different from this. He argues that the first gospel can contain nothing but what is found in the two others, and that all passages peculiar to St. Matthew ought to be suspected of interpolation. This is his criterion, and he accordingly rejects as spurious a considerable proportion of the first gospel. Among the rejected passages are those in favour of the power of binding and loosing bestowed upon St. Peter, fifteen on the reprobation of the Jews, the vocation of the Gentiles, the rigour and eternity of hell, and the small number of the elect. One of the passages regards the eunuchs for the kingdom of God, two are on humility, one on charity, another on prayer and fasting. No less than eight of the parables are rejected, viz. the wheat and the tares, the good and bad fish, the pitiless creditor, the labourers of the first and the eleventh hour, the son who did his father's will, the wedding feast, the wise and the foolish virgins, and the talents. Some of these passages are, indeed, found in St. Mark or St. Luke; but reasons are given for supposing them to be interpolated *somewhere*. M. d'Eichthal does not wholly rely upon his criterion, but his other reasons are in general not less frivolous.

The simple fact is that his work is not the work of a man of science, but of a mere *amateur*, utterly unqualified for his task. We meet occasionally with a reference to the Greek of the gospels; but it is evident that all the author's conclusions are independent of the original text. There is no evidence of his acquaintance with a single critical edition of the Greek Testament, and of the importance of different readings he has not a notion. The following is his explanation of Luke ii. 14. The passage itself, together with the entire history of our Lord's infancy, he considers as interpolated. "'Bonne volonté aux hommes' (*ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*), ce qui peut être différemment interprété, suivant que la bonne volonté s'entend ou de Dieu vis-à-vis des hommes, ou des hommes eux-mêmes à l'égard de leurs semblables ou de Dieu. La Vulgate a traduit: '*Pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*;' et De Sacy par suite: 'Paix . . . aux hommes de bonne volonté.'" A reference to any critical edition of

the Greek Testament would at once have given M. d'Eichthal the right explanation of the difference between the Greek and Latin texts. *Bonæ voluntatis*, as all persons know who are familiar with these studies, is not translated from εὐδοκία, but from εὐδοκίας.

The second part of M. d'Eichthal's work is to treat of the Gospel of St. John. There is but little hope of its proving less worthless than the first.

5. "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants;" it is the sole standard and guide of their faith and practice; and the most terrible judgments are supposed to await any one who shall add to or take away from "the words of this book." What then is the Bible? What determines its exact limits? On what grounds are certain writings included in it, and others excluded from it? On what authority are we called upon to recognise a certain collection of writings as constituting the whole word of God, without addition or omission? It is much easier to ask these very obvious questions than to reply to them satisfactorily. The vast majority of Bible-readers, even when appealing to the subjective authority of an inner witness, which is in fact the mere result of education or dogmatic prejudice, simply follow a very modern human tradition in their acceptance of the most fundamental article of their religious belief. Learned Protestants have laboured with more zeal than success to solve the difficulties involved in their admission of a divinely determined canon of Scripture. The Bible itself bears no witness to such a canon; and any other authority competent to decide so capital a question must, by the mere fact of its existence, be subversive of the fundamental principle of "the Bible and the Bible only." With what consistency can the testimony of the Church or ecclesiastical tradition be accepted as infallibly certain on one most vital question, if its testimony is utterly repudiated as worthless on all others? Yet one of the most intelligent and esteemed advocates of orthodox Calvinism was driven, some years ago, to postulate the infallibility of the Church *on this one point only* as the sole means of establishing what he considered the true limits of the canon. He took it for granted that the Jewish Church was infallibly guided in determining the canon of the Old Testament, and that the Christian Church, even as represented in the Council of Trent, was as infallibly guided in determining the canon of the New. It must be evident to all impartial readers that a theory of this kind is framed for the express purpose of supporting foregone conclusions, and does not add to their intrinsic probability. The real problem is to discover an authority which shall bear infallible witness to the true notion of the Bible, but shall by its own nature (through its own confession, for instance) be incapable of bearing witness to any thing else. The Thirty-nine Articles declare those books to be canonical of whose authority there never was any doubt in the Church; but this criterion of canonicity is purely arbitrary and empirical unless based on some principle destructive of Protestantism; and its admission would, moreover, as

every learned man knows, be fatal to a considerable number of the books enumerated by the article as canonical. If there be really a danger of incurring the divine judgments by adding to or taking from the words of the sacred volume, it must be confessed that Protestant science has not as yet succeeded in discovering how the danger may be averted.

The History of the Canon by M. Reuss is the work of a writer who, in learning and critical skill, is second to none of the most celebrated Protestant theologians of the Continent. His writings, both French and German, belong to the highest rank in the theological literature of his own communion; and though his theological conclusions often differ widely from our own, we know of very few writers whose works will in the long-run be found so conducive to the interests of what we believe to be the truth. Their great value arises from his thorough knowledge, and fair and dispassionate statement, of all the facts bearing on the subject of his enquiry. We may quarrel with his view of the facts, but the facts themselves may be depended upon, and he generally allows them to tell their own tale. His aim is objective historical truth. His intention in the work now before us, unlike that of most writers on the canon of Scripture, is not to defend a given theory, but faithfully to produce evidence of what successive ages of Christendom have thought upon the subject. The evidence, however, is not likely to prove favourable to any orthodox theory of the canon, except, indirectly, to the Catholic, with which it does not really interfere, whilst it upsets all others.

M. Reuss shows, for instance, that the silence of the New-Testament writers with reference to the so-called Apocryphal books cannot be insisted upon without danger to several Hebrew books of the Old Testament, which are never referred to in the New. And he asks the important question, "Is it really true that the Hebrew canon was already closed in the time of the Apostles?" "No one," he says, "can prove this. We have elsewhere¹ discovered, on the contrary, by a minute study of the writings of Flavius Josephus, that at the time of this author the books called Hagiographa were not yet put together in a clearly determined body, and that certain Hebrew documents which now form part of them were unknown to him" (p. 10). In the next place, if the Apostles are silent with reference to some of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament, they certainly refer for didactic purposes to books not included in the Jewish canon. "From all this it results at least that we must not be too hasty in attributing to the Apostles the theories on the canon which have been drawn up by Protestant theology. We shall soon meet with analogous facts among their immediate disciples and successors" (p. 11). This is not all. A very important fact must be taken into consideration. Certain books of the Old Testament appear in the Septuagint version with alterations and additions. How far did the Apostolic Church distinguish between these different recensions? It

¹ *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, vol. iv. p. 287.

is very easy to take for granted that every one in Palestine at least must have known the difference, and rejected the Greek recensions; but M. Reuss has proved that Josephus, for one, knew no other than the Greek recension of several of the books in question. The Hebrew books were in fact inaccessible, in their original text, to all but the most learned; and the case of Josephus is a proof of something more than simple ignorance on his part.

Further on M. Reuss shows that there is not, in the earliest ages of the Church, the least particle of evidence in favour of the existence of any collection of books corresponding to the Christian Bible. The earliest Christian writers, moreover, quote books like Judith or Wisdom as unhesitatingly as the epistles of St. Paul. And, thirdly, the formula, "It is written," and others, "*qu'on fait de nos jours sonner si haut,*" are by no means exclusively applied to books which would in these days pass as canonical. "*Nous nous croyons autorisé à dire que, jusque vers l'an 130 à peu près, les écrits des apôtres, tout en continuant à se répandre dans la chrétienté et en servant déjà directement et indirectement à l'instruction des fidèles, ne forment point encore de recueil spécial destiné à faire concurrence à l'Ancien Testament dans les lectures périodiques et régulières; que la tradition est estimée et mise à profit avec une égale confiance; et que là où il s'agissait véritablement d'invoquer des autorités scripturaires inspirées, elles sont choisies en dehors de ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui le Nouveau Testament, et sans qu'on eût toujours une idée bien nette d'un canon, sans qu'on fit un choix bien discret des textes et sans qu'il se montrât bien rigoureux à la lettre*" (p. 24). M. Reuss then proves that the same uncertainty is visible down to the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, the first great doctors of the Church. Of these he says, "It is perfectly superfluous to collect in these authors texts which prove that they every where exalt the authority of tradition; that, according to them, the Spirit of God reaches individuals only through the intervention of the Church considered as a body, so that one can say not only that the Church is where the Spirit is, but also that the Spirit is where the Church is; that the depositaries of tradition, the regularly constituted heads of the different communities, principally of those founded by the Apostles themselves, of Rome particularly, are also the best teachers of the truth; that entire nations may believe in Christ, and carefully preserve the ancient traditions, without the help of paper and ink; in fine, that if perchance the Apostles had written nothing, it would be necessary to have recourse to the tradition of the Churches founded by them, and that this might be done without risk of error. It is therefore in consequence of a singular illusion that certain modern writers transform these Fathers into Protestant theologians, solely anxious for the absolute and exclusive authority of the apostolical Scriptures; and that, starting from this purely gratuitous supposition, entirely contrary as it is to the spirit and the texts of the period, they argue the existence of a Scripture canon fixed since a certain period, more or less recent, and universally adopted" (p. 73). The value of the apostolical writings in

fact, according to these Fathers, lies in their forming the first links in the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. "The intimate and general agreement of tradition and Scripture, which is presented to us at once as a fact and a principle, is also for Irenæus and Tertullian the supreme criterion of what was afterwards called the canonicity of each of the apostolical books, the criterion of its titles to a normative authority in the Church" (p. 75). Instead of triumphantly quoting some well-known passages of St. Jerome, supposed to be unfavourable to the "Apocrypha," M. Reuss carefully analyses all the evidence found in the writings of that great doctor, distinguishes between his private opinions or doubts and his statements as to the received doctrines of his day, and proves that the Church had not yet settled the question of the canon. Several books of the New Testament were still rejected by the majority of Christians. Of St. Augustine he says, "que ses principes aboutissent à ce mot fameux, diamétralement opposé à la base de toute théologie protestante: 'Je ne croirais pas à l'Évangile si l'Eglise catholique ne m'en garantissait l'authenticité'" (p. 169). "Il est fort curieux de voir la peine que se donnent tous les théologiens protestants, Calvin en tête, pour interpréter de manière à la rendre inoffensive cette déclaration d'un auteur dans la dépendance duquel ils se trouvaient beaucoup plus qu'ils ne l'osaient avouer" (p. 247).

M. Reuss, though regretting the decision of the Council of Trent, allows that under the given circumstances the Catholic Church could hardly, "à moins de renier son passé tout entier," have come to any other decision. Since the Council of Trent the question of the canon has never been debated among Catholics. We are not quite sure that we understand the explanation which M. Reuss gives of the silence of "the illustrious phalanx of the Benedictines," in spite of their "vast patristic erudition," and of Richard Simon, "whose daring criticism frightened all parties and all schools, and whose great work explores all the details of the history of the text and of the versions of the Bible." "Ce n'est certes pas," he says, "le manque de savoir qui nous expliquera ce silence; nous l'attribuerons tout aussi peu à l'indifférence religieuse. Mais le fait historique, discutable au moyen d'un appel de témoins et d'un triage de documents, était devenu un article de foi, sanctionné par un anathème, et partant élevé au-dessus de toute discussion." What "historical fact" had become an article of faith, and thus been removed from the field of discussion? We know of none. Those who believe the Catholic Church to be divinely protected from dogmatic error in its decisions must of course accept its canon of Scripture as the true one; but there is nothing to prevent their discussing all the historical facts of which the history of the canon is composed. There is no dogmatic reason why on every one of these facts, considered merely as facts, a Catholic theologian should not perfectly agree with so accurate an historian as M. Reuss.

The chapters on the theology of the Reformers and their successors are full of important matter. M. Reuss most justly protests against the unhistorical practice of attributing to the Reformers the

principles of free enquiry or philosophical rationalism. "Nous ne nous arrêterons pas à réfuter cette manière de voir qui ne pouvait se produire ou s'imposer que là où l'histoire et la littérature de cette époque mémorable étaient également ignorées. Il suffira de faire remarquer qu'une théologie qui, à tort ou à raison, mais toujours avec une impérieuse énergie et une puissante unanimité, proclamait, comme son dogme fondamental, l'incapacité absolue des facultés morales de l'homme, ne doit point courir le risque, soit d'être louée, soit d'être blâmée, pour avoir revendiqué pour la raison humaine le périlleux privilège de l'initiative ou de la juridiction suprême en matière religieuse. Elle n'a donc pu en aucune façon subordonner la Bible, œuvre immédiate de Dieu, à cette même raison, si tristement déçue de ce qu'elle avait été dans le principe" (p. 243). The Reformers appealed neither to reason nor to history. Nothing was further from their minds, and more radically opposed to their principles, than to establish the authority of the sacred books by that of the Church or tradition; "de faire à cet effet monter la garde aux Pères et de ranger en parade leurs catalogues, sauf à en faire disparaître les obscurités par des interprétations forcées et les contradictions par des violences, comme c'est l'usage aujourd'hui." It is not on scientific grounds that the true notion of the Scripture could be based, but solely on the "interior witness of the Holy Ghost." "Etons donc illuminez," says Calvin, "par la vertu d'iceluy, desjà nous ne croyons pas ou à nostre iugement, ou à celuy des aultres, que l'Escripture est de Dieu: mais par dessus tout iugement humain nous arrêtons indubitablement qu'elle nous a esté donnée de la propre bouche de Dieu, tout ainsi que si nous contemplions à l'œil l'Essence de Dieu en icelle. . . . C'est un tel sentiment qu'il ne se peut engendrer que de revelation celeste." This is the real reformed principle, mystical in its nature, transcending reason, and wholly removed from the sphere of discussion. But though the Reformers loudly protest against every other, the application of it was, to say the least, of the greatest difficulty; and those who first propounded it were "the first to deviate from it, and to abandon themselves to the strangest inconsistencies." It was, in fact, impracticable. The Reformers rejected the so-called Apocryphal books. "Etait-ce réellement en vertu du principe souverain du témoignage intérieur du Saint-Esprit? Serait-il bien vrai que les premiers théologiens protestants, tout en restant indifférents en face de l'éloquence enthousiaste de l'auteur de la Sapience que prênaient les Alexandrins, auraient senti le souffle de Dieu dans les généalogies de la Chronique ou dans les catalogues topographiques du livre de Josué? Auraient-ils réellement trouvé une si immense différence entre les miracles du Daniel chaldaïque et ceux du Daniel grec, pour retrancher deux chapitres du volume? Nous avons de la peine à croire qui ç'ait été par un triage de ce genre qu'ils soient parvenus à faire le *discernement* dont ils parlent" (p. 258). They were really guided by the supposed canon of the Jews, as represented by the Hebrew Bibles, and the authority of some of the fathers of the Church. "The process was the same as that which they had

condemned in principle ; it was the implicit acknowledgment of the authority of tradition, and a return, in fact, by a roundabout way, to the position which they had loudly declared must be abandoned as no longer tenable." The Swiss theologians saw clearly that the criterion of "the inner witness" must necessarily lead in its application to different and contradictory conclusions. But they boldly accepted this result ; and, in order to allow the greatest freedom of action to their principle, they abstained from drawing up any official list of canonical books ; whereas the English, French, and Dutch theologians "n'ont pu arriver à insérer dans leurs Confessions de foi ces listes officielles de livres saints, qu'en oubliant ou en reniant le principe qui avait été le point de départ de leur théologie, pour retomber dans les ornières de la méthode traditionnelle."

Luther's principle is far more concrete and apparently easy of application than that of Calvin. "A ce dernier on pouvait faire le reproche de n'avoir au fond qu'un critère passablement subjectif, chaque individu pouvant, en fin de compte, prendre ses goûts et ses préjugés pour un témoignage du Saint-Esprit." Luther's criterion of Biblical canonicity is Lutheranism. Instead of testing a doctrine by Scripture, he makes his doctrine a test of Scripture. The books of James, Jude, and the Apocalypse, are dogmatically incompatible with his doctrine of justification ; they are therefore rejected as not teaching Christ. The readers of M. Reuss's books will find abundance of proof that it is an entire misconception to suppose that Luther first determined the limits of God's written word, and then set about discovering what it taught. "His supreme rule, his peculiar canon, always was a very concrete principle, anterior and superior to all Scripture ; Christ crucified, and the Saviour," as understood by himself.

The real principles of the Reformers were abandoned, or at least betrayed, by their successors. We think M. Reuss a great deal too severe upon the latter. When principles are abandoned, it is because they are felt to be worthless ; and history is the best test of this. If the present generation were to return to the principles of the first Reformers, the next generation would certainly be found to imitate the successors of the Reformers in abandoning those principles. One of the most instructive parts of M. Reuss's book is that which treats of the theology of these successors of the Reformers. This theology is still dominant in Great Britain, and many pages of M. Reuss might be studied with profit by a large number of our fellow-countrymen. We quote a passage on the treatment of the "Apocrypha." "C'est à qui prodiguera le plus aux Apocryphes les épithètes suggérées par le mépris et le préjugé ; on les hait parcequ'on hait les catholiques ; on les dit remplis de fables, d'erreurs, de superstitions, de mensonges, d'impiétés, et la violence de ces attaques n'est surpassée que par la niaiserie des preuves choisies pour les justifier. Tel tance le Siracide pour avoir dit que la sorcière d'En-Dor a évoqué l'esprit de Samuel, l'exégèse orthodoxe prétendant que ç'a été un esprit malin ; tel autre, pour discréditer l'histoire de Susanne, trouve ridicule que Joachim

ait possédé un jardin, puisque les juifs étaient captifs. L'un est scandalisé du costume de Judith allant au camp d'Holoferne; l'autre se moque du nom de l'ange Raphaël; un troisième se récrie contre la méthode de chasser les démons par la fumée. Nous en avons lu un qui se fâche tout de bon de que celui du livre de Tobie soit envoyé pour toujours jusque dans la haute Egypte, Jésus s'étant contenté d'en reléguer d'autres dans un désert plus rapproché avec la chance de revenir. Aucun de ces ardents champions de la pureté du canon ne prévoit que des critiques aussi puéiles, aussi peu dignes du sujet et au fonds aussi étrangères à la question, finiront par montrer aux esprits superficiels et railleurs les voies et moyens de saper l'autorité de la Bible tout entière, et que les brocards jetés à la tête du petit poisson de Tobie démoliront tôt ou tard le gros poisson de Jonas" (p. 298). Again: "Si l'on veut se faire une idée de la naïveté avec laquelle on finit par traiter les questions relatives au canon, on n'a qu'à voir comment Du Moulin réfute son adversaire, quand celui-ci reproche aux Protestants d'être forcément inconséquents, puisqu'ils ne peuvent pas déduire la liste authentique des livres canoniques d'un texte de l'Ecriture, bien qu'ils invoquent celle-ci comme l'unique source de toute vérité. *Il suffit, dit-il, de prendre la Bible en langues originaires et courir les titres des livres* (l. c. p. 38). Ainsi, en fin de compte, un livre est canonique parcequ'il se trouve imprimé dans mon exemplaire" (p. 293). This is the real criterion by which the great majority of Bible readers are more or less consciously guided.

6. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* M. Renan enjoys a high reputation both as an eminent philologist and as an accomplished essayist. The rank, indeed, to which he belongs as a philologist, though high, is not the highest; for we are not aware that he has contributed to the advancement of science otherwise than by popularising the results discovered by minds more original than his own. Whatever is peculiar to him in the theories put forward in his *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques* is greatly to be distrusted. His success as an essayist is also due in great part to the pleasant style in which he presents and discusses the ideas contained in books too learned, abstruse, or tedious, to be studied by the majority of readers. But the charm which superficial readers find in the literary form which philosophical speculation assumes when treated by M. Renan, is disagreeably broken by the discovery that he constantly uses the most important terms either vaguely or in senses peculiar to himself, and that the plainest language often conveys the most uncertain of meanings. The book before us, for instance, opens with a dedication (which has been greatly admired) "to the pure soul of my sister Henrietta." This begins with the words "Te souviens tu du sein de Dieu où tu reposes." Now the very characteristic of M. Renan's philosophy, when stripped of its ambiguous phraseology, consists in denying the persistence of the human soul after death, and the existence of God, except in the "refined sense" in which he tells us that the professed atheists of the last century "prêchaient le Dieu véritable."

Abundance of scholarship and a pleasant style of writing are not the only, or even the highest, qualifications necessary for writing a Life of Christ. We do not know what others M. Renan possesses. His ideas on the impossibility of supernatural events are alone sufficient to disqualify him for the task. If those ideas are true, a Life of Christ is an impossibility; if they are not true, M. Renan's book is a wretched failure. If a supernatural narrative "always implies credulity or imposture," the legendary character of the Gospels is manifest; but if the Gospels are legends, let them be preserved whole and entire as such. Science has not yet discovered a method for transmuting legend into history. It is not by a hasty sketch such as that (pp. xv.-xlii.) in which the relative values of the Gospels as historical documents are determined on internal and *à-priori* grounds, that the great question can be solved. M. Renan is incapable of producing evidence more credible for one part of the evangelical history than for another, and he simply picks and chooses without any other control than that of his own fancy. The following passage will give some notion of his way of writing history: "*Dans un tel effort pour faire revivre les hautes âmes du passé, une part de divination et de conjecture doit être permise. Une grande vie est un tout organique qui ne peut se rendre par la simple agglomération de petits faits. Il faut qu'un sentiment profond embrasse l'ensemble et en fasse l'unité. La raison d'art en pareil sujet est un bon guide; le tact exquis d'un Goethe trouverait à s'y appliquer. La condition essentielle des créations de l'art est de former un système vivant dont toutes les parties s'appellent et se commandent. Dans les histoires du genre de celle-ci, le grand signe qu'on tient le vrai est d'avoir réussi à combiner les textes d'une façon qui constitue un récit logique, vraisemblable où rien ne détonne. Les lois intimes de la vie, de la marche des produits organiques, de la dégradation des nuances, doivent être à chaque instant consultées; car ce qu'il faut rechercher, ce n'est pas la petite certitude des minuties, c'est la justesse du sentiment général, la vérité de la couleur. Chaque trait qui sort des règles de la narrative classique doit avertir de prendre garde; car le fait qu'il s'agit de raconter a été vivant, naturel, harmonieux.*" This means simply that the evidence must be cooked in accordance with an *à-priori* system. How many such *à-priori* systems might be found to interpret the Gospel history, the multitude of religious sects may help us to imagine.

In constructing his own system, M. Renan says that he was powerfully helped by the sight of the places where the Gospel history took place. "Toute cette histoire qui à distance semble flotter dans les nuages d'un monde sans réalité, prit ainsi un corps, une solidité qui m'étonnèrent. L'accord frappant des textes et des lieux, la merveilleuse harmonie de l'idéal évangélique avec le paysage qui lui servit de cadre furent pour moi comme une révélation. J'eus devant les yeux un cinquième évangile, lacéré, mais lisible encore, et désormais, à travers les récits de Matthieu et de Marc, au lieu d'un être abstrait, qu'on dirait n'avoir jamais existé, je vis une admirable figure humaine

vivre, se mouvoir. Pendant l'été ayant dû monter à Ghazir dans le Liban pour prendre un peu de repos, je fixai en traits rapides l'image qui m'était apparue, et il en résulta cette histoire."

Is it possible to confess in clearer terms the fact that the Christ of M. Renan's book is not a historical personage, but a production of imaginative art, and that the book itself is a romance founded upon the Gospels, and nothing more? M. Renan is indeed too learned and able an artist not to adhere as closely as possible to the proprieties of "costume," and he has written some pages which might be transferred to the most orthodox of commentaries. We are only surprised that such passages are not more frequent. A rational view from without of ancient Christianity and its Founder might, if painful to the Christian feeling, be of real interest, and have its intrinsic truth. The value of ancient "Jewish" and "heathen testimonies" to Christianity is not diminished by the hostile spirit in which these testimonies are uttered. The pagan writers who spoke of Christianity as a "superstition" give a far more accurate notion of its true character than the fanciful pictures drawn of it by some of its modern advocates. We know what was meant by "superstition," and that that term signified something quite different from what, for instance, is called "muscular Christianity." In the following passage M. Renan speaks like a true witness from his own point of view. He hates Christianity as an obstacle to social progress, and recognises in the Gospels some of the very features which are odious to him in contemporary Christianity.

"La première génération chrétienne vécut tout entière d'attente et de rêve. A la veille de voir finir le monde, on regardait comme inutile tout ce qui ne sert qu'à continuer le monde. La propriété était interdite. Tout ce qui attache l'homme à la terre, tout ce qui le détourne du ciel devait être fui. Quoique plusieurs disciples fussent mariés, on ne se mariait plus, ce semble, dès qu'on entra dans la secte. Le célibat était hautement préféré; dans le mariage, la continence était recommandée. Un moment, le maître même semble approuver ceux qui se mutilaient en vue de royaume de Dieu. Il était en cela conséquent à son principe: 'Si ta main ou ton pied t'est une occasion de péché, coupe les, et jette les loin de toi. . . . Jésus ne dépassa pas cette première période toute monacale, où l'on croit pouvoir impunément tenter l'impossible. Il ne fit aucune concession à la nécessité. Il prêcha hardiment la guerre à la nature, la totale rupture avec le sang. 'En vérité, je vous le déclare, disait-il, quiconque aura quitté sa maison, sa femme, ses frères, ses parents, ses enfants pour le royaume de Dieu, recevra le centuple en ce monde, et dans le monde à venir la vie éternelle.'

"Les instructions que Jésus est censé avoir données à ses disciples respirent la même exaltation. Lui, si facile pour ceux du dehors, lui qui se contente parfois de demi-adhésions, est pour les siens d'une rigueur extrême. Il ne voulait pas d'à-peu-près. On dirait un 'ordre' constitué par les règles les plus austères. Fidèle à sa pensée que les soucis de la vie troublent l'homme et l'abaissent, Jésus exige

de ses associés un entier détachement de la terre, un dévouement absolu à son œuvre

“ Dans ces accès de rigueur, il allait jusqu'à supprimer la chair. Ses exigences n'avaient plus de bornes. Méprisant les saines limites de la nature de l'homme, il voulait qu'on n'existât que pour lui, qu'on n'aimât que lui seul. On dirait que dans ces moments de guerre contre les besoins les plus légitimes du cœur, il avait oublié le plaisir de vivre, d'aimer, de voir, de sentir. Dépassant toute mesure, il osait dire: ‘ Si quelqu'un veut être mon disciple,’ &c.

“ Un grand danger résultait pour l'avenir de cette morale exaltée, exprimée dans un langage hyperbolique et d'une effrayante énergie. A force de détacher l'homme de la terre, on brisait la vie. Le chrétien sera loué d'être mauvais fils, mauvais patriote, si c'est pour le Christ qu'il résiste à son père et combat sa patrie. La cité antique, la république, mère de tous, l'état, loi commun de tous, sont constitués en hostilité avec le royaume de Dieu. Un germe fatal de théocratie est introduit dans le monde.”

These passages, in which M. Renan faithfully follows the text of the Gospels, whether he likes the doctrine or no, might put to shame a very considerable number of Christian teachers, who professedly take the Bible as the sole guide of their faith and practice, but explain away all the texts which tell against their private likings. We also recommend the following passage to their consideration. “ Le sabbat était le point capital sur lequel s'élevait l'édifice des scrupules et des subtilités pharisaïques. Cette institution antique et excellente était devenue un prétexte pour de misérables disputes de casuistes et une source de croyances superstitieuses. On croyait que la nature l'observait; toutes les sources intermittentes passaient pour ‘ sabbatiques.’ C'était aussi le point sur lequel Jésus se plaisait le plus à défier ses adversaires. Il violait ouvertement le sabbat, et ne répondait aux reproches qu'on lui en faisait que par de fines raileries.”

M. Renan might in this way have written a book hostile in its tone towards Christianity, yet not without a certain scientific value. But the conjectural “ divination,” as he himself calls it, which he every where substitutes for positive evidence, at once changes the biographer into a novelist. Here are some specimens of his inventive talent.

“ Un mouvement qui eut beaucoup plus d'influence sur Jésus fut celui de Juda le Gaulonite ou le Galiléen. . . . Juda fut évidemment le chef d'une secte galiléenne, préoccupée de messianisme, et qui aboutit à un mouvement politique. . . . Jésus vit peut-être ce Juda, qui conçut la révolution juive d'une façon si différente de la sienne; il connut en tout cas son école, et ce fut probablement par réaction contre son erreur qu'il prononça l'axiome sur le denier de César. Le sage Jésus, éloigné de toute sédition, profita de la faute de son devancier, et rêva un autre royaume et une autre délivrance.”

“ Loin que le baptiste ait abdiqué devant Jésus, Jésus, pendant

tout le temps qu'il passa près de lui, le reconnut pour supérieur, et ne développa son propre génie que timidement. . . . Sa voie était encore obscure devant lui. . . . Le baptême avait été mis par Jean en très-grande faveur ; il se crut obligé de faire comme lui : il baptisa, et ses disciples baptisèrent aussi. . . . Il se croyait obligé, pour gagner la foule, d'employer les moyens extérieurs qui avaient valu à Jean de si étonnant succès. . . . En somme, l'influence de Jean avait été plus fâcheuse qu'utile à Jésus. Elle fut un arrêt dans son développement ; tout port à croire qu'il avait, quand il descendit vers le Jourdain, des idées supérieures à celles de Jean, et que ce fut par une sorte de concession qu'il inclina au moment vers le baptême."

"Ses relations intimes et libres, mais d'un ordre tout moral, avec des femmes d'une conduite équivoque s'expliquent de même par la passion qui l'attachait à la gloire de son Père, et lui inspirait une sorte de jalousie pour toutes les belles créatures qui pouvaient y servir."

"Quelquefois Jésus usait d'un artifice innocent, qu'employa aussi Jeanne d'Arc. Il affectait de savoir sur celui qu'il voulait gagner quelque chose d'intime, ou bien il lui rappelait une circonstance chère à son cœur."

The two personages of the whole gospel narrative who come off with advantage in that of M. Renan are Pontius Pilate and 'poor' Judas Iscariot,—*"le pauvre Juda."* "Tous les actes de Pilate qui nous sont connus le montrent comme un bon administrateur." The narrow-minded fanaticism of the Jews and their religious hatreds "révoltaient ce large sentiment de justice et de gouvernement civil, que le Romain le plus médiocre portait partout avec lui." But in spite of this feeling of justice, "vu l'attitude que les Romains avaient prise en Judée, Pilate ne pouvait guère faire que ce qu'il fit." As for Judas, the gospel narrative is evidently grossly unfair, and "les malédictions dont on le charge ont quelque chose d'injuste." St. John is prejudiced against him by his hatred, "haine antérieure peut-être à sa trahison."

Here is one of the supposed inductive truths by which historical facts are to be explained : "Le prêtre par état pousse toujours au sacrifice public, dont il est le ministre obligé ; *il détourne de la prière privée, qui est un moyen de se passer de lui.*" Such an assertion would be intelligible enough if proceeding from a man who had never had any experience of what priests think and do ; but M. Renan, who was once a Seminarist at St. Sulpice, must, at one time at least, have perfectly well known its falsehood and absurdity. It is as directly mendacious as if some one accused him of discouraging the exercise of any virtue to which he is particularly attached. And every one who knows France, whether priest or layman, knows that to discourage private prayer would be the most effectual way of diminishing the priestly power and stopping the public sacrifice.

M. Renan's book has elsewhere been denounced in terms of eloquent invective, in which it is impossible that as Christians we should not fully concur. As critics we have judged the book by the laws of criticism. It professes to be a contribution to historical science.

But the arbitrary way in which facts are every where interpreted in accordance with *à-priori* hypotheses of the most doubtful character must divest it, in the eyes of scientific men (whatever be their religious views), of all pretensions higher than those belonging to a work of fiction.

It has already called forth a good many critiques and refutations, written for the most part in defence of Christianity. Some of M. Renan's critics, however, find fault with him as not having gone far enough in his opposition to Christianity, and in lowering the person of its divine Founder. One of these is a certain M. Disdier of Geneva, whose speculations, in spite of the ignorance, dullness, and coarseness of mind which they betray, have received some notice in this country. We have heard of an old French marquis who was terrified by his friends into the practice of his religion by the threat that Robespierre and other "coquins" might probably be his companions in the future state. And we really can imagine nothing better calculated to disgust men of cultivated intellect and refined taste at the thought of indulging in anti-Christian speculation, than the knowledge that they would be engaged in the same work as so repulsive a writer as M. Disdier.

A much graver writer, M. Patrice Laroque, formerly one of the dignitaries of the University of France, has published a pamphlet entitled *Opinion des Déistes Rationalistes sur la Vie de Jésus selon M. Renan*, in which he protests most strongly against the supposed scientific character of the latter work and its meretricious style. So far from thinking that M. Renan has done more than justice to our blessed Lord, M. Laroque indignantly complains that "loin de grandir la noble figure du Christ en l'humanisant à sa façon, il n'a réussi, au contraire, qu'à la rapetisser et je dirai même à la déflorer par des louanges et des peintures graveleuses." He denounces M. Renan's attack upon Christianity as lacking that openness and perfect fairness which is due to "one of the grandest religious forms which the human mind has assumed, and which has for centuries been the religion of our fathers." From a completely different point of view M. Laroque's judgment is identical with that pronounced by M. de Montalembert. "On me croira, je pense, moi qui ne suis pas chrétien, lorsque j'ajouterai que le *roman* de M. Renan n'est pas plus désagréable aux chrétiens sincères qu'il ne l'est aux purs déistes auxquels il semble venir en aide." Its success in certain quarters is thus explained: "Son manque de franchise, dont presque tout le monde convient, était précisément ce qui devait en assurer et ce qui en explique le succès auprès d'une immense majorité qui n'aime que les vérités gazées, les vérités relatives, comme disent les habiles, pour qui, en définitive, rien n'est ni vrai ni faux."

7. Dr. Graetz of Breslau has published five volumes of a history of the Jews, which is one of the most valuable historical works of recent times. No book has appeared in this century, unless we must except Wilken's history of the crusades, which

unites in a higher degree profound Oriental learning with a thorough knowledge of the literature of the Christian Middle Ages. Two volumes, containing the history of the Old Testament, are yet to come. The five which have appeared bring the history down to the thirteenth century; and the first of these, being the third volume of the whole work, extends from the death of Judas Maccabeus to the destruction of the Temple, and embraces therefore the period concerning which it is most difficult for a Jew to write without outraging the religion of Christians. In the first edition, the chapter on the origin of Christianity was omitted "in deference to the exaggerated scruples" of the publisher. That chapter is now inserted in the enlarged edition which has just appeared; and it is impossible to read without deep interest the views of one of the most highly cultivated and enlightened Jews on the greatest event in religious history. The peculiar circumstance of the case of this author is, that the science of modern rationalism furnishes a key to the gospel narrative, which enables him to put away entirely the fierce spirit in which his people have been accustomed to speak of our Lord.

Dr. Graetz adopts as the foundation of his critical principles the investigations of the Tübingen school. Strauss, he says (p. 224), demonstrated that very many myths had arisen about the person of Christ in consequence of the belief which prevailed among his disciples that the Messianic prophecies were fulfilled in Him. This, however, gave but a negative result, and Baur went beyond it. He distinguished the Ebionite and the Pauline element in the Apostolic writings, and showed that this dualism pervades the whole of the New Testament. A large portion of the gospel narrative is thus explained away as the product of these contending theories, and thus the amount of authentic matter is reduced to a minimum. This result, however, by no means satisfies Dr. Graetz, for it supplies no distinct narrative of the life of Christ. The Tübingen school, he says, have shrunk from the task of constructing a critical and authentic biography, after excluding all that was the growth of fancy (Strauss), and the consequence of the controversy which was awakened by St. Paul (Baur). "They are shy of destroying illusions"—an accusation which, we think, does grievous injustice to men some of whom profess to disbelieve even in the lowest form of Deism. He further reproaches them with denying the Essene character of our Lord, though they acknowledge it in His precursor and in His immediate disciples. Then they admit the Sermon on the Mount, which, indeed, they regard as the only peculiar property of Christianity as distinguished from Judaism and Paganism. And they do this because they persist in believing that one of the gospels, probably that of St. Matthew, was written very soon after the fall of Jerusalem. Now, according to our author, all the gospels are posterior to the insurrection under Hadrian, and an interval of a full century elapsed between the death of Christ and the earliest written record of his life, during which interval all those legends and inventions which arose in the service of the opposite parties had

time utterly to distort the pure tradition. But the Sermon on the Mount cannot be authentic : first, because it is not known to all the Evangelists, and must be an interpolation in St. Matthew, who is the earliest ; secondly, because it contradicts itself ; and lastly, and chiefly, because it is in opposition to the Law. For this is Dr. Graetz's great principle—that the antagonism to the Law was introduced by St. Paul ; that every thing which betrays signs of it is of later origin, whilst those parts of the gospel narrative which escape this test may claim to contain authentic facts. By this method he succeeds in composing a narrative, founded almost entirely on the gospels, in which, so far as the career of our Lord is concerned, there is nothing for a Jew to censure or to regret.

“ The time had come,” he writes, “ when the fundamental truths of Judaism, hitherto restricted, and understood only in their real significance by the deepest thinkers, were to break their fetters asunder, and go forth freely to penetrate the nations of the earth. The abundance of high ideas concerning God, and a holy life for the individual as well as for the state, which constitutes the essence of Judaism, were now to be poured into the emptiness of other nations, and enrich them. Israel was to begin in earnest to fulfil his mission as the teacher of nations. The ancient doctrine of God and the spiritual life of man was to obtain admittance among the godless and demoralised pagans, but was compelled to adopt new names and new forms, that minds might be disposed to receive it ; because the peculiar individuality of Judaism, under its old name, was not loved by the Gentiles. That which occurred under the government of Pilate was the event destined to prepare the way for a more intense interest in the Jewish doctrine among the Gentiles. But this new force soon passed, by the admixture of foreign elements and by its own estrangement, into direct opposition ; and the Jewish religion that gave it birth could not have a mother's joy, because the daughter speedily turned against her parent, and adopted courses which the other could not follow. . . . Thus the almost painless birth of an offspring destined to great things afterwards involved Judaism in sufferings by which at one time it nearly perished. . . . The misery of the Jews under the Roman empire had awakened so intense a longing for the Messias, who was announced by the prophets, that any gifted person could easily obtain followers who believed that he was the Redeemer. . . . Within a period of only thirty years a series of enthusiasts arose who, without the intention of deceiving, merely impelled by the desire of delivering their people from the yoke of oppression, gave themselves out to be the Messias, and obtained followers who were ready to die for them. . . . About this time also a cry went forth from the Essenes, that the Messias would soon appear, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. . . . The Essene who made this announcement, was John the Baptist.”

A few particulars will show how Dr. Graetz understands the events of the Gospel history. He says that our Lord's extraction makes it impossible that He could have possessed that knowledge of

the Law which the schools of Hillel and Shammai had introduced in Judea. His dialect, and the nature of His attainments, obliged Him to confine Himself to Galilee. But what was wanting in theory He made up in the qualities of his heart. "Nobleness of soul, a deep moral earnestness, and holiness of life, He must have possessed in a high degree. This appears from all the genuine sayings that have been reported, and results even from the perverted teaching which His followers attribute to Him." For it follows, from Dr. Graetz's point of view, that the Evangelists have done injustice to our Lord, and that His life and teaching were more perfect than they represent them. This means that He did not denounce the pride and hypocrisy of the Jews. "The middle class, the inhabitants of the towns, were for the most part so thoroughly impregnated with piety, morality, and reliance on God, that the exhortation to repent and leave off sinning had no meaning for them. The description of the life of the young man in Matth. xix. 16-20, may be considered to express fairly the average conduct of the Jewish middle class at the time. . . . The disciples of Hillel and Shammai, the contemporaries of Judas the zealot, the bitter enemies of the Herodians and the Romans, were not morally diseased, and needed no physician." He converted the sinners and breakers of the law, and that was the great miracle He performed, but He only sought to make converts to the observance of the Jewish system, not to change it. "His principal merit—and it is no slight one—consisted in this, that He carried the precepts of Judaism into the interior life, adopted them in heart and affection, insisted on the position of the Israelites towards God as that of children to their father, dwelt on the fraternity of mankind, put the moral injunctions prominently forward, and made this doctrine accessible to demoralised persons." It is impossible to deny, says Dr. Graetz, that Christ wrought miracles, especially in the cure of a disease which was called possession. The occasion when He declared to Simon Peter that He was the Messiah was the moment of the birth of Christianity. But whether He had this idea from the beginning, or conceived it when His increasing success began to make its realisation seem possible, is an enigma which our author thinks can never be solved. Nor will he decide whether the condemnation of our Lord was pronounced according to law, but he affirms that His judges showed no passion, and that the indignities He suffered were inflicted by Romans, who reviled the Jewish nation in Him. "This was the end of the man who had laboured for the moral improvement of his people, and was perhaps the victim of a misunderstanding. His death was the unprovoked occasion of unnumbered woes and manifold destruction to the sons of His people. Millions of broken hearts and ages have not yet expiated His death. He is the only man born of a woman of whom it can be said without exaggeration, that He wrought more by His death than by His life."

The criterion by which Dr. Graetz sifts the gospel narrative is founded on an assumption altogether arbitrary; and he is equally

regardless of argument and evidence in many details which his fundamental principle does not affect. But he writes from a point of view which is the most elevated that is attainable to Judaism, and higher probably than any other Jew has yet attained to ; and his straightforward manner and reverent tone make this account of the life of our Lord the least objectionable ever written by a disbeliever in His divinity.

8. Dr. Gerlach has published a very able but rather one-sided enquiry as to the orthodoxy of Josephus with reference to the canon of Scripture, and the inspiration, credibility, and fulfilment particularly of the Messianic prophecies. On all these points he does more than justice to Josephus ; he interprets his meaning in the most favourable sense ; and he makes light of difficulties which there really is no getting over—such, for instance, as the application of the Messianic prophecies to Vespasian. Josephus may have been, and probably was, insincere in the expression of his opinions whenever these were at variance with those of the public for which he wrote ; but his secret opinions are of no interest even if they could be discovered, and certainly cannot be brought to bear on the authenticity of the controverted passage relating to our Lord. On this question it was hardly possible to say any thing new ; and Dr. Gerlach has left it in very much the same state as that in which he found it.

9. A controversy involving several points of interest has been provoked by a lecture in which a High-Church clergyman gave an account of his observations on a visit to Rome. Of his merits as a scholar and a divine we cannot speak highly. He finds a subject for consolation in the reflection that Nero dwelt in his golden palace when St. Paul was brought to Rome, and affirms that the doctrine of purgatory, for which Gregory the Great is the chief patristic authority, formed no part of his creed. He has been answered very successfully and with great moderation by Mr. Green, a controvertist whose proneness to the *argumentum ad hominem*, and to the substitution of Protestant concessions for apologetic argument, joined to a ceremonious and almost ostentatious politeness of language and charitableness in assumption, reveals the tradition of a school which has few representatives in the literature of the present day. Those who are acquainted with the discussions of the period immediately preceding the Tractarian controversy know Mr. Green as the author of a very elaborate exposition of the doctrine of indulgences, in reply to a writer who acted under the inspiration of Mr. Mendham. A large part of the present pamphlet is occupied by the same question, with every detail of which the author is evidently familiar. But he has understated his case when he says that it “may be considered questionable” whether there is any genuine bull for a partial indulgence of so long a term as 1230 years. All such documents are fabrications. Another point is the death of St. Peter at Rome. It is so completely incompatible with honest scholarship to deny it, and so impossible to

find materials for making it uncertain, that our author has not thought it worth while to go deeply into the question. Yet the proof might be given in a very few lines. St. John alludes (xxi. 19) to the mode of St. Peter's death as a thing known to all Christians, and requiring no description. At the end of the first century, therefore, the place where he died, which must have been as notorious as the manner of his death, was universally known. In the year 170 Dionysius states that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome : this was the belief of the whole Church, as innumerable authorities testify, from the end of the second century, and no tradition existed any where, no hint was ever given, that contradicted this belief.

Mr. Green expends much erudition in meeting his adversary's statement that St. Paul was, and St. Peter was not, confined in the Mamertine prison. He says very justly that nobody was confined there in later times who was not about to be put to death. But in truth the Mamertine prison is one of the obscurest points in Roman antiquities. If the *carcer Mamertinus* (*Martius*) is as old as the reign of Ancus, the *Tullianum*, which is underneath, cannot have been constructed afterwards by Servius Tullius. Probably the name, derived from the spring (*tullius*) over which it was built, caused it to be attributed to him.

10. Under the stress of the rationalist controversy, Dr. Tait seems disposed to make common cause with those Christian societies which at other times he would repudiate. Thus he appeals to "the longing of earnest Christians, in all ages and of all schools of opinion, to assign its due influence to the Word of God as the regulator of our whole lives,—an influence which has never been assigned to the words of mere human teachers." His six discourses on the ground of faith are earnest, and, if they give a more favourable idea of his piety than of his power, they are probably logical enough for the audiences to which they were addressed.

But if we abstract their moral tone, and regard only the argument, they show a deplorable incomprehension of the situation of the controversy. He distributes the ground of belief into three questions : How did I come to believe ? How can I defend my belief in reply to antagonists ? and, What is the real ground on which my soul rests, as assuring me that my belief is right ? To these questions he gives three replies, which may be summed up in three words,—Authority, Consistency, Utility. How did I enter the fortress ? Through my parents or through the Church. How shall I repel those who would dislodge me from it ? By proving that Christianity is a system which hangs together. "Here is a series of dry logical arguments by which to meet objections" (p. 29). And as for my own ground of belief, "What are the advantages it secures for me,—which make me every day thankful that I am in it, and assure me that to be where I am is the greatest of blessings ?" "What is my ground of faith ? . . . It is—it must be—that in the depths of my consciousness I have a growing conviction, growing

daily as I grow in the spiritual life, that nowhere but in the Gospel can I find what is essential to the soul's perfection, nay, to its well-being" (p. 15).

Now it will be observed that the Bishop's grounds of faith are in all three cases entirely subjective. The first is the authority of the wise and good ; spiritual lovers have spiritual insight, and their decisions on things spiritual are to be trusted (p. 11). The second is the internal consistency of the Christian system. And the third is its adaptation and necessity for the development of the powers of man. Now to rest Christianity on such grounds as these, is, in the present day, to rest it on an idealism to which that of Descartes is realism itself ; it is simply to put forward the premisses of the most advanced of German rationalists, and to leave Englishmen to draw the conclusion. Since human nature possesses the elements of intelligence, freedom, and tenderness, which make up the ideal conception of God, therefore, argues Feuerbach, it is idle to assume another reality corresponding to this ideal apart from the reality out of which we know it to be derived, namely, man.

There is no doubt that Descartes' ultimate truth, "I think; therefore I exist," is the earliest fact in which a contingent experience can form a synthesis with a necessary thought. It is an axiom of experience which is both contingent and self-evident. Every idealist argument which attempts to prove an objective truth must start from a similar basis ; but none of the Bishop's premisses are of this kind. "Spiritual men think so; therefore it is true." "The system hangs together; therefore it is real." "I feel the want of it; therefore it must exist." These are propositions of experience which are not self-evident axioms. The real axiom for this idealist proof of religion is to be sought in the obligation of conscience. "I am commanded; therefore there is one who commands," is a proposition as self-evident as that of Descartes, and as fruitful in consequences as that would be if it were used as the first datum of experience, instead of being generalised into an *à priori* law of universal application.

The modern rationalist might readily admit all that Dr. Tait proves, and yet remain a rationalist. We know, he might say, that the best men have thought as you think ; but we want to know what guarantee we can have for the objective validity of your thought. We grant, he might add, the systematic character of Christianity, but that does not prove its truth ; a system must be systematic ; but it may have the most elaborate consistency, and yet be but a castle in the air. Christianity, he might proceed, is a real spiritual life ; we grant it just as readily as we grant the reality of our corporeal life ; but as we consider that corporeal life is a mere harmonious vibration of the elements which coalesce in the body, and is not dependent on any substance apart, such as soul, so we consider the spiritual life to be a mere phase of the social existence of thinking beings, a kind of harmony which they produce among themselves, and by no means dependent on a substance apart, or a Sovereign Creator and Ruler. As to the third point, he might re-

mind us that if in one age it was thought a great discovery to argue, "If there had been no God, man is so constituted that he would have been forced to invent one," in the next age an infidel would accept the challenge and reply, "There is no God, and man has invented him." That we are forced to construct a thing, he might say, does not necessarily imply that the thing exists ready made, but that materials exist out of which we may make it. Birds must build nests, but the nest is no primary element of the universe. Man must construct God; it does not thence follow that God is any primary necessary Being. The materials of the nest preëxist in the world, and so the nest is possible; the attributes out of which the idea of God is formed preëxist in human thought, and so the idea of God is possible. As every bird builds its own nest out of the materials which its instinct tells it to employ, and thus builds a nest proper for itself, but not for other birds, so every man builds his own God out of the ideas which his character and instincts compel him to employ for the purpose; and this God is a private and personal one, a shadow of the man's own self, rising with the rise of his consciousness, and dying with his death. We would acknowledge, continues this philosophy, as gladly as the Christian, the utility of this idea of God, though we do not allow its objective validity. The thought of God is to the mind just like its nest to the bird, its den to the beast. As the teased cat scampers to its basket, or the worried dog runs to its kennel, and lies down there, as if at home it had more strength and patience to endure, so does man in tribulation retire to the thought of God; and so does he, under the shadow of that thought, revive his courage, his patience, and his love. But the rationalist will concede nothing further; *entia non sunt multiplicanda*: it is to him an interesting and mysterious fact of psychology; it shows what a wonderfully complicated piece of machinery is the human brain; but he no more wonders that a good secretion of a divine idea by the brain should give us moral and mental strength, than that good digestion of the stomach should give us muscular strength.

Dr. Tait knows that the question of the present day is to define the "human element," the accidental temporary admixture, to be found in Christian belief and in the inspired records. He ought to know that the rationalistic tendency is to give an indefinite extension to this "human element," till there is nothing divine left in the Gospel but a powerful appeal to our best feelings,—no historical truth, no supernatural assistance, but a power which directs and purifies passion through the illusion of belief. And this great question he dismisses by assuring us that "we can easily distinguish between the passing letter and the ever-binding spirit, . . . between the substance of the divine teaching and its mere accidents;" and at the same time by providing us with "grounds of faith" which have nothing solid or objective in them. Yet the idealist proof of the objective truth of religion may be drawn out, and has been drawn out by the greatest sermon-writer of the day, in a long series of discourses out of which the *theodicea* requisite for the pre-

sent state of controversy might be compiled, based upon "the clear vision we have, first, of our own existence; next, of the presence of the great God in us and over us, as our Governor and Judge, who dwells in us by our conscience, which is His representative."² Dr. Tait, with the best intention, has drawn too largely on his resources; and his draft has been dishonoured.

11. Metaphysical philosophy goes through certain great cycles, each of which closes in a period of confusion, when men are tempted to take refuge in the idea that metaphysics mean nothing, tell us nothing about realities, and aim at knowing what never can be known. Without attempting to deny that the human race is so constituted as to be obliged to ask the questions which the metaphysician seeks to answer, such persons are content to point to the utter confusion and contradiction among metaphysical philosophers, and to contrast it with the certainty and security of the march of physical science since the time of Bacon, as a proof that the elder sister was only meant to prepare the way for the younger, to educate the intellect for physical speculation, and to resign her throne and her empty pretensions when her pedagogic purpose was accomplished. This was the opinion of Macaulay, and it is the purport of Mr. Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy*.

The author of the brief dialogues on *The Nullity of Metaphysics*, while fully accepting the argument derived from the idea that there has been no advance in metaphysical philosophy, that in this portion of history the only lesson to be learned is one of abstinence, and that here alone the human race has made no progress, except in the knowledge that the metaphysical sphere is one of which nothing can be known, endeavours to reinforce this discovery by an argument derived from Horne Tooke's exploded philosophy of language, which, in his idea, proves that metaphysical questions come simply from the error of mistaking words for things. There is nothing in pure thought, he says, which leads us to distinguish soul from body, spirit from matter; the distinction is a mere puzzle of words, absolutely irrelevant to things. Questions about the soul and God are matters of feeling, to be decided by poets, of which no scientific man can take cognisance. Science passes by the vain attempt to know any thing about the substance of things in themselves, and is content humbly to register the laws of phenomena. The "philosophy of the human mind" ought to be discarded from science, because it involves an unproved and unprovable hypothesis,—the existence of mind. "Matter" is as vain an abstraction as "mind;" mind and matter are mere words; we only know things, namely those which impress our perceptive organs, whether of outward sense or of internal consciousness.

As atheism is a sort of religion, and curses are a kind of prayers, so the assertion of the nullity of metaphysics is a metaphysical position. The only real denial of religion is the refusal to think about

² Newman, *Parochial Sermons*, vol. i. p. 24.

it at all; the contradiction of religion is as really a religious dogma, capable of generating a religious fanaticism, as the assertion of religion. So it is with metaphysics, which is the philosophical basis of religion and morals, just as mathematics is the foundation of physical philosophy. The only real escape from metaphysical difficulty is abstinence. "Space and time present no difficulties to me," said Charles Lamb, "for I never think about them." To think is to be overcome. A man must be a metaphysician to maintain the nullity of metaphysics, a theologian to maintain the falsity of theology, a mathematician to assert the futility of mathematics. As Cæsar was most flattered when he was being persuaded that he hated flatterers, so is the physical philosopher inveigled into metaphysics when he thinks he is proving its nullity. His only safety is to take refuge in Punch's system,—“What's mind?—no matter. What's matter?—never mind.”

And this is the real object of these enemies of metaphysics ;—not to advance the study, not to improve its methods, but simply to prevent people from studying it. “Sleepless themselves to give their readers sleep,” they undertake the vain labour of being metaphysicians to save others from the sore vanity of metaphysics. This may be a disinterested work of charity, if they have no selfish or fanatical object to attain ; but in general the existence of such an ultimate object is only too clear. Metaphysics would rarely be attacked if it were not the rational foundation of religion ; to proclaim the nullity of metaphysics is one part of the present movement of thought, which banishes religion from the reason, and relegates it to the feelings, in order that reason may have nothing to say to it, and devote itself solely to material advancement. The “brief dialogues” are too shallow and futile to need these remarks ; but the book is a sign of the times,—a specimen of the manner in which the foundations of religion may be undermined by those who make the strongest professions of religious sentiments and religious hopes.

12. Mr. Neale's book on the analogy of thought and nature is full of close and deep thought, and deserves more comment than we can give it. It is an assertion of the validity of metaphysics against the positivist school of philosophy. It consists of three parts ; first, an investigation of the laws of thought, following, with some important modifications, the logic of Hegel ; next, an account of the historical development of these laws of thought in the great arenas of ancient and modern philosophy ; and thirdly, a demonstration of the analogy (not identity, as Hegel wished) between the course of nature and the course of thought ; proving that the power which energises in nature is the same in kind as that which energises in the individual human mind, however infinitely greater in degree. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda*. ‘The scientific thinker smiles at the suggestion that the planets may be moved in their courses by angels, who conform in all respects to the action of gravitation, which leaves them nothing to do. But he would fall into a similar absurdity if, finding the

phenomena of nature to be such as ought to result from the action of a thinking Being, he nevertheless ascribes them to the action of some unknown power, which *acts like a thinking being, but without thinking.*'

The first part establishes the great law of thought to be the production of the *other* by the *self*; the *I* evolving the *non ego*; the *ens* producing *existences*. This seems to be the common conclusion of all modern metaphysicians, whether, as psychologists, they regard principally the human mind giving birth to its thoughts, or, as ontologists, they conceive the infinite mind creating the universe. The ultimate and primary power of thought is simple *being*, that is to say, an indeterminate power of *creation*, or *evolution*, and not precisely *construction*, which is an unfortunate term of Mr. Neale's. We *create* or *evolve* a triangle with the data of space and the moving point; we construct it with three ready-made straight lines. Thought requires a *materia prima*, like the point and space, but it transforms its material in the course of its evolutions, instead of merely constructing with the materials given. From this "indeterminate power of construction" thought evolves, 1st, space; 2d, time; 3d, the ideas of being, becoming, not being, and so on, up to the idea of personality, in the same order as we find in Hegel's logic. Mr. Neale agrees with Hegel that the ideas of space and time flow from the primary conception of being, instead of being conditions imposed upon thought, as Kant supposed; the chief difference between them is that, whereas Hegel *identifies* the process of thought with the process of development in the universe, Mr. Neale makes the relations of the two processes to be one of *analogy* instead of identity.

The great defect of this first part is that at the end we have not got a step farther than at the beginning. We begin with the statement that thought is an equation, of which the sense forms one side and the symbol the other; and we end with the great law of thought—the continual process of unification of subject and object; the thinking being continually setting up itself as its own object, as the other of itself, in order to realise itself in this other. That is to say, thought is continually creating something, or evolving something out of itself, as the expression of itself, whereby it manifests its own reality to itself or to others. All expression, evolution, or creation is thus a symbol of the reality involved in it, of the meaning expressed, of the mind that evolves itself, of the power that creates: and the expression may again express itself under other symbols, and so on, endlessly. God expresses Himself in the universe; the substance of the universe expresses itself in qualities; qualities express themselves to us as phenomena; the mind comprehends these phenomena as ideas, which therefore express phenomena; ideas express themselves in words. The symbol is ever reality communicating itself by means of something which is not itself; hence every thing signified is related to that which signifies it as substance to shadow.

Now the mind, in its simplest conception, is a power of thought; that is, a power capable of expressing itself in symbol—of construct-

ing thoughts which embody and represent its own attributes. But for this construction does the mind contain sufficient stores within itself, or does it require to be furnished with data from without? Clearly all the materials which it collects from the senses are furnished from without. But are the primary materials—those without which the most elementary thought is impossible, such as space and time, the unit or point or moment—are these materials evolved from the mind itself, as motion is, or are they given to the mind, imposed upon it as conditions, in the same way that the limitations of sense are? We are inclined to say yes, with Kant, rather than to take the side adopted by Mr. Neale, after Hegel. It is a condition of our thought, that it can only express itself in terms of space and time; but is it inconceivable that the thinking force, compounded of creative power, organising reason, and communicating will, should be in itself capable of expressing itself under other conditions? Such conditions are, of course, inconceivable by us, but we can think of their possibility.

Moreover, the determination to evolve space and time from simple being, in the first part, is inconsistent with the personal distinction made between the powerful Creator of the original atoms of the universe, and their rational organiser, in the third part (p. 208). Mr. Neale should assign also to the "organising (constructive) power (in the mind) a personality which must be distinct from that of the power manifested in producing the primitive elements;" and unless he is prepared to give a double personality to the human individual, he ought to assign the organising force—the constructive and creative principle—to the mind, and the preparation of the material or condition of thought (space, time, and sensible phenomena) to a distinct Person—to the Creator, who, in giving us our minds, gives us also the materials to use them upon; materials which both enable the mind to act, and limit its action.

But Mr. Neale does give a double personality to man; the regulative will he makes distinct from mental power, which depends on the organisation of the brain; this will has no consciousness except in connection with its organisation, and it is capable of *transmigration*. It may reappear successively in a whole line of men, with continual increase of force, but with no consciousness of personal identity. This strange position seems to belong, by a congruous analogy, to the first mistake of evolving space and time from the notion of simple being.

The second part of Mr. Neale's book is a historical view, founded on Mr. Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, showing that the great law of thought, "the production of the other," has guided the progress of metaphysics, and gives the key of the unity which lies hid under the confused diversity of the history of philosophy. The two great courses of ancient and modern philosophy are reviewed; in the first, beginning with Thales, enquiry commenced with external nature, and with an attempt to assign a universal law of physical change. This positivism changed through metaphysics to theology,

till at last the Alexandrian school ended in a theological explanation of the phenomena of the world. The modern stage begins with Boethius, and with the theological physics of the latest Greek philosophy, and goes through the reverse order of changes till, through metaphysics, it ends in the positive physical philosophy of Comte. If that thinker "had lived in the age of Justinian at Athens, instead of at Paris in the age of Louis Philippe, his method of induction must have led him to lay down, as the basis of his positive philosophy, the rule that thought advances from the conception of natural law, through metaphysics, to theology."

The third part expounds the analogy of natural processes to the processes of thought, in a very ingenious and thoughtful manner: the conclusion is that the force which energises in the universe must be the same in kind as our minds, but infinitely higher in degree; a unity subsisting in three distinct hypostases—a creative power, an organising reason, and a communicating love.

The critical nodus of all philosophy is the relation between the processes of our minds and those of nature. The assumption of their identity results in the pantheism of Hegel; of their analogy, in the Christian philosophy of which Mr. Neale may, on the whole, be accepted as a specimen; of their entire difference and anomaly, in the positivism of Comte, the doctrine of the nullity of metaphysics, or the unknown and inconceivable Absolute of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In the present state of philosophy, each of these positions is an assumption; and however certain we are by faith of the truth of the second, reason has not yet enabled us to demonstrate its necessity, except perhaps by the harmony and internal consistency which it alone secures to both the metaphysical and physical spheres of thought. For, while pantheism eviscerates physics, and positivism metaphysics, the analogical philosophy, which makes man the image, and the universe the expression, of God, secures its due place to every branch of human thought and knowledge.

The question debated between the psychologic and ontologic metaphysicians is one of much less importance. It turns on the doubt, whether the human mind can prove the objective reality of the external universe. As every man must assume this reality, and as his thoughts must all be based on the assumption, it is idle for the ontologist to accuse the psychologist of denying it. The real difference is that the ontologist *begins* with the assumption of objective being, *ens*, and disallows any previous enquiry into the origin and generation of the notion, which, according to him, is a direct divine intuition, innate, concrete, and ingenerate. The psychologist criticises the notion by means of the powers of the soul, shows how the notion is formed within us, and of what parts it consists. The positivist metaphysician pretends to carry his criticism further back still, and tests the validity of the idea itself by the generalisation furnished by biology, psychology, and sociology; building metaphysics upon physics, and therefore ultimately destroying the distinction between them, and preparing the way either for a pantheistic spiritualism or an atheistic materialism.

13. Dr. Schmid's little book on the speculative questions which are now being debated, or which were lately debated, within the Catholic Church, leads us to desiderate a more complete and detailed work on the same subject. Such as it is, however, we heartily recommend it to the perusal both of Protestants and Catholics in this country. The former will find abundant proof in it that thought is by no means so stagnant in the Catholic Church as they are generally taught to believe. And English Catholics require to have the fact brought home to them, that the unity of the faith is very far from implying identity of opinion on all grave questions of religious interest; and that nothing can be more senseless and wicked than to anathematise one's fellow-Catholics when they happen to differ from oneself, not on articles of faith, but on matters upon which all Christians have a right, and many perhaps the duty, to give utterance to their convictions.

14. Although the subject of the origin of our numbers, of the cipher, and of position arithmetic generally, has been incidentally treated of by all writers upon the history of mathematics, no one, so far as we know, has made these subjects matters of special investigation as a chapter in the history of civilisation, before the appearance of Dr. Cantor's work. Considering that the subject is new, and that the author is not an Egyptologist or Oriental scholar, the work is very interesting, and will lead special scholars to contribute to our knowledge upon some of the important points raised in it. The key of Dr. Cantor's whole theory of the origin of our numbers is to be found in his wonderful life of Pythagoras, a complete narrative of events from his childhood to his death. This part of the book will certainly be a novelty to persons who believed that nothing could be said of that extraordinary man except that he was probably born in Samos and died in Italy. This curious piece of biography—and the author himself is conscious that it will create some surprise—is chiefly founded upon Röh's *Geschichte unserer Abendländischen Philosophie*.

Upon the Egyptian modes of representing numbers, and on the arithmetic of the Egyptians, he communicates nothing new. He tells us merely what Jomard, Young, and others, had guessed, even before Champollion, namely, that 1, 10, 100, 1000, and 10,000 were represented by distinct signs, which Champollion believed to have had also phonetic value as letters. Much yet remains undiscovered about the arithmetic of the Egyptians, and it is to be hoped that some one will turn his attention to the subject. As might naturally be expected from the progress in the decipherment of Babylonian inscriptions, we have not much positive information from that quarter either. The author, however, thinks that the following conclusions may be come to with regard to the mathematical knowledge of both peoples: Geometry was of Egyptian origin, and was used by the Egyptians practically, both for geodetical and astronomical purposes. The earliest propositions were those which made the form of figures de-

pendent upon their area, in other words, on the conversion or transformation of figures. Closely connected with these as theoretically antecedent were propositions on parallel lines, on similarity of triangles, and, in fine, the whole theory of geometrical proportion. From the astronomical use of geometry arose the knowledge of spherics, and from the latter that of the regular solids. The regular bodies led backwards again to plane geometry, and especially to the study of regular polygons. This, in connection with the methods of the transformation of figures, led to the institution of geometrical experiments on the construction of regular polygons from certain similar elements. Scientific calculation was of Phenician, or more probably of Babylonian, origin. From the practical use of it in commerce, there branched off from it in Babylon the germ of a theory of numbers. And lastly, the Babylonians knew the abacus.

In Egypt Pythagoras learned geometry; and during his supposed exile of twelve years in Babylon he learned both the practical calculation and the use of the abacus, which he improved and made known in its improved form to the Greeks. The doctrine of proportions and progressions on the one hand, and the distinction of prime numbers and other categories, are to be traced back to the twofold direction of the Babylonian arithmetic when Pythagoras is supposed to have studied it there. In their arithmetical experiments the Babylonians added series in the most different combinations; it was no doubt in this way that the properties of the sides of a right-angled triangle whose sides are 3, 4, 5 were discovered. The Chinese knew this property of the numbers 3, 4, 5 in the reign of Tshaou-Kong, who is said to have reigned B.C. 1100. Dr. Cantor supposes that the Chinese got all their arithmetical knowledge from the West—a view which is very probably correct, considering the great intercourse between East and West in remote times. A striking confirmation of this view has been furnished by Professor Weber in a paper read in April 1862 to the Academy of Sciences of Berlin (*Ueber die Identität der Angabe von der Dauer des längsten Tages bei den Chaldäern, Chinesen, Inder*). He has shown that the length of the longest day among the Chaldeans, Chinese, and Indians, is given in exactly the same numbers, and must be considered to have originated among the Chaldeans. The triangle above referred to is the celebrated triangle of Pythagoras; and it is most probably to him that we owe the generalisation of the formula $3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$ to all right-angled triangles, and the theory of irrational numbers, that is, of numbers which represent the squares of others, which cannot be expressed in whole numbers, or more correctly, numbers whose square-roots cannot be expressed in whole numbers, and which must obviously have been discovered after he had geometrically proved that the sum of the squares of the two sides subtending the right angle in any right-angled triangle is equal to the square of the hypotenuse. A further consequence of this study of the triangle was the discovery of the solution of indeterminate equations of the second degree with three unknown quantities, by perfectly rational values. Dr. Cantor further concludes that of the

followers of Pythagoras who wrote text-books, very few followed the purely arithmetical method in use at Babylon.

Pythagoras employed numerals like ours in many respects, and it is curious that the figures which the Arabs themselves call Indian bear no resemblance to those which have been brought directly from India, while they bear comparison with the Arabic alphabet on the one hand, and with the Pythagorean marks on the other. Dr. Cantor concludes that our numerals are of Babylonish origin. M. de Rougé's discovery that the Phenician alphabet is derived from one of the oldest forms of cursive writing of the Egyptians, points, in our opinion, to a still older origin for our numerals.

Niebuhr thought that he recognised the numerals in the form in which we now possess them in a Greek Ms. of the seventh century in the Vatican; and he mentions that Professor Playfair of Edinburgh, who saw it with him, agreed in this opinion. At the request of Dr. Cantor, Prince Boncompagni had this Ms. examined by Professor Spezi of Rome, who has come to the conclusion that Niebuhr was mistaken.

The most important question connected with the whole subject is that of the cipher and of position arithmetic generally. Delambre believed that he found evidence of the use of the cipher among the Greeks in the *Almagest* of Ptolemæus, and in the commentary upon it which the younger Theon, who is also known as Theon of Alexandria, wrote. Nesselmann³ has, however, shown that there is no foundation for this opinion. According to Prinsep and Thomas, the existing forms of our numerals are derived from the initial letters of the Sanskrit names of the numbers. Dr. Cantor believes that this use of the initial letters as symbols of numbers originated at farthest about B.C. 500,—that is, about the time of the Achæmenides,—but most probably some centuries later. There is, however, nothing remarkable in this use of initial letters, for traces of a similar custom are found among the Egyptians and Babylonians, and also among the Romans. The Sanskrit people retained this custom down to a late period in their mathematical writings: for example, the unknown quantities x , y , z of modern algebra are in Sanskrit black, blue, yellow, green, red quantities, and are always indicated by the initial letter of the colour. These numbers were used partly additively and partly multiplicatively, just as among other nations, and remained in use long after the discovery of position notation. The multiplicative notation is in principle identical with the method employed by Arya Bhatta, the great Indian astronomer, whose period has been variously estimated at from A.D. 226 to A.D. 600. It is not clearly shown by Dr. Cantor that the Indians discovered the cipher, and with it position arithmetic; but the fact is certain, as works of the mathematician Brahme-gupta, who flourished at latest in the middle of the seventh century, prove that they knew its use before A.D. 600.

The author looks upon Boethius, who translated many of the works of the best Greek mathematicians into Latin, and compiled

³ *Die Algebra der Griechen*, Berlin, 1842, p. 138, note 25.

others, and whose geometry he considers genuine, as the fountain from which all mathematical knowledge was revived in Europe; and with respect to Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), he agrees with M. Chasles, that his mathematical knowledge, including the use of the abacus, was not derived from Arabic sources, but was Greco-Roman, and chiefly derived from Boethius. He labours to show that Gerbert never entered Moorish territory, and that his Spanish travels, as Büdinger had previously endeavoured to prove, were confined to the Spanish Mark, or county of Barcelona. He has not, however, given sufficient, or indeed any evidence, except of a negative character, to prove that Gerbert was not in Cordova, although we fully admit that he may have derived his knowledge of the abacus from Boethius. There is somewhat too much of the *hoc volo, sic jubeo* logic here and there in Dr. Cantor's work. Here is an excellent example which is immediately connected with the subject. In expressing his surprise how Venerable Bede could have acquired so great learning in an out-of-the-way convent in England, he says: "Allerdings wäre es für Beda etwa in einem Irischen Kloster schwierig, fast unmöglich gewesen eine Gelehrsamkeit zu erringen wie er sie besass. Nicht so an der Grenze Schottlands mitten unter einem Geschlechte von Mönchen welches ganz besonders für Mathematik sich interessirt haben soll, &c." (p. 281). And he adds in a note, "a man like this Bede the whole Irish Church has not produced; he was the teacher of the whole Middle Ages. It was, however, by mathematical knowledge that the Scots distinguished themselves; to their teaching, but only intermediately, a considerable part of the learning of Bede may be traced." From the context of the two passages it would appear that he took the Scots of the early Middle Ages for the people of Scotland. It so happens that it was in the century of Bede that the schools of Ireland flourished, and that there the rotundity of the earth was taught, and attempts made to determine its relative size; and it was precisely there that the kind of knowledge of astronomy which Bede acquired could best be learned. It will be perhaps hereafter established that the Irish science of that period was not of Latin but of Greek origin.

M. Chasles has shown that the first evidence of the new method of notation is to be found in the writings of Raoul de Laon, and he quotes an important passage from that writer to show that the abacus was Greco-Roman, and was only restored by Gerbert. But the first work in which the Indian position arithmetic and the use of the cipher are fully given, was that of Mohammed ben Musa, surnamed Alkharezmi, from which the term Algorithmus comes, and which M. Chasles thinks was translated by the monk Atelhart of Bath. The Cambridge Ms. published by the Prince Boncompagni is, according to the same authority, that translation.

15. Dr. F. Keller, the indefatigable investigator of the Swiss lake dwellings, which have latterly attracted so much attention in connection with the question of the antiquity of man, has just pub-

lished a fifth report on the subject, containing notices, some communicated, of all the recent discoveries. Among the new localities are the so-called *terramara* of the Emilia in Central Italy, and the harbour of Peschiera in the Lago di Garda. The term *terramara* is either a corruption of the word *terra marna*, or perhaps of *terra di mare*, and is applied to gentle elevations on plains which appear to have been at one time marshes. Piled dwellings appear to have been erected in these marshes, after the manner of the Irish *Cran-nogues*, but in construction like the Swiss lake dwellings. Signor Luigi Pigorini and Prof. Strobel, who describe them, consider the elevations to be the result of the accumulation of kitchen rubbish and of the habitations; and mention the existence of phosphoric acid and organic matter in the marly clay of which they consist, as a proof that they are artificial. Analyses of two samples of this clay made by Prof. Truffi are given. In the earth of Casaroldo the organic matter was 2·82, and the phosphoric acid 0·180 per cent; in that of Noceto the former was 4·30, and the latter 0·24. These numbers are not sufficient to prove that the materials of these mounds are artificial; it is certainly new to us that such substances are not found in marls. In this clay, whether natural or artificial, have been found many specimens of earthen pottery, bronze and bone weapons, and tools, and some bones of domestic and of a few wild animals, among others, of the beaver. Mention is made of the curious circumstance, that at Casola, a village in the Parmesan Apennines, earthen pottery is now made similar in form and material to that of the *terramara*, and, though well formed and hard, it is not turned in a lathe or baked in a kiln. It being always in such cases necessary to propose a hypothesis regarding the people who lived in the district of the *terramara*, they are described as Gaulish Celts, of the tribe of the Boii. Dr. Keller thinks that eighteen months' study is hardly sufficient to determine so difficult a point.

The objects found at Peschiera by Herr von Silber, of which Dr. Keller gives two plates of illustrations, have a wonderful resemblance to the bronze antiquities found in Ireland. The most noteworthy fact connected with this discovery is that several of the objects are of pure copper, and not of bronze. Dr. Keller states, upon the authority of a well-known manufacturer, Mr. W. Fehr, that copper antiquities in immense numbers and in great variety are to be found in the Pesth museum, private collections, and in the hands of metal-dealers in Hungary; and that in certain districts of that country, and of Transylvania, copper weapons, tools, and ornaments are as numerous as those of bronze. It certainly appears that the greater number of those objects found in Hungary, and figured in the atlas of plates to the *Archæologiai Közleményik*, published in 1861 by the Academy of Pesth, are of copper. Some of the Hungarian copper objects are figured in Dr. Keller's work, from specimens sent by Mr. Fehr. They certainly differ much from those found in Ireland and at Peschiera. Dr. Keller thinks that the occurrence of these copper weapons proves, contrary to the opinion of M. Troyon and others,

that "a copper age" preceded in Europe the bronze one. He says, that though the contrary opinion just alluded to may be partly true for Western Europe, it is not so of all Europe, and especially of Eastern Europe. It appears to us, however, that the predominance of bronze in Western Europe, and the abundance of copper in the East, are accounted for far more simply by the fact that tin is a rare metal, the two principal sources of which were in the West, Cornwall and Galicia in Spain, while no important source of it is known in East Europe.

Dr. Keller criticises very severely the hypotheses of M. Troyon. That writer, as is well known, not only adopts the theory of the three successive ages, but maintains, as an important discovery, that the passage from the stone to the bronze age, and from the latter to the iron age, was accompanied by a sudden change of people, and the destruction, more or less complete, of the ancient people, and also that of their habitations by fire. The stone-age people were primitive, or autochthones; the people of the bronze age were Celts, who destroyed and burned the habitations of the others, and again rebuilt them, and were in turn destroyed and burnt out by the Helvetians, who used iron swords. M. Troyon has evidently a strong imagination, and he drew a glowing description of the successive advance of civilisation displayed by each people, how their food and arms and dress became more varied and better. Dr. Keller now tells us that there is no foundation whatever for this contrast of civilisation. He asserts that it was the same people who peaceably lived through the whole of the three ages; and that there is no difference between the style of execution of the stone objects of the first and of the transition periods. Indeed, ornamented stone weapons of the first period are more frequent than of the bronze, while the pottery has the same style of ornamentation; and the food, instead of being the products of the chase, was chiefly corn. Nevertheless Dr. Keller himself appears to believe in the successive "ages."

16. All the geographical and historical information that can be found with reference to the Oracle and Oasis of Jupiter Ammon has been collected by Dr. Parthey. The sum of this information, as far as it is trustworthy, is but small. We shall perhaps know something more of the ancient history of the Oasis when the inscriptions which are still to be found there have been accurately copied. At present we know little more than the fact that the Greeks were ignorant even of the name of the Egyptian deity to whom the place was consecrated. Ammon is indeed an Egyptian god; but the ram-headed deity of the Oasis is not Ammon, but either Chnum or Har-sheft (Plutarch's *Ἀρσαφής*), one of the forms of Osiris. This blunder, of which all the classical writers are guilty, is one of the many which show how utterly untrustworthy are all Greek and Roman authorities on the subject of foreign mythologies. The traveller Pausanias is the last of the ancients who is known to have visited the sanctuary of this Oasis. After his time the oases

are only mentioned as places of banishment. St. Athanasius, for instance, tells us that several confessors were sent from Thebais εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν, in the hope that on their way they might perish in the desert. The Arabian writers mention the Oases, and among them that of Siwah; but they contain nothing which could enable one to identify this with the so-called Oasis of Ammon. This identity was first suspected by Browne, who came to it in 1792; and the truth of his conjecture was satisfactorily established by Rennell in his Geographical System of Herodotus. Since then Siwah has been visited, and partially described, by Hornemann, Boutin, Caillaud, Drovetty, Linant, and Minutoli, and more recently still by Mr. Bayle St. John and Mr. James Hamilton. It has, however, been very imperfectly explored.

17. Dr. Piccolos, the Greek translator of Descarte's Discourse on Method and of *Paul et Virginie*, has just published what appears to be an excellent edition of Aristotle's *History of Animals*, "one of the most admirable works," as Cuvier tells us, "that antiquity has bequeathed to us, and one of the greatest monuments which man's genius has raised to natural science." The learned editor has taken the text of Bekker as the basis of his own in preference to that of Schneider, to whom, however, he acknowledges himself to be deeply indebted; but he has not scrupled to admit a great many alterations which he conceives to be called for either by external or internal evidence. Besides consulting the Greek Mss. in Paris, and the editions of Aldus, Scaliger, Casaubon, Sylburg, and Bussemaker, Dr. Piccolos has paid great attention to the ancient Latin version of William Moerbeke, which ranks as equivalent to a good manuscript, and would deserve to be published by an able editor. He has also procured a copy of the Latin translations by George of Trebizond of two books of the *History of Animals*. This translation is not very good, but it is made from Mss. superior to those used by Theodore of Gaza, whose translation, together with that of Michael Scot, has also been studied by Dr. Piccolos. A new revision of the text was indispensable, and it has been conducted by the new editor under a full consciousness of the difficulties of the task. Wherever changes have been made in the text the learned editor has either marked the passage, or has given Bekker's reading in a note at the bottom of the page.

18. There is no classic author whose extant writings have suffered more than those of Aristotle; and the condition of the manuscripts baffles even the established rule which directs the critic to adopt the earliest text. Professor Sauppe, one of the most eminent masters of that school of verbal critics which descends from Godfrey Hermann, has published a dissertation in which he shows that the corruption and mutilation of the Rhetoric was accomplished in very early times. The critical resources for the investigation of that work are very meagre. The most ancient codex, that on which Bekker relies, belongs to

the eleventh century. The only classical writer who quotes the Rhetoric is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the time of Augustus, who quotes six passages. After verifying the text of these quotations from a collation of five Mss. of Dionysius, Professor Sauppe compares it with the text of the earliest and best Ms. of the Rhetoric. The result of the comparison is to show that the two coincide in several manifest errors, but that the readings of Dionysius are, on the whole, more corrupt than those of Bekker's codex. Three hundred years, therefore, after the death of Aristotle his works were in a worse condition than we find them in now, after the labours of the modern critics; and a corroboration is thus supplied to the story told by Strabo of the arbitrary and ignorant way in which his original writings were copied and restored.

19. The historical character of Livy is more seriously damaged by the careful investigation of Herr Nissen than by the critique of Niebuhr. Herr Nissen confines his enquiry to the second century B.C., and examines the method in which Livy used his authorities for recent and historic times. Polybius is the only one of these authorities of whom much has been preserved. Above eighty of the fragments which are extant are used by Livy in his fourth and fifth decade, and Herr Nissen has instituted in each case a close comparison between the Latin and the original Greek. Livy, it is evident, proceeded on no fixed principle, but treated Polybius in the most arbitrary manner. Some passages are amplified for the mere purposes of rhetoric; some are altered from patriotic motives; and in many cases the details in which the sensible practical Achaian exhibited the connection of events, are omitted from negligence and indifference. One instance will characterise this unprincipled proceeding. In book xxxvii. chapter 54, Livy translates from Polybius an address of the Rhodians praying for the freedom of the Asiatic cities, and then appends an imaginary declamation, which he likewise puts into their mouths. Polybius concludes his report with the remark that the Rhodians were judged to have spoken with wisdom and moderation. Livy alters this to suit his own composition,—*apta magnitudini Romanae oratio visa est*. Yet Herr Nissen affirms that Livy deviates much less from the authorities before him than the later Greek historians, such as Appian, Plutarch, and Dio.

20. It is very difficult to conjecture what the great scholars of early times—Lipsius for instance, or Casaubon—would say to the révolution in ancient history which was effected by Niebuhr, and to the very ingenious and original reconstruction which has been attempted by Mommsen and Schweigler. There is, however, a writer now living who gives one some idea of their position, in whose works there is a fossil and ghostly appearance as of a man who has shared for a century or two the cave of Barbarossa. Professor Gerlach possesses all the reading of the greatest philologists; his familiarity with the life and literature of the ancients has scarcely ever been

surpassed; and he has examined minutely all the enquiries of the moderns. But he entirely condemns the spirit in which they write, rejects their principles of criticism, and takes his stand on the good old ground that it is wrong to question the wisdom of the ancients. He represents the respectability of age aghast at the levity of presumptuous innovators. In his eyes the weapons used against the pagan traditions were forged for the demolition of Christianity, rationalism is taking possession of antiquity, and the popular opinions are the flimsy conjectures of men too proud to submit to authority, who boast that they can restore out of their own genius a history which they have pulled to pieces. Hence he writes about the rape of the Sabines and the politics of Alba in a tone of moral reproof, like one who defends society against unbelief and revolution. He commenced some years ago a history of Rome, which only came down to the expulsion of Tarquin. Since then several dissertations have appeared; and he now publishes a volume of essays in which, together with much useful matter on the later times of the Republic, there is a full exposition of his critical theory.

In very early times—so argues Herr Gerlach—mankind can think of God, the world, and nature only as united. Faith is their mode of knowledge. In the sense of their helplessness and ignorance they cannot separate themselves from the gods. They acknowledge no will, no action of their own; there is no individuality; the world is the scene of the manifestations of the deity. Persons and events are nothing but symbolical expressions, and the order of time is accidental and indifferent. This leads to the alarming conclusion that mythology is the earliest form of historical record. Events impressed themselves on the mind of the people in the manner natural to its imperfect development, that is, in a religious and mythological form. Therefore these fancies of primitive nations are to be respected; and, as time goes on, the marvellous element gradually fades, and legend settles down into sober history. Consequently Herr Gerlach commemorates with reverent attention whatever is supernatural as the expression of religious truths, and takes whatever is not impossible as the expression of historical truths. Now, assuming that historical events leave their impress on the myth, it is affected also by natural phenomena and by psychological reflection; and Herr Gerlach's chemical resources afford no test to distinguish them. The idea of taking for truth those traditions which are not simply impossible, and rejecting only what is poetry or miracle, is quite as much borrowed from the older rationalist commentators as Schwegler's method from that of the Tübingen school. No flight of conjectural fancy can equal the absurdity of a primitive history consisting of the dregs which remain after the marvels have evaporated. Herr Gerlach is obliged so to qualify his principle that it becomes indistinct, and to join issue with his adversaries upon a variety of particular questions. On all these his opinion carries great weight; but he is continually tempted into unseemly personalities against the writers of the critical school.

The great element of difference which tinges the whole controversy is the question of the religious character of the Roman polity. The Romans, as well as the Greeks and the Christian nations, held that God is the first lawgiver; and that the political law is founded on the divine. But it is peculiar to an organism to develop according to the laws of its own nature, and to escape the control even of that from which it received its origin and its impulse. It is faithful to its origin if it is true to its own inherent law, but it cannot obey any external influence. The morality which regulates the aims of private life is unable to deal with the very different objects and situations of civil society. It has a negative influence on government as on medicine, but it is as little adapted to manage the government of states as to compass the cure of disease. Yet, in very early times, religion supplies the only precepts and the only practices by which politics as well as therapeutics are guided: the puzzled statesman consults the oracle, and the sick man lies in wait for dreams in a temple. By degrees, these sciences develop from experience a system of their own, and, without renouncing the basis of religion, make themselves virtually independent. Morality teaches nothing about the manner of elections, or the cure of the plague, but in both cases there are certain prescriptions which it condemns. A system of law does not cease to be religious, in the sense in which religion can combine with civil law, because it proceeds on its own principles; and it is a mistake to seek a religious sanction for every particular as a proof of that influence. This is the mistake, it appears to us, on which the controversy turns. Gerlach thinks that because the Romans were profoundly religious, religion must give a reason, or mythology, which is the same thing to him, must supply an origin, for almost every fundamental enactment. Schwegler, who sees no such perpetual reference to the gods in the inflexible logic of the Roman law, disputes its religious character. They are wrong, because one overlooks the real mode in which religion influences the sources of legislation, and the other confounds the religious spirit with the character of a particular theology. The Roman law could not have become universal if it had not been based in religion and morality; still less, if it had been inspired by the tenets of a false theology. It was the absence of this dogmatic character that made the Roman system so tolerant. It was the presence of the religious principle that recommended it so strongly to the medieval church.

21. Every student of the history of the Church or the states in the Middle Ages has often felt the want of a bibliographical directory such as Herr August Potthast has completed in an octavo of 1000 pages. If we wish to know where any historical or biographical book of the period between 375 and 1500 is to be found, or if we are enquiring what histories of a particular country were written, or what lives of a particular man, this volume supplies information more accurate and more satisfactory than it would be possible to obtain from the whole library of the British Museum. The mat-

ter is distributed under four heads. First, there is an alphabetical list of all collections that contain any medieval writings. Next (pp. 97-574) comes a catalogue of the writings themselves, briefly describing their value, stating the places where Mss. of them are preserved, with a critical notice of all the editions in which they have appeared, and a list, which is the only incomplete thing the book contains, of works to consult concerning them. The labour expended on this, the most important part of the work, is almost inconceivable; and what adds to its value is that Herr Potthast is not a mere bibliographer whose sole merit is accuracy, and who possesses but a conventional notion of the character and contents of the writings he describes, but a thoroughly well-trained historian, who has made the critical study of the medieval authors and their manuscripts the business of his life. Under the heading *Vitæ* (pp. 577-940) all the lives, acts, legends, and *martyria* of saints and other personages are catalogued with the same care; and this department not only gives a complete index to the documents and dissertations of the *Acta Sanctorum*, superseding that in the *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Buvavianæ*, but also to all the biographical materials which are not in that collection, with a diligent attention to what is spurious. The end of the volume (pp. 945-1002) contains a brief chronological list, classified according to countries, of the medieval chronicles and lives.

22. The rapid and enormous increase in the price of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, in this age of rational criticism, is sufficient to prove the value of the work as a historical collection. It has become at length so expensive, and the demand is so great, that it has been determined to reprint the whole of the fifty-two volumes which had appeared when the progress of the work was interrupted by the Revolution. The first volume is already published, and it is expected that the reissue of the whole will be completed in a very few years. Every thing that type and paper and cheapness can do has been done to make this new edition acceptable; and even the envied possessors of the old Antwerp set will probably prefer it to their own. The publisher has conferred an immense service on literature; and the Jesuits may be justly proud at this restoration of the grandest monument of the historical learning and judgment of the Society. For the spirit in which the most eminent of the Bollandists conducted their great undertaking, far from being opposed to a legitimate scepticism in the examination of authorities, and from evincing a disposition to surrender no portion of the legends, was in advance of the knowledge of the time; and they contributed by their labours to ascertain and to define the principles of critical science. Before they wrote it did not exist; and Papebroch was the first who attempted to lay down distinct rules. "*Primus omnium ad artem diplomaticam, hoc est, ad examen ac scientiam veterum tabularum, viam stravit,*" says Muratori. Indeed, the boldness and confidence with which he exposed the errors of the prevailing credulity shocked

his contemporaries, and provoked a violent opposition. He was denounced as a heretic; one of his works was placed on the Index; and the *Acta* were prohibited by the Spanish Inquisition. The Jesuits, it was said, took a pleasure in destroying the credit of documents which belonged to orders that could boast a higher antiquity than themselves, and wantonly questioned the authenticity of the most venerable records. Long after the first masters of critical scholarship had passed away, as late as 1720, a Protestant historian wrote as follows of the labours of Papebroch and his companions: "Id ergo egerunt Jesuitæ, ut omni vetustati indicerent bella, ne aliis præcipui aliquid eos oporteret relinquere. Deinde cum antiquioris ævi ordines insigniter gauderent suis litterariis thesauris et diplomatum festivo ac venerabili adparatu, contra hominum novorum, Jesuitarum, tabularia calva et vacua essent horum cimeliorum, irretorto oculo intuiti sunt, quicquid redoluit sacram vetustatem. Inde hujus instituti furor, quo chartas omnes in dubium vocare ausi sunt, simulque pretio omni eas destituere. . . . Anno enim 1673 Daniel Papebrochius Propylæum illud antiquarium circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis evulgavit; in quo non solum varia diplomata temere et calumniose habuit pro adulterinis, sed etiam regulas criticæ artis hujus dare ausus est."

Papebroch maintains in his *Propylæum* that a regular system of forgery was commenced by the monks in the eleventh century. Society was demoralised, the Church distracted by violence and schism; and in terror lest their possessions and privileges should be taken from them by lawless laymen, they tried to protect their rights with the aid of fictitious documents; hence he concludes that the mediæval records cannot be trusted. This exaggerated and hypercritical scepticism of the illustrious Bollandist gave rise to a literary controversy that lasted for more than half a century, and induced Mabillon to publish his famous treatise *De Arte Diplomatica*, in which he gave categorical rules by which a spurious record could always be discovered. This new method, which effected a revolution in the study of history, was disputed by Hickes and by Germon; but Papebroch himself acknowledged his error, and professed himself a sincere convert to the views of his antagonist. "Fructus autem hic est," he wrote, "quod mihi in mea de eodem argumento octo foliorum lucubratiuncula, nihil jam amplius placeat. . . . Tu porro, quoties res tulerit, audacter testare, quam totus in tuam sententiam iverim." On this Mabillon most justly remarks (*Œuvres Posthumes*, i. 459): "Ego vero satis mirari non possum tantam in insigni eruditione modestiam, cujus exemplum vix ullum illustrius reperire licet. Quotus enim quisque eruditorum est, qui in litterario conflictu victum se agnoscat, et agnita veritate priorem sententiam incunctanter deponat?" Papebroch often declared, as we are told by his colleague Sollier (*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, i. 16), that he owed to Mabillon what he had hoped to supply by his own labours—definite tests of authenticity in mediæval writings. But at the time when the triumphant work of the Benedictine appeared, twelve

volumes of the *Acta* were out, and four months were already done. And if the ablest of the Bollandists lived to see the method pursued in the first portion of the work grown antiquated by reason of the progress of that very science which he had contributed to create, he would certainly recognise the further advance that has been accomplished by the critical studies of the nineteenth century.

Between the old, and not yet extinct, system of criticism and the new there is a difference far greater than that which is produced by the greater dexterity of long practice, by more abundant terms of comparison, or the advance of learning in the concrete. A change as vast as that which Mabillon introduced in the examination of official documents has altered the mode of studying historical or biographical narratives. According to the old principles, every thing was surrendered that was demonstrably impossible or absurd, whilst that which did not flagrantly contradict reason or certain fact continued to be used as materials for genuine history. Although the recent date and the fabulous composition of a narrative were admitted, that was not enough to condemn it. Whatever was not shown to be impossible was preserved. This method is wholly illusory and unsound. A late account of very early events, in which fables are unquestionably mingled, may possibly contain some elements of truth, but it conveys no certain knowledge of it, and therefore can supply history with no facts. The prosaic parts are as unavailable as the poetic. Its possibilities are as useless as its convicted fables. The whole story springs conjointly from the same source; one common process gives rise to the reasonable as well as the extravagant ingredients; and the business of criticism is not to distinguish the parts, but to explain the derivation of the whole. For the essence of the myth is not in its marvellous contents, but in its unhistoric origin. The knowledge of the psychological process by which myths are engendered enables us to discover this. The martyrologies supply the first element in the enquiry; for their dates and the names of their authors are known; and they give us a starting-point from which we can often trace the legendary matter as it clusters gradually round a personage of whom at one time only the name was known. In the case of those later saints of whose lives we have ample contemporary record, we can follow the steps by which the truth becomes distorted, and imaginary additions accumulate upon it; and we can detect the arbitrary mutations of the earlier legends as one writer copies them from another, and as they pass from land to land.

For this reason, it is an act of no little temerity to challenge criticism by bringing the early volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* face to face with the science of the present day. It suggests one inevitable enquiry as to the principles on which the great work is being continued. Do the Bollandists who live under the rule of Father Beckx adhere to the method of their predecessors under Nickel and Oliva, or have they adopted the science of Pertz and the *Ecole des Chartes*? If the former, then they fall very far short of the example which was set by Bollandus and his disciples; for they do not em-

ploy in the service they have undertaken all the weapons at their command. But if it is the latter,—and those who have seen the last volumes of October cannot doubt which alternative is true,—then the continuity of the undertaking is so completely broken, the different portions offer so extreme a contrast, that the judgment which has decided on the republication must be seriously questioned; at least, the early volumes ought to derive some benefit from the improved resources with which the prosecution of the work has been resumed. If the volumes for January cannot be made to correspond with the volumes for October without an amount of labour and delay which makes the suggestion preposterous, at least we might expect some acknowledgment of deficiencies and desiderata, some brief recapitulation of what ought to have been done. But the first volume is entirely unaltered. It is of course important to have the pages of the Antwerp edition for the sake of the references in innumerable modern works, and for the index in the Biñau Catalogue and in Potthast's Directory; but they might have been printed on the margin. Instead of this, the reprint is page for page the same; and even the *addenda* are not inserted in the proper places, but are repeated with Chinese fidelity at the end.

Even if we could not expect a complete *auctarium*, a few notes to each life, comparing the Bollandist text with what has since been published, would have reconciled the difference which an interval of more than two centuries has created in the position of historical learning. Some indication would be required of more complete editions or more faithful texts of the biographies inserted in the collection. The *Acta SS. Ordinis S. Benedicti* would alone furnish many such instances. Thus in the present volume there is a life of St. Odilo of Cluny, which is given far more completely and more correctly by Mabillon. Then there ought to be information given about lives published since the first edition appeared—a very extensive item. The life of St. Simeon Stylites is much better known since the publication of his Syrian Acts by Assemani. There is a better life of St. Theau of Solignac in the Benedictine series. Mr. Luard has published three lives of St. Edward the Confessor, one of which is by a contemporary, and greatly exceeds in value all that the Bollandists give concerning him. Of Canute Laward, the duke of Schleswig, they give two lives, taken, one from the chronicle of Helmold, the other from Saxo Grammaticus. Now a life of this saint, written not long after his death, was discovered and published in 1858, which is not only extremely valuable, but is the original which was copied by Saxo, and furnishes the only means yet known of testing the credibility of that historian, by examining the mode in which he makes use of his authorities. Above all, no spurious work like the life of St. Valentine, which the Bollandists took from Surius, should have been reprinted without an obelos. The only excuse for these deficiencies is that this edition is not published by the Bollandists themselves, but is simply due to an enterprising bookseller, to whom, at any rate, we cannot refuse our thanks.

23. A new edition of St. Anselm's famous treatise *Cur Deus Homo?* has been printed to meet an existing demand. There is nothing in the edition itself to show what the grounds of this demand are,—whether the book is read because it marks a crisis in the development of modern philosophy, or because it states the rationalist objections to the Incarnation with rare clearness and temperateness, or because it furnishes an answer to those objections which has been generally adopted by all Christians since its appearance, or because it is a model of modest learning and temperate argument. The treatise itself is calculated to do important service, and in no respect more than in teaching disputants what value to set on their arguments. The second chapter discusses “how what is said is to be received;” and it begins with distinguishing the articles of faith from the explanations of them to the understanding. While the former admit of no variation, all the latter have an *interim*, a temporary character, and the author wishes that all that he advances of his own, “*quamvis illud ratione probare videar, non alia certitudine accipiatur, nisi quia interim mihi ita videtur, donec mihi Deus melius aliquo modo revelet.*”

St. Anselm's argument, if used now for the conversion of unbelievers, would have the inconvenience, in several places, of proving *ignotum per ignotius*. One of the most important steps in his proof of the reasonableness of Christ's satisfaction is founded on the assumption that the number of the fallen angels is to be precisely replaced by men. In other words, an opinion, for which there is no ground of certainty, is used as the basis of an article of faith, for which there is at least the testimony of Christendom. Again, the necessity of Christ's satisfaction is proved by a consideration of the infinite malice and indignity of sin; and this consideration is justified by an argument which seems to confound the eternal law of morals with the positive law which is only of accidental obligation. Though St. Anselm founds the moral law upon the command of God, yet behind the will which promulgates the command he recognises a supreme *dignitas Dei*, an eternal rule of right and wrong, a divine ideal of goodness and justice, against which it is impossible for God to will or to act. Now, the argument by which he tries to prove the infinite gravity of sin seems not to recognise this distinction. It is this: if you wished to look one way, and God told you to look another, you might not disobey even though the whole universe were to be annihilated,—nay, even though infinite worlds were to be annihilated through your obedience. Therefore the least sin is of infinite gravity (bk. i. c. 21). This is drawn out as a self-evident truth; yet who does not see that an answer is ready? The eternal law of morals teaches us to save our fellow-creatures by any act that is not contrary to that eternal law; if then we could, *per impossibile*, save the universe by looking one way rather than another (*i. e.* by an act indifferent in itself), and it were that moment told us that God by a positive temporary precept forbade us to save the universe by that indifferent act, we should be justified in saying that we were

more certain of the eternal law of charity than of any asserted positive revelation. We should say, and justly, such a command is against the dignity of God. Hence the supposition on which St. Anselm's proof is built is self-contradictory. We must always, he says elsewhere (c. 12), so interpret what is asserted about the will, or the benevolence of God, as not to contradict His *dignitas*. Moreover, the argument, if logically developed, would seem to lead to the twentieth condemned proposition of Baius,—“Nullum est peccatum ex natura sua veniale, sed omne peccatum meretur pœnam æternam.”

The doctrine of the infinite gravity of all sin was based by the medieval theologians on the dignity of the person offended,—“Natura et conditio injuriæ et offensæ est, quod ipsa crescit et augmentatur tantum, quantum persona, quæ est offensa, est magna.⁴ Et ideo quia Deus est infinitus in sua potestate et majestate sua, et in sua bonitate, quæ sunt inæstimabilia; sequitur, quod injuria et offensa facta contra Deum est infinita et inæstimabilis.” The principle or feeling on which this notion was founded was general in feudal times. An insult from a serf was felt to be more insulting than an insult from a peer. Later on, Dryden expresses the notion when he says,

“To one well born the affront is worse and more
When he's abused and baffled by a boor.”

Dr. Johnson has a similar idea, founded on the recognised distinction between wise men and dunces:

“Fate never wounds more deep the generous heart
Than when a blockhead's insult points the dart.”

But, in reality, let us ask what would be a gentleman's feelings if, when he called on some unknown offender to demand satisfaction for a gross insult, he found the man to be a clown, or a fool, or a person of no character? He would be angry at himself for having been angered by a person so much beneath his notice.

Here, then, we have an example of the temporary *interim* character of all arguments founded on assumed first principles, which are merely generalisations of social habits. When social superiority depended not on education, but only on birth and privilege, birth and privilege, being mere external ornaments, had to assert themselves against external aggressions; in these days social superiority depends on a thousand particulars,—on birth and privilege, but also on education, on intellect, on manners, on temper, on character. Its nature is more internal, and it can afford to pass over external attacks, which do not reach it.

The rationalistic difficulties exposed by Anselm are really answered in principle by his treatise: the Incarnation and Passion may be rationally explained by the *dignitas Dei*, by the judgment of the most enlightened conscience on what was *becoming* to the infinite love, goodness, and justice of God. But Anselm's media of proof

⁴ Raymund de Sabunde, *Theol. Nat.* part. vi. tit. 250.

have become more or less obsolete. A similar fate has overtaken the *evidences* of the divines of the last century. Their proof of God from the display of design in the universe only holds good if we maintain that God had to deal with materials independent of His will. Human design is manifested in any prop to hold up a thing which by the law of gravitation would fall without such prop; but this is only because the law of gravitation is to us an overmastering necessity, which we cannot modify, but only circumvent. If the law of gravitation depended on our will, there would be no use in the prop; it would be a mere caprice, a play of the will with itself, a fancy to do by engineering what could as well be done by a mere *fiat*. If, then, we are to infer design from the appearances of it in the world, we must hold the Divine will to be limited by the nature of the materials with which it works. We cannot logically infer the existence of a creative intelligent will unlimited by necessary laws.

Just so in the Christian scheme. Anselm makes Boso object against the humiliation of God for the redemption of man, "*Si dicitis, quia Deus hæc omnia facere non potuit solo jussu, quem cuncta jubendo creasse dicitis, repugnatis vobismetipsis, quia impotentem illum facitis. Aut si fatemini, quia potuit, sed non voluit, nisi hoc modo: quomodo sapientem illum ostendere potestis, quem sine ulla ratione tam indecentia velle pati asseritis?*" The modern reply must be the same as Anselm's,—the sufferings were not *indecentia*; on the contrary, *decurit Christum pati*; God's *dignitas* was manifested in and by them. Anselm gives one explanation of how this *dignitas* was exhibited,—an explanation which does not seem much to touch the heart or carry captive the intuition of the present age. But his explanation was merely for an *interim*; to hold while men continued to have the current ideas of justice, and to treat them as ponderable quantities to be balanced against one another in the scales of criticism. Modern apologists do not use these arithmetical calculations, which seem to set forth the Passion as a peremptory claim on the divine justice, like a bargain in the market-place, or plea in the law-court; but their views exhibit a more loving, generous, and munificent plan, a plan more in accordance with the infinitude of the divine attributes. God, they tell us, cannot do a small work, cannot act by halves, but must do whole works, great works. If He must sacrifice one morsel of His dignity in order to pardon, He will sacrifice it all, and make Himself more glorious and beautiful in His abasement and weakness than in His majesty and strength.

24. The first volume of a very convenient edition of select treatises of St. Anselm has appeared at Tübingen. "*Omnibus enim,*" says the editor, "*qui profundiori dogmatum studio operam navare velint, nostris quoque temporibus ea apprime utilia immo necessaria esse, neminem latet.*" The second of these treatises, the *Proslogion*, contains the *à priori* argument for the existence of God which has made the name of St. Anselm famous in the history of

philosophy. It was expelled from the Catholic theology by St. Thomas, who admitted only the *à posteriori* proofs, *demonstratio per effectum*; but it became the starting-point of modern speculation from the time of Descartes until its refutation by Kant, and in our own time Father Gratry has exerted himself to restore it. A recent decision of the Holy See appears to go farther than St. Anselm, in asserting that not only the existence, but the attributes of God can be proved by the unaided reason. "Siquidem vera ac sana philosophia nobilissimum suum locum habet, cum ejusdem philosophiæ sit, veritatem diligenter inquirere, humanamque rationem licet primi hominis culpa obtenebratam, nullo tamen modo extinctam recte ac sedulo excolere, illustrare, ejusque cognitionis objectum, ac permultas veritates percipere, bene intelligere, promovere, earumque plurimas, uti Dei existentiam, naturam, attributa, quæ etiam fides credenda proponit, per argumenta ex suis principiis petita demonstrare, vindicare, defendere, atque hoc modo viam munire ad hæc dogmata fide rectius tenenda." It would be easy to show from many passages in St. Anselm that he did not believe in the stringency of his ontological argument, for no Christian writer ever insisted more strongly on the priority of faith. *Fides quærens intellectum* was the original title of his book; and he would certainly have adopted the sentiment of a later schoolman, that all human reasons, "si homines ad credendum inducant, non tamen ad fidem capessendam plene sufficiunt usque-que."

25. Molitor of Frankfort, one of the first Catholic metaphysicians of this century, devoted forty years to the study of the traditional philosophy of the Jews, and composed a system of Christian speculation almost entirely founded on the materials it supplied. He was not the first to perceive the value of this source of knowledge; but the Rabbinical literature is so obscure and so little cultivated that no writer has yet traced its influence on the philosophy of the schools. The Christian writers are more accessible to Jewish scholars; and the first elaborate treatise on the relations between the medieval writers in Latin Europe and their Jewish predecessors is due to the eminent philosopher Joël, whose work on the *Sohar* is one of the most profound of the writings of the modern Jews. He confines his comparison to Maimonides and Albertus Magnus, and shows that Albert owed many ideas, and sometimes whole paragraphs, to the *More Nebuchim*. This does not of course imply that the great schoolman was unwilling to acknowledge obligations. With all his learning he deemed it a matter of indifference to refer to their originator ideas which had become common property. "Quod autem de auctore quædam quærunt, supervacuum est, et nunquam ab aliquo philosopho quæsitum, nisi in scholis Pythagoræ . . . a quocumque enim dicta erant recipiebantur, dummodo probatæ veritatis haberent rationem." The parallel passages which Dr. Joël cites prove his thesis beyond the possibility of cavil, but he exaggerates the importance of the influence which Maimonides exerted. St. Thomas, he says, bor-

rowed from him his method of reconciling reason and faith. But the *Summa* had its roots, in reality, in the previous works of medieval philosophy and in the Latin fathers, and the rational method which Maimonides introduced among the Jews was already applied by St. Anselm. Dr. Joël declares that Albert knew the *More Nebuchim* so thoroughly that there is scarcely one important philosophical idea in it which he has not made use of.

26. A little volume on St. Bonaventure by Dr. Hollenberg gives a favourable idea of the diligence with which the scholastic divines are studied in Protestant Germany under the influence chiefly of the school of Jena. The author had prepared materials for a complete treatise on the great philosopher of the thirteenth century, but was unable to find means for examining the text of his writings. He therefore determined to turn his labours to account in a work addressed to the general public, like the monographs of Hase on St. Francis and Savonarola. The volume contains no new investigations, but gives a readable account of the saint as a writer, founded on a very ample knowledge of his works. We can only regret that the original project was not executed in the same spirit of sympathy and reverence. Men far less eminent than St. Bonaventure, such as John of Salisbury, have lately found very competent biographers. Three large works on St. Thomas have appeared within two or three years of each other; and with the exception of Scotus there is no divine of equal rank who has not occupied the pens of studious Germans.

27. There are few men who have studied so minutely the national and popular literature of the Middle Ages as M. Edelestand du Méril. The amount of manuscript matter he has brought to light is very large, and his illustrations are taken from a wide range of antiquarian reading. The volume of *Etudes* he has lately published deals more with the history of manners than with that of literature, and begins with a long and entertaining account of the customs observed at weddings in medieval France. Most of the volume is taken up with legendary matter and old women's tales. The following words will show how well M. Edelestand du Méril understands their nature: "Il n'est pas dans la nature positive du peuple de laisser aucun vague dans ses récits: tout y porte un nom, tout y prend une date et y reçoit une patrie. S'il est resté dans la mémoire publique quelque personnage qui se prête à y jouer un rôle, il en devient l'acteur principal et semble communiquer aux autres son existence historique. Le lieu de la scène est choisi parmi les plus célèbres, et concourt par sa notoriété et sa nature à l'authenticité et à l'effet du drame qui s'y passe. La plupart des traditions qui acquièrent de la généralité se renouent donc par un lien quelconque à l'histoire, et on les regarda pendant longtemps comme des souvenirs que le peuple avait conservés du passé; tous les détails fabuleux étaient attribués à des corruptions de la version primitive" (p. 277).

But while he protests against taking them for history, our author fully appreciates that which is their true value. " Dans ces poésies si négligées de tous et si dédaignées des demi-savants qui tiennent leur gravité intéressée à ne voir dans le passé que des faits matériels et ne consentent à croire qu'aux vérités officielles, à l'histoire passée par-devant notaire et enrégistrée dans les cartulaires, il y a donc une source toute nouvelle et bien féconde d'enseignements. . . . Il reste à interroger les mœurs, les usages, les superstitions ; à entreprendre sur les idées le travail si glorieusement poursuivi sur les mots par les Burnouf, les Grimm et les Bopp ; à étudier la poésie populaire dans ses origines et dans son vrai sens" (p. 317).

28. In the year 1860 the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg gave a prize for the best history of the abolition of servitude and villeinage in the different European states, with a view to comparing the various methods and their results with the great problem which the Russian government had undertaken to solve. The work of Herr Sugenheim, which gained the prize, contains an astonishing amount of historical matter; but the writer is overwhelmed by the mass of details; he treats of each country separately; and it is therefore very difficult to discover in his pages the political and economical laws that govern the process of emancipation, or to trace the operation of general causes. Three great facts stand clearly forth in his narrative: that the democratic form of government is peculiarly oppressive to the serfs (p. 530); that in monarchical Europe the misery of the lower classes increased up to the moment of the greatest development of absolutism in the seventeenth century (p. 148); and that in the Middle Ages the happiest condition of villeinage was to belong to the Church (p. 90).

The abolition of slavery is one of those instances in which it is necessary to distinguish between the actual precepts of Christianity and the influence of the Church in her organisation, between the direct and the indirect action of religion, or, in other words, between theology and ecclesiastical law. For the New Testament, according to the interpretation both of the Greek Fathers and the medieval divines, positively sanctioned slavery; and in the general sense of the early Church there was nothing immoral in it. In a spiritual point of view, it was even described as possessing peculiar advantages. It is probably in consequence of this marked tolerance of slavery that it came to be supposed that the Church was indifferent to freedom, and deemed even absolutism legitimate. The confusion arose from a false definition of the terms. Slavery is the condition in which certain definite rights are lost by the slave. Absolutism is the state in which no rights are assured to the subject. One is a danger, but the other is a wrong. An absolute government actually suspends or contradicts the Divine law, and substitutes for it the rule of a more or less benevolent or enlightened human will. The people may be prosperous and contented, yet the system they obey is sinful in itself. A slave may be exposed to great pains and great dangers; but if his position

is so regulated by law that nothing actually immoral, such as the refusal of education or the severance of the marriage-tie, is permitted, he still, in a certain sphere, enjoys a restricted freedom. Religion assents to gradations and limitations of freedom, but not to the rejection of law. A power which asserts itself superior to law is dishonourable to God, who is the author of law; but a power which the law allows to be very great is a constant part of the Divine economy. The same theory of Christian right which calls upon the subject to reform or to subvert an arbitrary government may require that the slave shall obey his master. It is not, however, only the enemies of the Church who have overlooked this distinction; and we have partisans of an abstract abolitionism, as well as advocates of absolute power.

In the Middle Ages the Church regulated and mitigated servitude, but she never encouraged wholesale emancipation. As early as the seventh century, she required that the property of the serf should be treated as rightfully his own. In the ninth century, after she had been content for a time to forbid the re-marriage of a slave who had been separated from his wife, she established the indissolubility of the marriage of slaves; but it was not till three centuries later that she could obtain the recognition of marriages contracted by them without the consent of their masters. All this tended to soften servitude, but not to abrogate it. But while the Church formed the individual for that inner freedom which made even slavery an occasion of virtue, she educated the nations for that public freedom which penetrates and proclaims itself in every region of civil society. The same influence which disciplined the individual into submission to qualifications of liberty, promoted in the state the outward manifestation of this real internal freedom. The readiness of obedience anticipated and superseded the action of authority. In a Christian community, the spiritual emancipation of the subject involved his political liberation; and it followed that the state must recognise and exhibit the process of conversion which had been accomplished in the particular souls. That law of spiritual freedom which is indifferent to external restraint, which St. Paul preached in a pagan empire, became in Christian society a law of political freedom; and the Church, which tolerated slavery and practised equality, helped by this apparent inconsistency to liberate the slave. In this sense we see some truth in the words of the most malignant and assiduous enemy that religion possesses in the literature of the present age: "*malgré l'Eglise, l'égalité religieuse devait conduire à l'égalité civile*" (Laurent, *La Féodalité et l'Eglise*, p. 599). But this influence, exerted by the Church less as a doctrine than as an institution, belonged to her as a great independent authority in the state; and thus it came to pass that Protestantism, while preaching more absolutely the emancipation of the individual, nevertheless contributed, as Herr Sugenheim—who belongs, we believe, to a religion which makes him impartial between Christians—has plainly shown, to increase the horrors of servitude over a great portion of the Continent.

29. The Abbé Guettée, who has just published a volume entitled *La Papauté Schismatique*, is the author of a voluminous history of the French Church, which displays some erudition, and a frantic and turbulent Gallicanism. In the preface to his new book we find a retraction. "If Providence should ever grant me the means of reprinting my *History of the Church of France*, I should deem it a conscientious duty to correct it" (Pref. p. ix.). Unhappily the error which the writer retracts is his belief in the authority of the Holy See, to which he finds that he has made unjust concessions. Before the apostasy of its author the book had caused much scandal in France; and it was very desirable that some work should be provided which should make it unnecessary to refer to that of the Abbé Guettée, whose false views and calumnious statements were, in some of the later volumes, partially redeemed by real research. For the only general history of the French Church, that of Longueval and other Jesuits, is more than a century old, and was not even equal to the requirements of the time when it was written. Yet it has retained considerable popularity; and a new work written to supersede and to refute Guettée would have at the same time to compete with Longueval. For this task no French writer was prepared. The Abbé Jager, therefore, formerly professor of ecclesiastical history at the Sorbonne, and author of several works, undertook to correct and continue the text of Longueval: "La critique historique a, depuis lors, fait des progrès et apporté bien des lumières . . . Nous avons cru devoir reprendre cette histoire en sous-œuvre, pour la mettre au niveau de la science." His manuscript has been revised by a commission appointed by the Pope; and after the appearance of the fourth volume the Abbé was raised to the rank of a Monsignore.

When his eighteen volumes are completed, they will no doubt form an interesting and useful work. The original words are generally preserved, but the style is in many places improved, and there are some additions. Unfortunately the more important alterations are suggested rarely by the results of a new investigation or a comparison with recent books, but more often by the desire of accommodating the tone to the Anti-gallican opinions of Monseigneur Jager and his Roman critics. He boldly affirms that submission to Rome was ever the special quality and distinction of the French Church, and selects his particular illustration of the fact from the reign of Louis XIV. It is evident that there is a deliberate design of misleading French readers into the belief that that conspicuous attachment to the Holy See which the French clergy exhibited during the long disputes with the medieval empire continued after the Council of Constance and the Concordat of Leo, and that Gallicanism was but a temporary episode, or a partial, and not a national, opinion. The very title of the book is changed from *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane* to *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique en France*. Whether the modern history, in which Mgr. Jager will be deserted by the Jesuits who continued Longueval, will be much more trustworthy than the work of the fanatical Guettée, is therefore doubtful. But in the earlier

period the alterations, though very characteristic, do not appear either injurious or dishonest. Thus when Godescalc, who afterwards fell into heresy, demanded to be released from his vows, because his father had dedicated him to a religious life without consulting his fitness or his inclination, and met with a refusal, Longueval says that in consequence of the attention he had excited, *après l'éclat qu'il avait fait*, he was not sent back to the same monastery. The words imply no censure, and, as the discipline was altered about that time, there is clearly room for none. But Godescalc was afterwards a heretic; so the words of the revised text are, *après le scandale qu'il avait causé* (v. 82). Longueval begins his description of the evil times of the tenth century with the words: "Les horribles scandales que donnèrent en ce temps-là au monde chrétien quelques successeurs de S. Pierre," &c. This passage now reads: "L'affligeante situation où se trouvait alors l'Eglise romaine," &c. The rude words that Theodora and Marozia "disposaient à leur gré du Saint-Siège en faveur de leurs amans," are softened down into "exercèrent par le prestige de leur beauté et par leurs aventures galantes une influence tellement générale que le Saint-Siège lui-même ne sut s'y soustraire" (v. 405). Longueval relates, what is very well known, that Nicholas I. appeals to the spurious decretals: a long passage is inserted in the new edition to show that he did nothing of the sort (v. 211). But this is of no importance in comparison with the changes which Monseigneur Jager has failed to make in obedience to the progress of ecclesiastical learning. Ratherius, the most remarkable writer in the West about the middle of the tenth century, was almost unknown when Longueval wrote; and he gives a very meagre and incorrect account of him. But in 1765, the Ballerinis published many of his works which were unknown before, and brought to light for the first time the incidents of his life. This rare volume was reprinted at Paris in 1853. In the following year a very full and learned biography of Ratherius was published by a disciple of Neander. Mgr. Jager appears to know nothing of all this, and reproduces faithfully the worthless narrative which was deemed sufficient 130 years ago.

30. A Catholic historian, Papencordt, who is chiefly remembered by his history of Rienzi, undertook to write the history of Rome in the Middle Ages, and had devoted several years to the subject, when he died. His unhewn materials have been since published by Höfler in a volume which represents imperfectly the author's design. The subject has been resumed by Ferdinand Gregorovius, who, though a Protestant, has lived so long among the ruins and monuments of Rome that his mind is filled with the *genius loci*, and with an intelligent sympathy that gives warmth to his style. His four volumes reach to the end of the twelfth century, and are more full of all kinds of interest, and more attractively written, than almost any German historical work. The history of the city appears in his narrative as the background of a drama which embraces at times

the whole civilised world. But the local history itself is so little known, and exhibits so curiously the transformation of the ancient into the modern world, with a more unbroken continuity than that of any other place, and is connected by so many links which have never been clearly explained with the vast action of the Popes upon Christendom, that it is as interesting and as important as the history of Rome when she was the capital of the empire. Herr Gregorovius keeps before us the deeply marked individuality of the Roman character, explains the influence of the barons, the growth of the democracy, the phases of the municipal constitution, the causes of the incessant turbulence, and the nature of the aspirations of a people who never swerved from the faith; and while he shows at intervals the decay of the old monuments and the rise of the few scant records that remain in buildings and inscriptions of medieval Rome, he likewise explains the transition from the old institutions to those of later times in the absence of the feudalism which in other places was the agent in the change, and of the sovereign independence which Rome, unlike Venice, never enjoyed. These volumes exhibit the influences with which the Papacy had to struggle in its home, whilst it upheld its authority over distant states, and reveal one great and neglected portion of the history of the Popes. They contain the fruit of much research among the Mss. of the Vatican and other archives, though this source of knowledge has not produced much new information. The author is not every where master of the subject when he follows the general policy of the Holy See, and in the period of Gregory VII. he relies on the work of Planck, which preceded the revival of medieval studies in Germany. The allusions to Cavour and Garibaldi, though not offensive, are too frequent.

31. The Arabic documents published by Signor Amari have reference to the commercial and political relations, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, first of Pisa and afterwards of Florence, with the Balearic Isles, the eastern coast of Spain, the north of Africa, Egypt, and Syria; and they incidentally concern Lucca, Piombino, Sardinia, Genoa, and Venice. They form an important contribution to the history of the commerce of Italy at a time when Italy was the centre of the commerce of the whole world. They are divided into two series, the first consisting of Arabic documents, none of which had yet been published, and the second of contemporary Latin and Italian translations, of which about one-half are now edited for the first time. Both series are of great interest in a philological as well as in a historical point of view. Only three or four Arabic documents of the kind here printed had as yet been published. Those given by Signor Amari furnish, as he says, a new proof of the powerful unity of the Arabic language, and give a favourable idea of the education of the *katib*, or secretaries, by whom they were written. The letters of the Tunis leather-merchants exhibit a higher degree of culture than could be found among their Christian contemporaries of the same condition. We have in no.

xxxiv. of the first series a very singular document. It is written in Arabic characters, but the language is an extraordinary kind of Italian mixed up with Arabic and Spanish words. A considerable amount of divination is necessary to decipher "Inm ddi ki bi.tus m.zrkrdius daura bir su m.sâg M.h.m..d lkr.sius wabirtut l.sua k.nbâni elsua s.kâsc g.nrar salutam," into "In nome di Dio, che, pietoso, misericordioso, darà pel suo messaggio Maometto, il grazioso, e per tutti suoi compagni e i suoi seguaci, general salute." The Italian translations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though written by common men and with a strange orthography, are remarkable for the beauty of their language. A fine specimen of the Venetian dialect of the fifteenth century is given in no. xlii. of the second series.

32. John Wessel of Gröningen, who died in the year 1489, has long been a favourite with those who look for Reformers before the Reformation, and expect to find a medieval tradition preparing the way for Luther, which the Council of Trent subsequently abandoned. He became the hero of a work in which Ullmann tried to furnish Protestantism with a pedigree; and Dr. Friedrich, a young Bavarian divine of great promise, has endeavoured to rescue him from this posthumous popularity. Inasmuch as Ullmann regards all denunciation of abuses in the Church as a criterion of Lutheranism, his adversary obtains an easy triumph. But although Wessel held no specifically Lutheran doctrine, this is not enough to establish his orthodoxy. Those who conceive that they are merely denouncing abuses and redeeming the divine and holy character of the Church of Christ from the impurities which from time to time settle on her outward form, through ignorance, or perfidy, or imprudent zeal, or timid accommodation, or ambition, or the distractions caused by long contests, or the negligence arising from security, easily forget that things essential and divine may be hidden or disguised by the malady, and that a perilous fire is sometimes lightly covered by treacherous embers. The first impulse produced by the discovery of evils is not commonly to ascertain the manner of their growth, and trace back their cause to the point of deviation, in order to substitute true progress for false; but to renounce altogether the path from which we have wandered, and to adopt some fixed ideal in the past instead of a legitimate advance. In almost all ages men have been so enamoured of their own ideas, and so much influenced by temporary causes, that they have refused to recognise the line of demarcation between doctrine and opinion. Where some elevate accidents or even conjectures to the dignity of matters of faith, others will be led by their contempt for the one to overlook the boundary of the other. This, we believe, in spite of Dr. Friedrich's assertion of the contrary, is what happened to his client.

Wessel was the most extreme of those zealous and earnest men who followed the reforming spirit of the University of Paris, and of the better portion of the German episcopate. The best of them re-

coiled from the consequences of their opposition to Rome, when age and experience taught them that their method of eradicating evils was cutting into the living flesh of the Church. It was so hard to distinguish, and even the Popes themselves were often so doubtful, that the final change in the opinions of so great a man as the Cardinal of Brixen is the most significant guide which our judgment can discover. The example of Pius II. is scarcely less striking; and we are astonished to find him mentioned by our author, with Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., as one of the obstacles in the way of ecclesiastical reform (p. 27). Wessel stands on a less exalted level; and in his strong expressions against the life of his contemporaries he clearly sins against the rights of the Primacy. "The life of the just man," he says, "would be very unsettled if it depended on the life of the Pope, for most of the popes have pestilently erred—'In Deum enim credimus, non in ecclesiam catholicam, non in concilium latinum, non in Papam'" (p. 262). Dr. Friedrich has no alternative but to declare this passage spurious. To us it appears a signal instance of the exaggeration to which the most sincere reformers may be carried by a just indignation, at a time when the sound tradition of theological study has been interrupted by the approach of a great change. Dr. Friedrich has justly pointed out that the decay of the old theological schools in that period of transition was one of the chief causes of the overthrow of ecclesiastical discipline.

The evil had gone so far that our author is obliged to give a description which it is painful to read, and which, in the judgment of certain critics, it would have been more prudent to alter or suppress. Dr. Friedrich rejects these counsels with indignation. We are, he says, still suffering from the effects of those scandals which it is now thought better to conceal. Our zeal against our separated brethren is baseless if we forget the evils which helped to drive them from our communion. If any argument borrowed from history is to be used in controversy, the first step to make it efficacious is to give the example of sincerity. There is no better way for the Church or for every Christian soul to guard against despondency, laxity, and relapse, than the contemplation of the consequences of previous faults. Dr. Friedrich insists very justly on this important truth, and points out that the very feeling which is excited against him, this very reluctance to allow that a Catholic priest can be a true and faithful writer of the history of his Church, is a symptom of the same tendency which brought the Church so low in the age of which he writes,—the tendency to elevate ignorance into a religious principle, and to cultivate imbecility as a virtue.

33. Although we are under real obligations to those persons who find a pleasant and gentlemanlike occupation in pursuing the by-ways of literature, it must be confessed that in publishing a collection of comedies played in Molière's time, but too obscure to be remembered, M. V. Fournel finds himself in a rather devious path. If any piece still keeps its position on the boards, he will have

nothing to say to it. But otherwise, however puerile it may be, if it illustrates in any way the career of the great poet, he gives it, whole or in part, with plenty of annotations. His object, therefore, is not to gratify literary taste, but historical curiosity, and his notes are rather antiquarian than æsthetical: "on peut commenter historiquement tout ce qui offre, à un degré quelconque, la valeur d'un document historique" (p. xi.). He accordingly gives us, in the *Amant Indiscret* of Quinault, four or five pages of kitchen learning, consisting of a copious list of the dishes which were known in 1654, in which certainly there is neither poetry nor wit. In this respect, for the history of manners, the collection will have some value. M. Fournel's account of the theatre of Burgundy shows the bitter antagonism of the *Renaissance* to the old medieval theatre. That house was originally used for miracle-plays and mysteries, but their performance was prohibited in 1548 by the parliament, and they were perpetually derided by the wits. Grévin writes in a prologue of 1558:

"Ce n'est nostre intention
De mesler la religion
Dans le sujet des choses feinctes ;
Aussi jamais les lettres saintes
Ne furent données de Dieu
Pour en faire après quelque jeu."

De la Taille says: "Vous y verrez jouer une comédie faicte au patron, à la mode et au portraict des anciens Grecs et Latins; une comédie, dis-je, qui vous agréera plus que toutes les farces et moralitez qui furent onc jouées en France. Aussi avons-nous grand désir de bannir de ce royaume telles badineries et sottises." The mysteries survived in the provinces their expulsion from the capital; but our author traces their history no farther, and does not enable us to compare their decline in France with the more gradual change that took place in Germany.

34. The new edition of Corneille presents an accurate text with a very small amount of critical or historical illustration. The latest volume we have received contains the plays which mark the beginning of his early and rapid decline. Huët relates with horror Corneille's confession of his false taste in Roman poetry: "Cohorru equidem aliquando, quum candide fateretur mihi, non tamen sine ingenua quadam verecundia, se Lucanum Virgilio anteferre." This grievous æsthetical heresy is apparent enough in the two tragedies of *Pompée* and *Rodogune*. Corneille says of the former, "the style is more elevated than in any of my poems, and the verses are unquestionably the most sonorous (*les plus pompeux*) I ever wrote. The merit is not mine; I translated Lucan, . . . and tried to enter so thoroughly into his manner of forming and expressing his ideas, that what I had to add of my own should recall his genius, and should not be unworthy to be taken for a theft committed upon him." The house of Cossé claimed to be descended from the Romans; one of

its daughters burst into tears at the scene of the death of Pompey, and explained that the hero was her uncle. A more real dramatic triumph is recorded of Mdle. Dumesnil in the part of Cleopatra in *Rodogune*. At that time the spectators in the pit stood close to the stage. The actress threw herself so completely into the inhuman character of the Syrian queen, and uttered the great imprecation with such tremendous power, that the front row of spectators recoiled in horror, and left an open space between them and the stage. This passage would have the force of the curse in *Lear* if it were less artificial. Cleopatra is dying of the poison she had intended for her son Antiochus :

“ Règne : de crime en crime enfin te voilà roi.
 Je t’ai défait d’un père, et d’un frère, et de moi :
 Puisse le ciel tous deux vous prendre pour victimes,
 Et laisser choir sur vous les peines de mes crimes !
 Puissiez-vous ne trouver dedans votre union
 Qu’horreur, que jalousie, et que confusion !
 Et pour vous souhaiter tous les malheurs ensemble,
 Puisse naître de vous un fils qui me ressemble !

Ant. Ah ! vivez pour changer cette haine en amour.

Cleo. Je maudirois les dieux s’ils me rendoient le jour.”

35. Thanks to the enterprise of a Paris bookseller, the French Church at length possesses an authentic edition of the works of the greatest of her prelates. Bossuet published during his life only a comparatively small portion of his writings and sermons, and after his death there was no party among the clergy of France whom it did not concern that some parts should be corrupted or suppressed. Several of his manuscripts were lost, some were destroyed, and others, in which no matters of opinion were involved, were so much altered as to give a very false idea of Bossuet’s taste and mode of composition. The author of the present publication lays the chief blame on the Jansenists, and promises among other *inedita* to publish a *Lettre aux Religieuses de Port-Royal*, which shall prove that, though Bossuet was an absolute Augustinian and intimately connected with Arnauld and Nicole, yet the idea that he was not hostile to the Jansenists is the result of their interested and fraudulent artifices. But while he accuses the Jansenists, he seems unable to see that their suppressions were immoral in principle, and he has scarcely more patience with those who, by publishing the *Defensio Cleri*, revealed the exorbitant Gallicanism of Bossuet than with those whose concealment of evidence caused him to be suspected of Jansenism. The tone of the editorial notes detracts something from the merit of the edition. The editor, M. Lachat, lately translated the *Summa* of St. Thomas ; an achievement which was variously esteemed as a proof of the progress or of the decline of theological studies. For while one conclusion which people drew from it was that those whose business it is to know theology are ignorant of Latin, others admired in it a sign that those who have never been taught Latin are anxious to study a deep theology. His language towards Richard Simon will astonish those who have devoted

themselves to biblical criticism. Bossuet, it is well known, summarily rejected the source of instruction which Simon first introduced into ecclesiastical literature, and speaks of the new science in terms which are a memorable instance of the weakness even of the greatest minds. "A toutes ces qualités," he says, "l'auteur du livre dont nous parlons ajoute celle d'être critique, c'est-à-dire de peser les mots par les règles de la grammaire, et il croit pouvoir imposer au monde, et décider sur la foi et sur la théologie par le grec ou par l'hébreu dont il se vante" (t. iv. p. ix.). M. Lachat has no better way of excusing Bossuet than by exceeding him in absurdity. He makes Richard Simon "a writer equally fertile, bold, and presumptuous, who cares more for novelties than for sound doctrine, and for empty glory than for truth. . . avec un certain bagage de mots antiques, aussi mal compris que mal digérés." Yet Bossuet was a great master of the spirit of Scripture, rather in the manner of St. Augustine and St. Gregory than in that of Origen and St. Jerome. The following passage expresses the method which he recommended: "La plus utile observation qu'il y ait à faire sur la lecture de l'Ecriture, est de s'attacher à profiter de ce qui est clair, et de passer ce qui est obscur, en l'adorant, et soumettant toutes ses pensées au jugement de l'Eglise. Par ce moyen, on tire autant de profit de ce qu'on n'entend pas que de ce qu'on entend; parcequ'on se nourrit de l'un, et on s'humilie de l'autre" (i. 6).

The most important acquisition in the ten volumes of this edition which we have seen is the thirteenth book of the *Défense de la Tradition*, in which Bossuet argues against that *dissensus patrum* which St. Vincent and even St. Prosper had discerned, and which Simon maintained, between the doctrines of St. Augustine and those of the early fathers. Bossuet defends the Augustinian theory, *gratiam Dei non secundum merita nostra dari*, as that of the whole Church, but admits that it had been abandoned by divines during a certain period: "il faut avouer qu'elle avoit été un peu obscurcie dans les deux ou trois derniers siècles, et jusqu'au concile de Trente." This book was in the possession of the present Bishop of Meaux, who allowed it to be published. Another manuscript, containing a commentary on Genesis, Exodus, and the Prophets, has disappeared. It was given to Benedict XIV. by the Bishop of Carpentras. But the editor questions the truth of this story, because it is impossible that a work of Bossuet could have been lost in Rome. Yet if it was given to Benedict XIV., it would probably be no longer in Rome. The manuscripts that belonged to that Pope, among which were many of great price, were left by him to his native town, and are preserved in the municipal library of Bologna. This valuable collection, long jealously guarded, has been rarely and imperfectly examined. Excepting the tables of the financial statistics of the Church in the fifteenth century, recently published by Döllinger, scarcely any part of it has seen the light; and many scholars, to whom the penetralia were unknown, have left Bologna in the persuasion that nothing was to be gleaned there. If the manuscript of Bossuet ever reached Benedict XIV.'s hands, it

probably lies among the unexplored treasures of that forgotten library.

36. A certain Abbé d'Espagnac collected materials for a life of Cardinal Dubois at a time when many of those who knew him were alive, and he also obtained possession of his family papers. The work was left unfinished; and the papers of the Abbé d'Espagnac have been used by the Count de Seilhac for a biography which contains some new information, but which is a caricature of the practice of vindicating damaged reputations. "We shall see with what prodigious skill he pacified Jansenism, struck down the peerage, controlled the parliament, baffled the opposition of the illegitimate princes, repressed all the causes of disorder, and established the peace of the state on the absolute obedience of all ranks" (ii. 20). How far some of these achievements were really meritorious is not a question in the author's eyes; but his use of evidence is even more singular than his political ethics. "The king himself felt acute grief at the loss of his prime minister. When the Duke of Orleans came to announce his death, his majesty replied regretfully, 'J'en suis bien fâché'" (ii. 214). The estimation in which he stood among the prelates is proved by the following words in a letter from one of them: "As I am asking not a favour, but justice, I hope you will let me have it, for I know that you love it" (ii. 208). By using such passages as these the Count de Seilhac has built his house on sand; but he falls into a positive trap when he relies on the testimony of the old Duchess of Orleans: "The testimony of the mother of the Regent is the safest and most respectable authority against the calumnies which have distorted the private life of the Cardinal." The following specimen of her opinion, first published in the fifth volume of Ranke's *History of France* (p. 438) appears to have escaped our author: "As to the Abbé du Bois, he is the greatest rogue and deceiver of Paris, and therefore takes good care not to discover the rogueries of others. We may be thankful if he does not aggravate them himself."

Dubois, we are told by our author, "was equally modest and brave, and concealed his talents and courage." Yet we find from the correspondence that he was an inveterate place-hunter. When the Pope hesitated to make him a Cardinal, he let him know that he would join the adversaries of Rome if he failed to obtain the hat. "I can do without that dignity; but in order to extract from me and from my place all the advantage which his Holiness may expect from me, it is safest to treat me generously, and not to impose conditions more likely to retard than to encourage me" (ii. 238). Thirty years before, his importunity in asking for promotion had brought down a polished reproof from Fénelon. "You have only just had an abbey, and this may appear contrary to that moderation which is expected of you. . . . You must deprive people of every pretext, and hold yourself so much aloof that it may never be said that you put yourself forward" (i. 246). In

describing the death of Dubois the author displays a fault which was not among those of his hero: "On l'engagea à se pourvoir de la confession, avant l'opération. Il répondit qu'il y avait pour les Cardinaux un cérémonial qu'il ne connaissait pas, et fit appeler un Récollet qui ne le connaissait pas davantage. On courut s'en informer, et cela donna lieu de dire que le Cardinal Dubois avait refusé de se confesser. Quand on fut fixé sur la rubrique, Dubois fit sa confession, et se prépara à mourir saintement." The book condemns itself so completely that it would be superfluous to confront it with the best authorities of the time.

37. Few periods of modern history have been so little studied as the reign of Maria Theresa. The absence of great intellects or eminent characters in the Austrian state at that time has generally deterred historians, while patriotic Austrians have had no encouragement to celebrate a period of great national disasters and considerable internal oppression. Moreover, the literary revival in Germany has been very slow to penetrate into Austria. The abolition of the censorship under Joseph II. led to so lamentable an exhibition of incompetency, that the self-respect of the country required it to be restored; and during the long tyranny of Francis, and the cowardly repression of thought during the last years of Metternich's administration, insurmountable difficulties impeded the pursuit of historical science. The imperial, and most of the provincial archives, were jealously closed; and the Vienna public satisfied its curiosity respecting Eugene of Savoy, the Empress Queen, and the Emperor Joseph, in books which are as dull as the worst histories, and as little to be trusted as the worst novels. The Revolution of 1848, though poor in political results, emancipated literature in Austria; and a respectable number of solid and useful works has since appeared, partly in the voluminous transactions of the Academy, and partly in separate publications. Of those which relate to the eighteenth century the most valuable are the life of Prince Eugene by the Ritter von Arneth, and a volume he has just issued on the two first years of the reign of Maria Theresa.

The life of that great princess had attracted the attention of Gfrörer; and judging from the popularity of his biography of Gustavus Adolphus, it is probable that his work would, if completed, have been successful. He was checked by the want of materials, but it was his intention to resume the subject after the termination of his great work on Gregory VII. His death prevented the fulfilment of this design; and he left only a very imperfect, though clever and original, account of the reign of Maria Theresa in his lectures on the eighteenth century, which have been lately published. A heavy compilation from published sources on the same period was given to the world in 1855 by Dr. Wolf, professor of history at Pesth. Ritter von Arneth has consulted freely the hidden treasures of the Austrian archives, and his work promises to be singularly complete and judicious. The weekly despatches of the Venetian envoy in particular

have enabled him to trace in uninterrupted detail all the acts and deliberations of the Vienna government, and to give minute and living likenesses of all the leading men. This volume describes the miserable condition in which the Emperor Charles VI. left his states to his daughter, in consequence of the blind obstinacy with which he sacrificed their internal prosperity in order to obtain the worthless promise of the Powers to maintain her succession. But with that singular elasticity which has ever characterised the fortune of Austria, a rapid change ensued; and Maria Theresa introduced a new system of government, which is little remembered, because it was subverted by her son, but which is a remarkable instance of the absolutism of the eighteenth century, aggravated rather than tempered by the sovereign's regard for morality, and, as in most cases where absolutism is not intensified by centralisation, neither oppressive nor unpopular in the more remote dependencies. In his eleventh chapter our author gives a full account of the famous Hungarian Diet of 1741 from contemporary documents. The empress, he relates, wept when she spoke of her absent children, and the Hungarians exclaimed, "*Vitam nostram et sanguinem consecramus!*" Tradition changed the words into "*Moriamur pro rege nostro,*" and believed that she carried her infant in her arms; and Lamartine assures the readers of his *Girondins* that Marie-Antoinette, who was born fourteen years later, was present on this occasion.

38. Biography is one of those branches of literature in which Germany is least distinguished; and the lives of some of her greatest men, such as Schlegel and Görres, remain to be written. Yet few things are so good as the lives of Hegel, of Humboldt, and of Gentz by Haym, and perhaps no German classic has had the advantage of occupying so minute, congenial, and intelligent a biographer as Hamann has enjoyed in Dr. Gildemeister. In three large volumes, which have been completed for some years, it appeared that the subject was exhausted. A writer who was never popular, and whom many think unintelligible, who wrote no single work that is remembered, who has no place in the history of elegant literature, or in the progress of theology, philosophy, history, or any other science, who lived in retirement on the verge of northern civilisation, and whose sayings and doings no Boswell recorded, has nothing to complain of, it would seem, if people who do not read his works will read three large volumes about his life. But Dr. Gildemeister, who knows very well what those volumes contain, has thought it necessary to add a fourth by way of supplement, on the works of Hamann viewed in their contents. Perhaps the distinction is rather too finely drawn. Hamann had no public life worth recording. He is memorable only for what he wrote; and what he wrote might have been amply described in the voluminous work already completed. Yet we are thankful for the three volumes and for this supplement to them. Hamann was to the full as great as Dr. Gildemeister describes him; there is no literary career in the eighteenth century that better de-

serves to be recorded, and no author whose works more justly invite a careful analysis.

In an age of wonderful intellects he was looked up to by the foremost,—by Herder, Jacobi, Göthe,—as their master; and whilst the whole literature of Germany was anti-Christian, he upheld the principles of a profoundly religious philosophy. He paid tribute largely to the influences that surrounded him; and, with all his depth and originality, his dogmatic system was extremely vague, and his ethics far from unimpeachable. Among the German classics of that period he was the most Christian, and, next to Lessing, the foremost in intellectual power; but there is more to be learned from him than from Lessing, or from any of his countrymen since Leibniz. But for his execrable style, which Jean Paul compares to a river driven back by a storm towards its source, we might compare him half to Pascal and half to Rousseau. It was partly his mode of writing, and partly his religious earnestness, that provoked the sarcasms of Hegel, who speaks of that “which would have to be regarded as the contents” of Hamann’s works, of “products which pass for writings” (*Werke*, xvii. 44). Göthe understood him better when he said that “his writings deserve to be called Sibylline leaves, because they cannot be contemplated as they stand; we must wait for an occasion when we may consult them as an oracle. Every time we open them we think we find something new, because the hidden meaning of each passage touches and excites us in many ways.” Dr. Gildemeister has collected and classified all his best and deepest sayings, and there are very few volumes in the world that contain such a condensation of wisdom. The two following passages illustrate his views on religion and on politics: “Nature and history are the two great commentaries of the Divine Word, and that, on the other hand, is the only key that can open to us the signification of both. What does the difference between natural and revealed religion mean? If I understand it rightly, there is not more difference between them than between the eye of a man who sees a picture without understanding any thing about painting, or drawing, or the subject represented, and the eye of a painter; between natural hearing and a musical ear” (p. 45). “The comparison of so many political forms gives us the most confused notions of so many *εἰδῶλα* of subordinate principles, that we lose the substance and cannot see the wood for trees.” Hamann’s writings give a very gloomy picture of the state of Prussia under Frederick the Great.

39. About twenty years ago M. Humbert-Bazile, a gentleman who had been the secretary of Buffon, died at the age of eighty-three, leaving behind him some brief but curious memoirs on the celebrated man whose intimacy he had enjoyed. This work, some part of which had appeared in the appendix to Buffon’s correspondence, has been published, and enriched with notes by M. Nadault de Buffon. M. Humbert’s memoir brings before us the stately figure of the great naturalist as he appeared in private life, filling with awe, de-

spite the well-known proverb, even the impudent and garrulous barber who prepared him for his daily work; for the serene pomp of Buffon's style was quite incompatible with a dressing-gown and slippers. "He never settled down to his books until he had been dressed and got up exactly as if he was going to a party." This was not a sign of vanity, according to the admiring secretary, but rather an act of respect for his readers. "Un écrivain assis devant sa table de travail est seul; mais n'a-t-il pas devant lui la postérité? et si nous adoptons un certain costume pour paraître dans les actions solennelles de notre vie, la même tenue pourra-t-elle sembler déplacée à l'heure où le philosophe dont on écoute religieusement la parole, écrit des pages que liront non-seulement les hommes de son temps, mais encore les hommes des temps futurs? Il avait le don de n'être jamais content de ce qu'il venait d'écrire, et passait quelquefois plusieurs semaines à polir une phrase ou à combiner une période." There is something in this to justify the parenthetical sarcasm of Voltaire, who, when somebody mentioned the *Histoire Naturelle*, said, "Pas si naturelle." Another reproach which has generally come from a very different quarter is denied by M. Humbert. Buffon often speaks of the Creator; but his theory of the universe admits no creation, and he generally passes for a sceptic. His secretary says that he was, on the contrary, "un génie religieux," regular and attentive in the performance of his religious duties; and that this, and not pride or coldness on his part, was the cause of his isolation among the men of letters of his time. The testimony is quite positive, but there is little evidence to show that Buffon, during the greater part of his life, had any real religious belief. The Sorbonne found fault with the first volumes of his great work, and he escaped a censure by an immediate retraction. The *Epoques de la Nature* again excited suspicion, and Buffon writes in 1779, "Je ne pense pas que cette affaire ait d'autre suite fâcheuse que celle d'en entendre parler et de m'occuper peut-être d'une explication aussi sotte et aussi absurde que la première, qu'on me fit signer il y a trente ans."

Much of the interest of this volume is due to the notes of the laborious editor. Even the barber, "orgueilleux bavard et menteur," who assisted Buffon to compose, is commemorated as one of the last representatives of the old type, made immortal by Beaumarchais. His sign was certainly felicitous; it represented Absalom hanging by his hair, and being transfixed with a spear, with the legend—

"D'Absalon, ah ! voyez le triste sort !
Sur sa tête caduque
S'il eût porté perruque,
Absalon ne serait pas mort."

M. Humbert kept no copies of the letters that passed through his hands. One paper only seemed to him worthy of preservation, and capable of being preserved without breach of confidence. It was published in part, from his papers, by M. Geoffroy St.-Hilaire, in

1844, and in its integrity three years ago by the editor of the present volume. This is that treatise on the Art of Reigning, which, under the title of *Les Matinées Royales*, was again published last winter, from another source, and caused in Germany an excitement which has not yet subsided. The vehement protest of Dr. Preuss against the edition of 1860 staggered for a moment the confidence of the editor, who was acquainted neither with the previous editions of the work, nor with the remarks of the editors of Frederick's writings. In the preface to the Memoirs of M. Humbert, M. Nadault de Buffon calls it "un manuscrit apocryphe du roi de Prusse." In another passage he expresses himself more doubtfully: "J'ai tenu à rapporter ces différentes opinions parcequ'elles donnent un grand intérêt à ce passage des mémoires de M. Humbert, qui semble trancher la question contre le roi de Prusse" (p. 223). When these lines were written M. Nadault de Buffon had not received the tidings of the controversy between the Prussian historians and a writer in this Review, in which his own name was prominently cited. His hesitation, which was due to what had occurred after the publication of Buffon's correspondence, was afterwards removed. Dr. Preuss had immediately denied the authenticity of the *Matinées*; and the French editor had requested to be furnished with the documentary evidence for the denial, stating that he would be happy to take advantage of the proofs that might be communicated to him. Dr. Preuss, however, refused his request, and afterwards published this passage from his letter as an unconditional assurance of his disbelief in the authenticity of the *Matinées*. We are not therefore surprised to hear of M. Nadault's indignant astonishment at learning the unscrupulous perversion of his words; but it would have been indeed strange if men so eminent for critical ability as the historians of northern Germany could have furnished no better defence of Frederick II. than the artifices of Dr. Preuss.

Most of what was written in the first moment of excitement was somewhat hasty and ill-considered. But a champion, whose work is of a very different stamp, has arisen in the person of Herr C. Samwer, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Coburg, and a well-informed and intelligent writer on modern history. Two manuscripts of Frederick, he argues, are asserted to have existed: one, which was sent to Buffon, and is the basis of the French edition; the other, which was copied by Méneval, and served for the London edition. Where are the originals? If Buffon had an original, and Méneval, and even Savary, how comes it that all are represented only by transcripts; and does not each new original testify against the authenticity of the work? Taking the case of Buffon as the strongest, Herr Samwer maintains that there is no proof whatever that Frederick sent him a manuscript. We have accounts of the presentation of young Buffon, in which there is nothing about the *Matinées*. Frederick sends compliments, but no present. Buffon describes the interview minutely in his letter to Madame Necker, but says not a word of this important circumstance. Frederick, in writing to D'Alem-

bert, on the day of the audience, does not mention the young officer to whom it is pretended that he entrusted the secret of his life. He could not have forgotten him ; he could not have shown less confidence to his friend than to a stranger. M. Nadault brings forward no evidence to connect the Ms. in Buffon's hands with the copy found among the papers of his secretary. "There is not a word to show who recognised the king's handwriting, how Buffon came by it, what were its contents." Indeed, the words "a Ms. of the King of Prussia" do not imply that it was in his handwriting. A Ms. of Homer does not necessarily mean a specimen of Homer's handwriting. Herr Samwer sums up this part of his argument by saying that M. Nadault knew that Buffon had a Ms. work of Frederick ; and knew also that his son had had an audience of the king ; and thirdly, finding a copy of the *Matinées* made by his secretary, he concluded without any evidence that it was taken from that Ms. of the king, and putting his facts together, conjectured that Frederick had given it to the younger Buffon when he received him. But what can be more unlikely than that the old king, hearing the name of young Buffon in the list of audiences, should forthwith resolve to send through him to his father, with whom he had no correspondence, a copy of his confessions, without reflecting that Buffon would be insulted by the remarks on the French men of letters, or that the book would be copied and shown about ? The passages omitted in the Buffon copy were not removed for him, for they are wanting in very early Ms. copies at Gotha.

Having thus dealt with that portion of the evidence which was supplied by M. Nadault's first publication, Herr Samwer enters at length into the question of internal evidence. The mistakes in French grammar and spelling cannot have been made by Frederick, or they would have been much more numerous. In his published writings, which exhibit many variations of opinion, he never expresses such sentiments as these. It is not the work of a clever man, still less of a great man. Literature was not, as the *Matinées* state, a pastime with Frederick, but a passion which distracted his attention from more urgent business. He spent the night after the disaster of Hochkirch in composing a sermon after the model of Bourdaloue. As to the notion attributed to him in the *Matinées*, that justice is to be done only when the royal authority will not suffer, who has not heard the story of the miller of Sans-Souci ? The style is inferior in force to that of the king ; the opinions are contrary to those on which he acted ; the mistakes in chronology are such as he could not have made ; and above all, the work displays an ignorance of the internal state of Prussia which no amount of negligence would make conceivable in Frederick. The argument derived from the variations of the texts, and the indisputable errors of fact, is worked up with great force and ingenuity.

Herr Samwer clenches his argument against the Méneval Ms. with a sweeping remark unbecoming in a man holding his position and gifted with his literary resources. The statement that Méneval

made a copy of the *Matinées*, he says, is unworthy of belief, because the writer who made it is guilty of accepting the story of the copy in the possession of Buffon. Instead of following him through this part of his dissertation, we will make him a present of an argument more powerful than any which he uses. Professor Ranke has compared the copies in the archives at Berlin, and has communicated to us the result of his collation. That Ms. which it was suggested that Méneval might have transcribed is not in Frederick's handwriting ("nur ein sehr Unbewandelter könnte das meinen"), and does not correspond with Méneval's text. So far, therefore, it would only prove that Méneval's original is not at Berlin. But it is also more complete and more verisimilar than the text of the London edition. The instances Professor Ranke gives fully satisfy us of this, even if his own practised judgment were not an ample authority. This, again, may serve to enhance the worth of the Savary copy, which we are assured by its proprietor, who has compared them, is also more full than that recently published. But, at any rate, it tells against Méneval; for if he had had the original before him, his text ought to be better, not worse, than that which is preserved at Berlin, or that which has found its way to Smyrna.

The last element in Herr Samwer's polemics against the authenticity of the *Matinées*, and the basis of his hypothesis touching their real origin, are supplied by two unpublished letters from Grimm to the Duchess Louise Dorothea of Gotha. The first is dated April 15, 1765, and is as follows: "J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer ici à V. A. S. un papier singulier qui court depuis quelque temps en manuscrit à Paris. Lorsqu'il parvint à ma connaissance, je balançai quelque temps sur le parti que j'avais à prendre. Je me résolus enfin d'en avertir M. Catt (Lecteur du Roi de Prusse), qui me pria bien vite de faire l'impossible pour lui en envoyer une copie. C'est ce que j'ai fait. J'en joins une à ce paquet, mais je ne prétends pas au mérite d'avoir aidé à repandre ce morceau d'éloquence. V. A. S. saura mieux juger que moi de quelle main part cet écrit et quel peut être son but." The date of the second is June 7: "J'aurai l'honneur, Madame, de vous envoyer incessamment la suite des *Matinées*, qui est plus rare, mais du même ton, que ce que vous avez vu. C'est un étrange papier. Je serai tenté de croire que c'est un écrit qu'on aurait escamoté au Grand Frédéric, avant qu'il ait pu y mettre de la correction, et qu'on a ensuite falsifié en le faisant parler avec une prétendue sincérité bien hors de toute vraisemblance, car la première des qualités d'un prince qui aurait ces principes serait de les cacher avec la plus profonde dissimulation, et il faudrait le supposer insensé dès qu'on le croirait auteur de ces *Matinées*. Mais il faut convenir aussi que si c'est un tour qu'on a voulu lui jouer, on a bien manqué son but. Car il résulte de ces *Matinées* qu'un prince qui serait tel que celui qu'on fait parler serait encore un très-grand prince."

The words of Grimm admit of only two interpretations. Voltaire is out of the question, for quite decisive reasons, as Herr

Samwer shows. But Grimm believed that the work must have come from a quarter which it was not prudent to name. He must either have thought it the work of the King, or a libellous production of the French Foreign Office. Grimm was a very active correspondent; and we are not told whether there are any other passages in his papers at Gotha throwing light on the subject. If there are, it does not appear that they contain any thing adverse to the authenticity of the *Matinées*, or Herr Samwer would not have contented himself with quoting the very ambiguous language of these two letters. He argues that the book was inspired by the French minister Choiseul. It must have been written by a Frenchman, because the author reckons by *livres*, which were not known in Prussia, and speaks of royal commissaries and provincial governors,—institutions which were peculiar to France. There is not a word against France in the *Matinées*, or in honour of the Prussian army which had routed the French. Now Grimm would not have feared to put on paper the name of any private Frenchman whom he suspected. His reticence, inspired by fear of the police, is due to his conviction that the French government had instigated the forgery. During the Seven Years' War Frederick had exchanged angry libels with the court of Versailles. He had ridiculed Madame de Pompadour, and had stung Choiseul with bad verses. They had retaliated; and he once complained that if he perished, it would be beneath a heap of French pamphlets and arms. The warlike feelings still smouldered after the peace, and the French government was not reconciled with him. Under the circumstances, it is very likely that the *Matinées* would have been put in circulation by Choiseul early in the year 1765. They are, says Herr Samwer, the work of a man who knew extremely little of Prussia, or of the King's person.

To take the last point first: it is remarkable how thoroughly our critic is contradicted by a writer who accepts his reply to this Review as final and conclusive. In Haym's *Preussische Jahrbücher* Herr Cauey expresses his opinion that the *Matinées* are of some value, because the author is well informed respecting the person of the King. But a book of this kind, if it proceeded from the French ministry, would have appeared during the war more probably than two years after it, and would have been published at once, and not circulated so clandestinely that it was very difficult to obtain a copy. Frederick, moreover, would not have failed to accuse his enemies of the iniquity, if he had suspected them. But he made no complaint against the French government. Grimm himself says, in a letter which has been quoted in a late number of the *Historisch-politische Blätter* (lii. 152), that it is certain the author had never been in France.

The substance of Herr Samwer's argument is founded on the idea that the younger Buffon had only one audience of Frederick II., and that on the 18th of May 1782, on his way to St. Petersburg. But he returned, for the purpose of paying his respects to the King, on his way home, at the end of the year. After the news of the first

audience reached him, Buffon wrote to his son to reproach him with having omitted to flatter the King, and exhorting him to do so on his return (*Correspondance inédite*, ii. 125). Afterwards he sends him a letter of credit for Berlin, "parceque vous m'avez marqué que vous préféreriez de prendre la même route pour revenir que vous aviez prise pour aller" (p. 152). After the departure of the young Buffon on his homeward journey, a friend writes from St. Petersburg to him at Berlin, and learns that the letter arrived there after he had passed through: "Je vous avais écrit à Berlin une petite épître qui, à ce que je vois, aura tant couru le monde après vous, qu'elle aura fini par s'égarer" (p. 454). The point is settled by the following passage in the newly published Memoirs of M. Humbert: "Après avoir quitté Saint-Petersbourg le jeune comte de Buffon regagna la France en passant par l'Allemagne. Il vit une seconde fois l'Empereur, et s'arrêta à Berlin pour faire sa cour à Frédéric II. Il fut présenté au roi à Potsdam, le même jour que l'abbé Raynal; le roi le reçut à merveille, il l'entretint des travaux de son père, discutant ses systèmes, mais lui parlant avec chaleur de son admiration déjà ancienne pour son génie. Il l'engagea à prolonger son séjour à Berlin, le fit assister à de grandes manœuvres de troupes, et lui remit, au moment du départ, un manuscrit au sujet duquel il voulait avoir, disait-il, l'opinion de son illustre père; ce manuscrit avait pour titre: *Les Matinées de Frédéric II, roi de Prusse, à son neveu Frédéric-Guillaume, son successeur à la couronne*" (p. 198).

It was therefore on his passage through Berlin, laden with the compliments and the presents of the Empress, that young Buffon received the Ms. from the King; and there is no mystery about the silence of Frederick and Buffon on the event six months before it occurred. There is no conjecture in M. Nadault's statement. He had before him the express testimony of M. Humbert, who distinctly affirms that the Ms. of which he left a copy was the identical work given by Frederick to the young Buffon for his father. There is no room for conjecture. The same person, whose transcript is still extant, had heard young Buffon himself relate the circumstances under which he had received the original from the King of Prussia. Buffon himself believed the work to be authentic. There is no resource for Herr Samwer but to declare that young Buffon brought his father the manuscript and invented the story. He is bold enough even for this, and has already insinuated that the whole story is a piece of humbug—*eine Windbeutelei*—of the youth. But to suppose that he would come from Berlin with a manuscript, and make his father believe that it came from the King, who wished to have his opinion on it,—a message which would ensure the inevitable detection of the falsehood,—is simply to renounce common sense.

Two curious illustrations of the points at issue have appeared within the last few months. In the fourth volume of the life of Hamann, Dr. Gildemeister has extracted from the writings of that philosopher a very gloomy picture of the state of Prussia in his time. Hamann says of Frederick: "Instead of his good-will to

be an *anti-Machiavelli*, fate and misunderstanding made him a *meta-Machiavelli*." And his biographer adds the following note: "Should the *Matinées*, &c. prove to be genuine, they would furnish a conclusive proof of the correctness of Hamann's words" (p. 224). In the last note of the last page of Arneth's *Maria Theresia* (i. 415) there is an extract from an intercepted letter of Frederick, written to Podewils in 1741, which resembles very closely that maxim of the *Matinées* which has caused most scandal among Frederick's admirers: "S'il y a à gagner à être honnête homme, nous le serons; et s'il faut duper, soyons donc fourbes."

40. About forty years ago, the celebrated Heeren conceived a scheme of a series of histories of the existing European States, to be written by the first living historians. The collection, which is not yet finished, has produced some of the best historical works of the age, such as Lappenberg and Pauli's *England*, Geijer and Carlson's *Sweden*, admirable histories of *Russia* and *Turkey*, and a fragment on *Poland*, which, if ever completed, would be one of the most valuable works of the series. A sort of supplement to this voluminous collection was designed not long ago by Herr Biedermann, a manifold writer, who is something of a philosopher, something of a historian, and also a politician. His series was to contain the history of modern states in the nineteenth century, at the rate of two or three volumes for each country; and the authors were, with few exceptions, chosen among the bettermost journalists rather than among men of deep research. The histories of *France* and *Italy* have appeared; the first contains some good political writing, and the other a good deal of labour; but neither of them was really successful. A volume has now been published on the history of *Austria*, down to 1848, which is one of the most judicious and valuable books yet written on any part of the complicated history of the nineteenth century.

Herr Springer begins with some reflections on the necessity and vitality of *Austria*, qualities which would not, he says, be so often asserted if the existence of the empire were not often called in question. This, however, is rather a difficulty than an evil. Happy the people whose existence as a state is not an absolute inevitable necessity. One of the most prolific sources of oppression and wrong, is the idea that the safety of the state is a consideration above all other interests and rights, which justifies the most extreme exertion of arbitrary power. A people accustomed to consider the prolonged existence of the state to which they belong a problem still unsettled, must be aware that there may be some treasures more precious, some obligations more imperative, than its continuance; and they will be willing to stake its existence on some higher cause. The old question, "How is the king's government to be carried on?" is an epitome of all pleas for tyranny and revolution. It is not necessary that any particular king's government should be carried on. It is a means and not an end, a conditional benefit and not a moral ne-

cessity. But practically, the problematic character of the Austrian state was the cause of that peculiar system that prevailed from the Congress of Vienna to the Revolution of 1848. It was felt that the edifice was artificial and precarious, that motion and exertion might destroy it. Absolute repose was therefore prescribed, and quiet could only be secured by force. There is a tyranny in young states that seeks to develope and concentrate the resources of power. In old and sinking states there is another kind of tyranny that keeps down resistance. Nations in their prime are often jealous of a divided authority, and put down the several orders of society with the overbearing presumption of a power consciously irresistible. But the system of the Emperor Francis was essentially different from that of Peter the Great, Philip II. or Lewis XIV. He feared whatever could disturb the balance of things,—the revival of religion, the increase of trade, the influence of the nobles, the accumulation of capital, the progress of education, or the movement of literature. In order to prevent motion it was necessary to suppress force; and thus the Austrian government endeavoured systematically to reverse the function of the state, and to arrest society in the attainment of its natural and providential ends.

Herr Springer follows the political course of Austria from the time of the injudicious and revolutionary measures of Joseph II., through the hands of a series of incapable statesmen, the first of whom, Thugut, is cleverly described. "Like all men who have risen from the lower ranks, he forgot to take into consideration the force of popular passion. His plebeian origin, and his position in the high place he had won for himself, without any hereditary claim, made him look with suspicion on all great services and independent characters, while he favoured well-born mediocrity, partly out of respect for true aristocracy, partly because he could pursue his plans under their protection." In 1801 the Archduke Charles, persuaded that the monarchy was at the point of ruin, undertook to execute a great reform; but his indolent and careless character was unequal to the task, which he alone of all his race would have had the capacity to originate. His political career was a failure. Herr Springer's history of Metternich's administration, on which so much has been written, is full of instruction; and he often concentrates in his political summaries and reflections an epigrammatic force which reminds us of Tocqueville. The value of his work and the merit of his impartial judgment lie not so much in the description of the central government, which Count Hartig and Adolf Schmidt have already explained with nearly equal ability, from different points of view, but in the provincial part of the history. If the second volume, which will come down to our time, is executed with equal power and sagacity, Herr Springer's work will be incomparably the best guide to the recent development of constitutional life in Austria, the most complex and interesting political spectacle which the old world now presents. If in his mind the author could dissociate religious liberty from religious intolerance, a distinction which per-

haps may not be always clear to the minds of Austrian ecclesiastics, there would be little or nothing to qualify the praise which his book deserves.

41. For several years Dr. Onno Klopp has made it his business to overthrow the views current in northern Germany about many events in modern history. For there is not only a Protestant tradition, but a specific Prussian tradition, by which the history of the empire has been distorted; and Dr. Klopp, himself a Protestant, wishes to separate the two, and to deliver his church from the complicity of interested falsehood. In some measure his position may be compared to that of Voigt and others, who first proved that it was not necessary to be a Catholic to write with candour and sympathy of the medieval Church. But his task is more difficult and more invidious than theirs, because he is opposing a political interest rather than a religious theory; and his opposition, therefore, has a more practical character. He writes not judicially but polemically; and though he seeks to dispel error, he uses those arts of advocacy which are the very instruments by which it has been spread. He desires the advancement of historical science, but he promotes it in the spirit of a partisan. Now it is better for science that men should acquire the methods of impartial learning than that they should defend the most respectable thesis by that sort of unfair dealing which conceals one side of the question. For where this controversial spirit prevails the goodness of the cause enhances its danger, and the partisan will multiply his artifices and manœuvres in proportion to the zeal which the merits of his cause inspire. Such a policy is sure to stimulate the bitterness and the ingenuity of adversaries. We do not mean to say, however, that Dr. Klopp's writings always lack the scientific character or adopt an unseemly tone. If his *life of Frederick II.* was a pamphlet, his *life of Tilly* was a really valuable work. He has now collected in one volume a series of essays on the chief historians of the Prussian school, Sybel, Droysen, and Häusser, which give a very suggestive picture of the influence of interested partiality on the writings of men, one of whom at least takes rank with the most able historians.

42. It is certainly most desirable that something should be written that would abate the conceit and self-satisfaction with which we Englishmen contemplate ourselves. Many of the qualities we prize most highly in theory are those which least visibly appear in our history. No Christian annals are so sanguinary as ours. No royal inheritance has been more fatal than the crowns of this island. No other nation has borne so patiently a tyranny as brutal as that of the second Tudor. Rarely has any foreign nobility thronged a court more degraded by vice than that of nearly one-half of our modern kings. If there is humiliation, there is some cause for pride, in the recollection of these things; for the magnitude of the evils which have beset the nation is the measure of the force

of the national character, and of the virtue of the national institutions which slowly triumphed over them. These two things cannot be separated. The remedy for our national faults lay in that system of laws which was common, in the germ, to all the states that were raised out of the chaos of the great migration by the influence of the medieval Church. The nation had no instinct and no productive power that emancipated it from the customs of its forefathers. Every appeal against oppression was to the hereditary rights; the only protection which the Englishman knew was in the traditional laws of his country. By means of this perpetual recurrence to old principles, and of the gradual contrivance of new forms in which to secure their action, the English people conquered their freedom. The intensity of their conservatism was an impulse as well as a guide of their progress. When this was neglected, and scope was given to a new faith, or new ideas derived from foreign examples, the result was the establishment of tyranny, the tyranny of Strafford or of Cromwell. The one thing that saved England from the fate of other countries was not her insular position, nor the independent spirit nor the magnanimity of her people,—for we have been proud of the despotism we obeyed under the Tudors, and not ashamed of the tyranny we exercised in our dependencies,—but only the consistent, uninventive, stupid fidelity to that political system which originally belonged to all the nations that traversed the ordeal of feudalism.

Mr. Phillimore has the will, but neither the insight nor the temper, to moderate our illusions. His *History of George III.* is a catalogue of iniquities and crimes, in which the blame alternates between the court and the people, and visits chiefly the basis of the constitution. "The people of England, obtuse and corrupted as they were, saw with scorn and disgust the gross disregard of all the courtesies and decencies of life, which the enslaved inhabitants of the little states of Germany submitted to, as they still do, with helpless servility. . . . So positively servile, in spite of all that laws and institutions can do, is the Teutonic genius. That such a woman [as Catherine II.] should have been praised by men of letters and philosophers, is one of the most frightful proofs of the tone of moral feeling in Europe during the eighteenth century, and of the condition to which the Gothic governments had brought mankind." Nevertheless "no nation ever owed so much to their form of government as the English." The fact that Mr. Phillimore should be so perfectly unable to comprehend the true source and spirit of that government is connected with the essentially formal, classical, rhetorical culture of his mind. History is but a branch of art in his eyes: of science he has no conception, or he knows only just enough to be sure that he will have none of it. He denounces its possessors as pedants, but with a ruder and vainer pedantry. The Spanish historians are in his judgment the best, because Spain possessed no historian but Zurita, who had any merit more rare than eloquence. Opinions of this kind are freely scattered through his book. He gives us his

views on Niebuhr's theory, on the Neapolitan historians, and on many points on which nobody is concerned to know them. He even intimates by implication, in a note, as if every stray hint of his thoughts on things in general deserved to be treasured up, that Shakespeare is not the author of *Hamlet*. And with this petulant impertinence he shows no power of research, and no knowledge of the way in which a historian must approach his facts before he can deal with them.

These defects neutralise some very great qualifications which Mr. Phillimore has brought to his task. He is sincere, courageously outspoken, superior in many respects to the slavery of party traditions, full of scorn for hypocrisy and littleness, and full of indignation for wrong. He writes very incorrectly, but with much animation, and sometimes with a sort of artificial felicity. Thus he concludes his sketch of Lord Temple: "regular in his habits, munificent in his gifts, pedantic and even brutal in his manners, fond of petty intrigue, and strangely eager for the trappings of a master whom he delighted to insult." He speaks of the riots at Birmingham "when Priestley's house was burnt over his head, because he was erroneously supposed to be a philosopher;" of "the harshness of Calvin's appalling creed (more immoral than any with which Paganism can be reproached)," which he calls "the hideous doctrine of that virulent inquisitor." On the intolerance of the Protestant establishment he says: "To exercise the right of private judgment so far as to quit the Church of Rome, which had governed Christendom for centuries, was the duty of every Christian; but to exercise it so far as to differ with the Articles put out one hundred years before by a church that did not pretend to be infallible, and teachers that laid no claim to inspiration, was a crime to be punished, in some instances, by the stake." His great merit is that he sees, better than almost any of our historians, the extent to which absolute power revived under the House of Hanover, when the Jacobite alarm was over, and how impotent were the laws made under William III. to protect freedom against the Whig oligarchy, the Tories, and the dominant church.

43. The second volume of Mr. May's Constitutional History concludes a work which is the most valuable in our literature as a guide to the system and spirit of the English government. In abundance and accuracy of facts it surpasses all our histories; and questions of principle are decided in it with rare wisdom and equity, and with the practical sense of a man averse to political speculation. Of the two great questions which occupy this volume it is but justice to say that one, that of the Catholic claims, has never been treated in so complete and satisfactory a manner. The unjustifiable use of the term "a sect of Catholics" (p. 345) to denote the Cisalpine party, was not, we believe, deliberately used; and Mr. May is no doubt aware that it involves a contradiction. But the progress of emancipation, the influence of Ireland and of the Dissenters, and the manner in which religious liberty was taken up, sometimes from interest and

sometimes as a principle, are traced with admirable ability. Mr. May justly says that "toleration to the Catholics formed no part of the traditional creed of the Whig party" (p. 335). But he is not always so free from a certain bias in discussing the leading question with which this volume opens,—the theory and nature of our political parties.

In Mr. May's opinion, party is not only inseparable from free government, but its very condition. "We find that government without party is absolutism, that rulers without opposition may be despots. . . . We feel that party is essential to free institutions. . . . Who can fail to recognise in party the very life-blood of freedom?" (p. 93.) This is so far from being true, that parties have been the ruin of constitutional life in France, in Belgium, in Prussia, and in Switzerland. The Continental states do not possess the means of neutralising its ill effects. The dangers of invasion and revolution producing vast standing armies, a system of militia, and an organised political police, the disappearance of an hereditary aristocracy based on primogeniture, or, which is equally pernicious, the absorption of the lesser aristocracy, corresponding to the English gentry, by the higher, and the subordination of the Church to the civil power, which, though more complete in Protestant than in Catholic states, is nearly complete in both,—these things, resulting not from any theory, but from the whole course of modern history, have broken down the elements of self-government, and established centralisation in constitutional and despotic countries alike. The agents of this centralised system, animated by no principle but fidelity to the governing power, make it irresistible, and are equally at the disposal of any party that obtains office, for the suppression of its adversaries and the promotion of its interests. The state, moreover, possesses in many countries a great source of influence in the public works, in the concession of commercial privileges, and in the dependence of the school and its teachers upon the government; and it is absolute in almost all, in Belgium and Switzerland as much as in Russia or France. But the internal evils of absolutism are greater where authority changes hands than where it is fixed; and the omnipotence of the foreign state converted into an instrument of party-offence is a more serious thing than Mr. May considered when he wrote in such unqualified terms. Burke, whom he quotes, does not admire, as he supposes, the balance and conflict of parties, but the concentration of the constitutional idea in a single party whose function it is to preserve the national institutions, just as it is the office of the judges to preserve the law. "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle" (*Present Discontents*).

In a country where freedom is not of recent growth there can be but one constitutional party. The constitution may be assailed on different sides: only that party which faces all attacks is constitutional. A party that defends only one breach, and resists only one form of encroachment or change, has its centre of gravity be-

yond the limits of the constitution. Those who look with exclusive or excessive favour either on tradition or on progress, alike renounce one essential principle. Our political system is founded on definite principles, not on compact or compromise. Every compromise marks an imperfect realisation of principle,—a surrender of right to interest or force. The constitution stands by its own strength, not by the equal strain of opposite forces. Mr. May asserts the contrary in his opening passage: "The parties in which Englishmen have associated have represented cardinal principles of government,—authority on the one side, popular rights and privileges on the other. The former principle, pressed to extremes, would tend to absolutism,—the latter to a republic; but, controlled within proper limits, they are both necessary for the safe working of a balanced constitution." In all this an antagonism is assumed which does not exist. There is no antagonism, or even antipathy, between absolutism and a republic. There is no antagonism, on the contrary there is a necessary and inseparable union, between authority and liberty. When either is dissociated from the other, it loses its nature and changes its name. Authority is essentially an ethical term, but when separated from liberty it is nothing but force. Liberty is essentially a conditional term, and cannot be independent of law. This idea of harmony proceeding from discord,—of a balance between contending elements, is derived from a mechanical notion of the state, which refuses to regard it as a physiological organism, founded on distinct principles, and regulated by its own laws. But Mr. May, in spite of this theory, describes Toryism in terms which, though perfectly just, show it to be utterly inconsistent with our constitution; and, on the other hand, attributes to the Whig party perfections which he does not admit in the Whig doctrine. Even after the secession of Burke, the Whigs appear to him an immaculate and almost infallible group of statesmen. His sympathies are entirely with Mr. Fox. Yet Fox was not, like Pitt, a reformer on principle. He took up the idea of reform as a momentary instrument, and as a means of acquiring power. He wrote in 1796: "Parliament should first be reformed, and then restored to its just influence. You will observe that I state this opinion as being mine *now*, in contradistinction to those times when the Whig party was only beaten, but not dispersed, and when I certainly was of a different opinion. At present I think we ought to go further towards agreeing with the democratic or popular party than at any former period. . . . We, as a party, I fear can do nothing." The fallacy that lurks throughout Mr. May's account of the Whigs is his reluctance to recognise in the origin of the party a strong democratic ingredient. He fails to point out that two contrary principles at one time united in adopting the same name, and that if all the Whigs were united against the king's friends, there was a time when they would not all have combined against the regicides. As a party they by no means deserve the eulogy he bestows on them; and it is to be regretted that the failure to define closely the posi-

tive nature of their principles forms a serious blemish in an otherwise invaluable book.

44. The serious literature of France suffers from its critics, since it has become worth the while of clever men to compose newspaper reviews with real art, and to confine themselves, like the writers of leading articles, to that branch of composition. In this employment the mind loses the breadth, the elevation, and the generosity which the serious walks of literature require, and the writings of eminent men are dragged down to the level of a minute and partial examination, that fails to do justice even when it is not positively unfair. Religious works are criticised by men who have no knowledge of theology, and no settled doctrine; histories by those who have never conducted a historical investigation; politics by those who are utterly ignorant that there is such a thing as political science. The criticism is therefore essentially unscientific; the real professional merit of a great book is set aside as irrelevant; and in every sort of work those qualities are chiefly considered which the uninitiated eye can appreciate. M. de Sacy may be taken as the type of this class of reviewers. M. Scherer belongs to a higher school. He has some historical erudition, and some philosophical, if not religious, theory; and though he prides himself on the excellence of his style, he writes seriously and earnestly, like a man who thinks about something besides words. Above all, he is not a disciple, and writes therefore with a freshness and sincerity that disregards the idols of a multitude of worships. He is not a follower of Cousin, or of Comte, or of Leroux; he is very far from Lamennais, and scarcely nearer to Vinet. Originally a Protestant, though never, we should think, a believer in any theology, he has passed into the extreme of rationalism; and there is probably no living writer in France whose opinions are further from Christianity. "It is not certain," he says, "that the *De Officiis* of Cicero is really inferior to that of St. Ambrose, and that the world has gained on the whole by exchanging the teaching of the Academy and the Porch for the subtleties of Athanasius and Augustine, for the dogmatic theology of Nicæa, and the moral theology of the casuists" (p. 202). According to his view, the Reformers "lifted up their voices against the reigning doctrines, not as too austere, but as being too gentle and too weak" (p. 281). Whoever has read any of Luther's writings knows that no idea recurs in them more frequently than that of the consolatory nature of the new theory of Justification. Yet M. Scherer's dictum is not uttered by way of praising the Reformation, and we can only conclude that his Protestantism never led him to study Luther. Indeed, the very notion of dogma is alien to his mind. No modern assuredly has written more profoundly of divine things, or has discussed more ably the contending doctrines, than Bossuet. "And yet," says our author, "is it not remarkable that Bousset should be, in reality, the most sterile intellect of our literature? He has not left one word directed to our address" (p. 184). But if he is averse to theology,

he is hardly sounder in his politics. He explains the modern system of our constitution by the ignorance of English which made George I. leave the ministers to deliberate without him (p. 77). If this were true, the power of the crown would have been greater at the accession of the House of Hanover than under George III., and could not be said to have increased in the time of Lord North. In reality, the government was as arbitrary at the close of the eighteenth century as at the close of the seventeenth; and the freedom we now enjoy has arisen in the three last reigns, by the overwhelming growth of new forces in the country, which were not absorbed in the administration. Again, M. Scherer says: "Legitimacy is a dogma, or it is nothing. It has no place in the new order of society. It is divine right, &c." (p. 79). He clearly imagines that the accusation of being a dogma is enough to condemn the theory. The theory of legitimacy is of two kinds. On the one hand, it affirms that the rights of authority depend merely on its origin; on the other, that they depend on the observance of kindred and equal rights. The former is the old doctrine of the Tories; the latter of the Whigs. From the theory of the sovereignty of the people, M. Scherer must needs condemn both alike; but he ought not to be blind to the distinction between them.

His volume, however, does not consist entirely of elegant protests against religious and political truth. It contains several just estimates of the most considerable French writers. The author under-rates the merit of Tocqueville, and exaggerates it at the same time, when he says that no political writer of this century can be compared to him, and that he deserves to have his bust placed beneath the statue of Montesquieu (p. 9). Tocqueville was deeper than Montesquieu, and yet he had superiors even among his contemporaries. The severe melancholy of his mind drives M. Scherer to seek an unreal explanation. Neither paganism nor Christianity ever produced a profound political historian whose mind was not turned to gloom by the contemplation of the affairs of men. It is almost a test to distinguish the great narrators from the great thinkers—Herodotus, Livy, Froissart, Schiller, Macaulay, Thiers, from Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus, Machiavelli, Raleigh, Gibbon, Guizot, Niebuhr. The want of humour which M. Scherer points out in the character of Tocqueville is common to many of his greatest countrymen, such as Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Guizot, Lafayette. These four names alone are enough to remind us that there is a species of vanity which is incompatible with a sense of humour. M. Scherer shows ingeniously the influence of vanity on the opinions of the illustrious Royer-Collard. "There is caprice in that independence of which he shows himself so jealous; there is vanity in the care he takes to isolate himself. He is a man of strong convictions, but among the first of his convictions is the belief in his own superiority. He dislikes parties, because individuals are absorbed in them" (p. 71). For the great disciple of Royer-Collard our author has an aversion which is almost natural in a Protestant who has renounced Christi-

anity towards a Protestant who favours Catholicism. "He occupies a very high rank, and that in many things, but in none the first. In place of a creative initiating genius, he possesses stability of intellect. His nature is not rich, but strong; his mind is not versatile, but supple. In his book (the Memoirs), as in his political career, he is wanting in brilliancy and in felicity, but not in greatness. His talent is cold, sapless, without feeling; but it is governed as it were by a current of will which supplies the place of a more sudden inspiration. He is nothing less than a philosopher, yet he seems to be one. He is without depth, and yet appears profound . . . There he is as we used so long to see him at the tribune, with a crowd of conventional ideas, full of apologies, of formulas, of maxims, cherishing obstinate illusions, accepting liberty without relish or comprehension, confounded by the spirit of the age, always deeming that the ideal government which makes the finest speeches to the most compact majority" (p. 89). This is severe almost to satire; but there are few of M. Guizot's countrymen who can honestly say with M. Scherer that they have sounded the depth of his knowledge and wisdom as a philosophical historian. French religion is treated by M. Scherer with contemptuous levity. "The religion of Frenchmen is that of Voltaire and Béranger, slightly dipped in that of Chateaubriand" (p. 284). His critique of Chateaubriand is wanting in deep study, but we cannot call it unjust. "He had an admirable genius," says his critic; "but a genius which was sufficiently sustained neither by talent nor by character" (p. 108.)

45. Mr. Barter is favourably known by a version of the *Iliad* in Spenserian stanza, and by an essay on the translating of Homer into English metre. In his volume of Essays the poet and critic are more prominent than the lawyer or the man; some of the essays on literature are excellent, those on law are commonplace, those on life are twaddling. Thus, an essay on *Colonies and Commerce* discusses, not the subject, but only "the frame of mind in which we apprehend the discussion should be approached." This is natural in a man who is inclined to give an exceptional importance to *recreation* and *délassement*—occupations like poetry or chess, which restore the tone of the mind when wearied out with labour. The following extract upon English and German hexameters, which he says never bear the individual impress of any particular poet, will show that Mr. Barter thinks on the subjects on which he writes: "The thoughts of a great poet have, for the greater part, long dwelt with him, and, consciously to the poet or not, have selected for themselves familiar expression long before their actual utterance in formal publishing fashion. They float in the mind in rhythmic and significant affinities, ready to break out into metrical form, in fragmentary portions of which, by natural bias of a poet thinking in his own language, they have long combined. All this will be broken through by casting those thoughts into an alien metre, the exigences of which require associate phrases to separate, and the thoughts to utter themselves

anew. In this process the brooding spirit of the poet will have to retranslate itself, with constant abatement of affluent expression." Mr. Barter, both by the brevity of his essays, and by affected archaisms of style, seems sometimes to measure himself as an essayist with Bacon. The comparison is unfortunate. There is no packing of teeming thoughts, no real brevity of expression, no pellucidity of style, but, on the contrary, either an involved harsh diction, or prose into which the colour-pot of the painter has been upset, causing an extravasation of effusian, more than the feeble capillaries of sense are capable of absorbing.

46. The interest of M. Chevalier's book on Mexico is concentrated in the three last parts, which treat respectively of the resources and the future of the country,—a subject suited to the pen of the economist and statistician; of the motives for a European intervention and the chances of its success, where the French Imperialist politician speaks; and of the attempt to civilise Mexico in the face of the actual relations between the Court of Rome and modern civilisation, where the Imperialist Catholic exhibits himself. The development of the resources of the country, according to M. Chevalier, depends mainly on immigration; and the Chinese are the most probable immigrants. The motives for the expedition are two. The first motive is one of European policy,—to oppose a barrier to the invasion of the whole American continent by the United States. This invasion M. Chevalier considers to be imminent from the Southern States, for the extension of the area of slavery; and hence he thinks that the French occupation cannot offend the Northern States, whose interest is the same as that of Europe: "*l'expédition du Mexique ne saurait donc contrarier le Nord; elle répond à ses idées, elle rentre dans sa politique.*" The other motive is the protection of the Latin race. Of this, France is the natural head and leader. It is her interest, therefore, to strengthen and consolidate all Latin states, for in their alliance alone does the strength of France properly consist; without them she is a head without members. The English alliance, in which France is continually thwarted, and which requires constant concessions on her part, is of immense service to the world. What, then, would be an alliance where French ideas found no counterpoise, but marched on unchecked in their progress of civilisation and benediction?

The political difficulties of the expedition M. Chevalier does not consider to be very great, if the French appear as pacificators, and as the restorers of legality. It is with the occupation of the country that their real difficulties will begin. Revolution is a habit of the people; the two parties of liberals and reactionists are incapable of coming to an understanding; yet the French must mediate between them, and in this mediation must ally themselves more closely with one than the other. The party which called in the French is the reactionary or clerical one; and hence the difficulties which M. Chevalier discusses in the eighth part of his book.

The clerical party in Mexico wishes to enforce the ideal of civilisa-

tion found in the Papal encyclics of the last thirty years ; a system, he says, which “*était quelque chose qui convenait provisoirement à une civilisation au début,*” but which the France of 1789 cannot lend its name to. France, in bestowing its civilisation on Mexico, must enforce all those concessions which were granted to the First Consul in the concordat of 1801, but which are refused to Mexico in the allocution of Pius IX. in 1856. These are, the abolition of the separate ecclesiastical tribunals, the exemption of laws relating to the clergy from the control of the Holy See, the secularisation of Church property, the abolition of perpetual vows, and the liberty of worship. Now France, to be consistent, must support these acts ; without them there is no conciliating the liberal party ; but with them the reactionary party will be forced into opposition, unless the authority of the Holy See advises or compels it to submit. But the Holy See is not likely to bless in Mexico what it curses in Italy ; and France has almost a hopeless task before her.

M. Chevalier tells us that he respects religion ; but he does not believe in it ; and he respects it only so far as it ceases to be supernatural : “*Il est un sujet auquel les règles de la circonspection la plus ordinaire commandaient à l'Eglise de ne pas toucher, celui du surnaturel.*” Statisticians have demonstrated the impossibility of miracles ; and it is only from motives of respect that they abstain from giving this demonstration a retrospective application. But any claim to present supernatural assistance only envenoms the relations between the Church and the age. The Church has tried its powers of government, and has failed disgracefully ; it has ruined the populations whose political tutelage it undertook ; it is now the turn of the State to interfere, to adopt the principles which flow from the Protestant *libre examen*, to deprive the Church of all political power or influence, and to make it simply a body to recommend by word and example the doctrine of faith and the precepts of morals to the common people. M. Chevalier is a good exponent of the French Imperialist's idea of the relations between Church and State.

47. Dr. Ferdinand Wolf, one of the greatest living authorities on the literature of Spain and Portugal, has given a very useful volume on the literary history of Brazil. It is founded in great measure on several recent Brazilian works, without which it could not have been written. Many of the writings of the most celebrated Brazilians are still unpublished, and the author has had frequently to rely on extracts and anthologies. His narrative is plain and unadorned, neither philosophical nor artistic, and is followed by several hundred pages of examples. The treatment is necessarily quite external and superficial, from the narrow definition of literature common to Dr. Wolf with most other literary historians. The currents that influence the movement of poetry and *belles-lettres* have their source in another region, and if this is not explored the effects are separated from their causes and remain unintelligible. The moral sciences

forge the instruments from which literature receives its form and fashion; and though Brazil has accomplished little in science, still it would be necessary to investigate the modes of opinion and belief that found expression in literature.

The literature of Brazil, like that of Europe, was originally religious, and long remained in the hands of the missionaries. Father Anchieta, who composed a religious drama in the Portuguese and the Indian language, is the first author of Brazilian literature. "The commencement of our civilisation," says a Brazilian writer, "the instruction which the people received, the knowledge that was extended, and the earliest germs of literature, we owe all to the Jesuits." Still, in the seventeenth century little progress was made, and in the eighteenth the Inquisition stood in the way of improvement. It happened that the first comic dramatist, Da Silva, was a converted Jew, and fell consequently under the suspicion of the Lisbon Inquisitors. He was tortured, and called in his anguish on Almighty God, without invoking the saints. In his prison, he was observed to fast during whole days, which was more than the laws of the Church required. Accordingly he was burnt to death in 1739, twenty-two years before the last auto-da-fé in Portugal. As literature had been little encouraged while the Church remained supreme, it fell into irreligious courses after the suppression of the Jesuits and during the administration of Pombal. Basilio da Gama, a former disciple of the Society, and then its bitter enemy and a flatterer of the minister, displays this spirit in his epic poem *Uruguay*, in which he describes a war carried on against the Portuguese by the Indians instigated by the missionaries. After the fall of Pombal, and especially from the time when the influence of Portugal over the colony began to wane, the spirit of national independence began to spread; and with it came that romanticism which has always borne, at least upon the surface, a religious character. A florid but vigorous school of pulpit eloquence arose, of which the most illustrious master was the Franciscan, Monte Alverne. The memory of the venerable Society that had carried the civilisation of the Cross into the plains of South America, and had protected the native people against the cruel rapacity of Portugal, was treasured by the new patriotism. As the Portuguese government had communicated to the Brazilians its hatred of the Jesuits, after the separation they came to be identified with the independent nationality. In renouncing the Portuguese tradition, and adopting as it were a new pedigree which connected them with the Indians, the Brazilians were compelled to look with love and gratitude on those men who formed a link between the civilisation of the invaders and the simplicity of the natives. This is the spirit of the *Confederação dos Tamoyos* by Magalhães, the noblest of the Brazilian epics. The subject is taken from a period when the natives were still struggling for their independence; the heroes are Indians; and the Portuguese appear in an odious light. But the missionaries, and above all Anchieta, are represented as the protectors of the natives against oppression, and the bearers of the

one great blessing which accompanied the loss of their freedom, the Christian faith. This poem and the *Uruguay* mark the contrasts between which the Brazilian mind has hitherto moved ; but the example of Magalhães alone does not redeem the literature from glaring defects, dependence on bad models, irreligious sensualism, and empty declamation.

48. Herr Nitzsch, a Protestant clergyman of Berlin, after spending the last three years in Italy, has written a curious account of the state and prospects of the Protestant propaganda among the Italians. He is evidently well acquainted with the facts ; and his tone, though often nauseously unctuous, exhibits moderation and sobriety as well as zeal. That he should consider Catholicism simply as a system of darkness, to be dispelled by the light of evangelical truth, is, in his position, not extraordinary. But the energy of his hatred has misled him into excesses of absurdity which are really disgraceful in a German. Thus, he describes fasting as an act of sensual gratification. "In spite of the apparent mortification of the senses, Italian Catholicism gives entire freedom to the flesh, and is therefore a welcome thing to the morally degraded people. It would be easy to show how little it exacts in detail, how little it requires of the natural man, in spite of the display of rigour. Fasting, for instance, exactly suits the inclination of the Italian, or at least of the Neapolitan, which oscillates between profuseness and closeness, as between activity and sweet idleness. They work for days, in order to win days of utter indolence, and a fast-day gives to the meal of the morrow a double relish" (p. 38).

The author is particularly anxious to distinguish the true Protestant movement from many impure things which are mixed up with it. Political opposition and religious insubordination often assume the appearance of dogmatic difference, and perplex men who, like Herr Nitzsch, are loyal monarchists of the Prussian type, and hate the revolution while they desire its fruits. "I would not have stirred a finger in favour of the revolution, but I would not assist an irreligious tyranny with the least thought of my soul from considerations of legal right" (p. 3). He is naturally much scandalised by Gavazzi, and his constant parallels between Garibaldi and our Lord, and quotes passages from a sermon preached at Naples before the deserted College of the Jesuits: "We shall always love him, and when we gaze on his likeness, we shall say, 'It is thus that, in the dreams of our innocence, we imagined the Saviour of the world.' For it has been said, and is a fact, that no man resembles the Saviour in his features so much as our Garibaldi. And as he is like him in his features, so he is like him in his political mission. One came to deliver the world out of the bonds of Satan, the other to deliver Italy from the power of despots." Though his hopes are sanguine, Herr Nitzsch knows the difficulties that are in the way of Protestantism in Italy, and the minuteness of its present success. "There are many who lose together with reverence for the authority

of the Church the whole of Christianity, and all their faith. Their pretended Protestantism is no more than the suppression of all religious sentiment" (p. 19). "In truth, I can only look with hope upon the younger generation. . . . I expect most from those who hitherto cling piously to the Church in which they grew up, and whom a ruthless attack upon their Church wounds in their inmost soul. . . . The prospects of the gospel easily appear greater than they are in a town from which it is still strictly excluded. That which is forbidden possesses a peculiar charm, and many seem to long after it who become indifferent when it is allowed" (p. 40). Many Protestant Bibles have been circulated, but Herr Nitzsch has observed the mysterious fact, that the number of proselytes bears no proportion to the number of copies of the Bible. "We may hope that the copious distribution of the written word has awakened more souls than have testified publicly. It is a fact that many Italians diligently read the Bible without attending at the Protestant service." Among those who do attend there are more men than women. Indeed, the faith which is preached by those who are not Waldenses is somewhat indefinite. "We do not wish," says De Sanctis, "to spread Protestantism or any other new sect. No. The gospel, the whole gospel, and nothing but the gospel! that is our watchword. The priests will accuse us of being Protestants, but they are used to calumny." The several congregations show a reluctance to coalesce, and the preachers follow their own theological devices. "A more bald ceremonial than that of the present evangelical communities in Italy cannot be conceived." He estimates the whole number at a very few thousands.

That movement in the Italian clergy which is conducted by Passaglia appears to Herr Nitzsch a grievous impediment to the progress of his religion. Even the idea of the fall of the temporal power gives him no hopes: for the Papacy, he thinks, may be yet more formidable and more objectionable without it. The party of Passaglia is so strong and speaks so openly, that it will probably prevent all those from going further who dislike the Papacy only because its political sovereignty is an impediment to the national interests. The Protestant leader at Naples writes: "If the Papacy should fall before the country is prepared, we shall fall into a moral and religious anarchy, from which God alone can rescue us," and Herr Nitzsch quite agrees with him. Two years ago there was a party at Naples who wished for reforms in the Church which, says our author, betrayed a Protestant spirit; but since Passaglia has taken the lead of the Catholic liberals these symptoms have disappeared. Indeed, that renowned divine strikes our author only as a dexterous supporter of the Papacy in the hour of trial. But, he says, "many of the priests of the party seem to me very different in their real sentiments from him. Many impure motives appear in their opposition. Their organ in Southern Italy, the *Colonna di Fuoco*, occupies ostensibly the same ground as Passaglia, but shows no signs of that sorrow at the dangers of the Church, or of the deep

emotion, with which he conducts the contest. Many of his adherents appear to me to have no love for their Church or their people : that sentiment would hold different language." It is certain that, in forming his party of reform, Passaglia has had to accept the aid and absorb the zeal, of many whose object is a revolution in the Church, and that many of the worst and most demoralised priests naturally gravitate towards him. With his ignorance of the history of the Church, and his singular incapacity to understand the conditions of her relation towards the State, he is sure to yield still further to the pressure of the government and the growing ardour of his allies. Then, and not till then, when the first wave of reform is broken, the reforming tide will rise. The better and wiser portion of the Italian clergy, who are as far from one extreme as from the other, cannot come to the front so long as the place is occupied by the author of the first false move. The great errors of Passaglia are gradually opening the way for his successors to make themselves heard.

49. According to a profound writer in the *Précis historiques*, the position of the clergy and faithful of Belgium in relation to their Constitution of 1830 on one hand, and to the Encyclic Letter of Gregory XVI. against Lamennais of 1832 on the other, was at the bottom of all the questions debated in the recent meeting of Catholics at Mechlin. "The Belgian Catholics," he says, "admit the Encyclic as a theoretical document, making abstraction of times and places ; they adopt the Constitution as the practical expression of the thousand and one social necessities which the course of events has developed in Belgium ;" and, he adds, there is a treaty of peace, the Concordat of 1801, which completely justifies this mode of viewing the matter. It is remarkable that M. Chevalier, in his work on Mexico, notices this same divergence between those Catholic politicians whose system is based on the "encyclics and allocutions of the last thirty years," and those who found their policy on the principles of the Concordat of 1801. It is a reproduction of a general law. Mankind is divided into two great parties, one tending to modify tradition so as to bring it into accord with present circumstances, the other to uphold it as a solemn contract to which both parties are pledged. As in the controversy on probabilism the Jesuits went to the extreme verge of indulgence, in order to accommodate the gospel to all possible circumstances in Europe, Paraguay, or China, while the Jansenists upheld a system as rigid as Calvin's hard literalism, and as absolute as Luther's system of servile will ; so in the present day there is a strife between the rigid dogmatism of those who repudiate any conciliation of Catholicism with progress and modern civilisation, and those who seek it on the historical basis of the treaty between Pius VII. and Napoleon. The Concordat of 1801 proceeded on the understanding that the Catholic religion was no longer the religion of the state ; that the ecclesiastical laws no longer enjoyed any civil sanction ; that in the French territory two societies existed, one the civil government, the other the Church, moving in two distinct or-

bits, and aiming at different objects ; that the Church had no more right to the protection of the state than any other honest association ; and that the state had only the same duties to her as to all legal corporations. Belgium is still under the régime of this concordat ; it was renewed by that of 1827, and recognised in the negotiations of 1829 ; and it served as the basis of the constitution of 1830, so far as the Church is concerned. Hence, at the Mechlin Congress, the Belgian clergy of both parties were able to accept M. de Montalembert's eloquent demonstration of the necessity of freedom to Catholicism, because it was based, on the one hand, on tradition and the faith of contracts, and, on the other, on general historical views.

For M. de Montalembert founds his argument on both bases. On the one hand, he appeals to treaties and to the decisions of theologians. He protests that he understands the terms *religious liberty*, *liberty of conscience*, and *civil toleration* in the sense of those bishops who, with the assent of the Holy See, solemnly accepted the Belgian constitution ; and he quotes the words of several bishops of France, Belgium, and Germany, in support of his position. At the same time he strongly protests against the supposition that he is erecting his idea into a dogma : "A Dieu ne plaise que je prétende ici discuter un dogme, dresser un formulaire, inventer ou corriger une théologie." He does not even pretend that the state of things he advocates is the normal condition of the world : "Ce n'est pas que je veuille faire de ce régime nouveau l'état normal de société, car je connais pas d'état normal." On the other hand, after thus satisfying the traditionalists and dogmatists, by showing that while he stands on a traditional ground he does not interfere with dogma, he proceeds to give the historical basis of his view. And here he is obnoxious to criticism, because his foundation is one not securely proved by the history of the past or present, or consecrated by treaty, but embodying the ideas and presentiments of a school more or less prophetic in its political views. He does not found his reasoning on what modern society actually is, and is recognised as being, nor on the great treaty of peace made with it by Pius VII. ; but rather tries to enforce his views by threats of what he thinks is inevitably coming upon the world. He cries out like a seer, "Je regarde devant moi, et je ne vois partout que la démocratie. Je vois ce déluge monter, monter toujours, tout atteindre et tout recouvrir." As we consider that this oracle of Lamennais, as generalised in Tocqueville's philosophy, is a mere hallucination, we must also consider that M. de Montalembert has only marred an otherwise splendid effort of eloquent argument by putting it on a wrong basis. There are facts which everybody recognises which would have served his turn equally well ; and if he had simply substituted the term "modern civilisation" for "democracy," it would have been difficult to find a flaw in his reasoning. The invincible instincts of the present masses, he says, are "political equality" and "liberty of worship." Liberty is the first necessity for the Church. "But the Church can only be free when all are free around her ; no

separate liberty, that of the Church least of all, can exist nowadays without the safeguard of common freedom." Exceptional privileges and immunities are no longer possible, "To dream of claiming for the Catholic religion its inviolable patrimony of a privileged freedom in the midst of servitude or general submission, is not only a weak illusion but the most perilous of courses." "To reconstruct the old preponderance of the Church upon the basis, or under the form, of privilege; to give to her alone the right of speech in the midst of universal silence; to leave her alone free and active while her enemies are fettered and under bail,—is a task that no ruler could accomplish, even supposing he had the will." Hence, in the interest of the Church, he demands the liberty of teaching, the liberty of association, the liberty of the press, and the liberty of worship. "Can any one," he said, "at the present day demand liberty for truth, that is, for himself,—since every one, if sincere, believes himself to be a follower of truth,—and refuse it to error, that is, to every one that does not think as he does? I distinctly reply, No. Here I well know *incedo per ignes*. I bow before all the texts, all the canons that may be cited to me, and not one of them will I contest or discuss. But I cannot to-day repress the conviction that reigns in my conscience and my heart." And then he goes on to apply his principle not only to the present and future, but to the past also. "The Spanish inquisitor saying to the heretic, *the truth or death*, is as odious to me as the French terrorist saying to my grandfather, *liberty, fraternity, or death*." For he thinks that the Catholic theory of the relations between church and state in old days left much to be desired. Though he is "far from condemning" the former combinations between them, yet he does not hesitate to call many acts which resulted from those combinations "crimes." If he is far from condemning, he is still farther from approving; for he frankly avows that he much prefers the present combination to any that has preceded it: "Pour moi, j'avoue franchement que, dans cette solidarité de la liberté du catholicisme avec la liberté publique, je vois un progrès immense: . . . je ne fais point ici de théorie, ni sur-tout de théologie. Je parle uniquement en homme politique et en historien. Je ne réponds pas par des arguments dogmatiques aux dogmatiseurs qui me condamnent et que je récusé. J'invoque les faits, et j'en tire des enseignements purement pratiques."

But not only does the Church, M. de Montalembert argues, require these liberties, but also society needs that the Church should claim them. The modern world exhibits three great elements: an atomic mass of individuals, claiming a certain amount of social liberty; a state, governing this mass by means of a centralised administration; and between these two a number of corporate agglomerations, such as the family, the corporation, the trading or scientific association, the municipal body, liable to the revolutionary attacks of the atomic democracy from one side, and to the all-embracing absorption of the centralising bureaucracy on the other. Of these organisations, enjoying their own natural rights in face both of

the individual and the state, the Church is the greatest, the most important, the most active, and the strongest; she is therefore the natural champion of liberty, which is now attacked not in the individual nor in the state,—both which elements are becoming daily more enfranchised from rule and law,—but in the corporation. If all corporate liberties were respected by both government and people,—if the rights of families, the rights of schools and universities, the right of association, feared nothing from the encroachments of either the democracy or the bureaucracy,—then the Church herself would enjoy all the liberty she needs. She must therefore resign all her pretensions to immunities apart, and cast in her lot with those corporations whose very existence is equally threatened with her own.

In this doctrine of M. de Montalembert there is an immense advance on that of Tocqueville, who never could get beyond the dualism of the individual and the state, or understand the necessity of the independent corporation between them to assure each against the encroachments of the other. It is also a doctrine so much in advance of French politicians that in general they cannot even understand it. They think that M. de Montalembert's formula is "Democracy and the Church;" and they oppose to it their formula "Democracy and the Empire." Nature can only be ruled, they say, by obeying its laws; democracy, the great law of the present and future, can only be controlled by a power which issues from its loins, which lives by its life, and which rules it by obeying its instincts. Such a power is the Empire. In the political world there is henceforth only place for these two forces, which are ultimately one, or rather two aspects of the same force. Democracy finds its true liberty in regulating itself by means of a power which it sets up, and which obeys it while regulating it. The whole doctrine is a stupid dualism, soon fading away into a unitarianism, and setting up a dreary unity of force, which leaves in the world no place for either individual or corporate liberty. It has no place for the Church, except considered either as an atomic mass of Christians, each following his own private judgment, or as an organisation for moral purposes, useful in keeping order, and subservient to the police.

On the whole, we are disposed to think that this speech at Mechlin is the most perfect production that we yet possess of the matured genius of the great French orator.

50. Mr. Denton's pamphlet on the Christians of Turkey is intended to show the intolerable brutality and the incorrigible stupidity of the Turkish government and race, and the cruel injustice of propping up for a moment longer than is necessary a state of things which entails such oppression of the Christian population. The indignation with which the pamphlet is written disposes us to question the perfect exactness of all the assumptions on which the author grounds his demand for the cessation of the English protectorate of Turkey. The country is one of which we possess no statistics, except the enumeration of the people made in 1844; there are therefore no

data for checking any of Mr. Denton's assertions concerning the movement of population. The Christians seem to have increased, and the Turks to have diminished, since 1844, in about the same ratio as before that period. There does not seem, then, on the face of things, any reason why we should suppose that the causes of this relative increase and diminution have been materially exasperated in the last twenty years. It is true that we have known more of Turkey since the Crimean war. We have more exact details of the massacres and feuds which are periodical among the hostile races and religions which people the empire. We know now that it is not only the political reasons given by M. Ami Boué which prevent the Turkish race from multiplying and ensure its dying out, but also moral reasons, such as depopulated imperial Rome, and would have desolated the cities of the plain if the fire and brimstone had not anticipated the law of natural decline. But what new policy can be founded on this knowledge, except the policy of the Romans to the Druids and the worshippers of Moloch—extermination? The policy of England is not to support the Turkish dominion absolutely; but to support the Turkish dominion till, in the inevitable course of events, the now dominant race approximates to extinction, and some of the subject races become strong enough to maintain the independence of the empire. The Greeks certainly were not strong enough forty years ago to make themselves the dominant race. They are not strong enough yet, but they are fast becoming so. In the mean time Turkey, the condition of which is not materially worse than it has been at any time since the conquest of Constantinople, is being kept together, lest it should fall to the share of some external power, or lest what might have been the era of its regeneration to freedom should only prove the beginning of a new and disastrous epoch of political servitude and social corruption. Mr. Denton's feelings do him all honour, and the end which he proposes is good in itself; the question is, whether it would not be postponed indefinitely by a premature endeavour to attain it.

51. A popular or semi-popular work on New Zealand, by Dr. Hochstetter, has just issued from the Cotta press at Stuttgart. The author accompanied, as geologist, the Austrian scientific expedition which circumnavigated the globe in the frigate *Novara*, and passed nine months of the year 1858 in New Zealand. His official report on the geology of the islands is in a forward state, and will be published at the cost of the Imperial Government; but in the mean time the enterprising liberality of Cotta has enabled him to place in the hands of the German reader the most beautiful and perfect work for which New Zealand has yet formed the subject. A translation, which should retain the coloured plates and woodcuts, would be sure of a welcome in this country. Dr. Hochstetter avows himself at the outset a sharer in the enthusiastic feelings which the recollection of New Zealand never fails to awaken in those who have visited it. His relations with the population were as agreeable as his travels were en-

chanting; he seems to have made a most pleasing impression on the colonists, who, in one instance, at Nelson, showed their sense of his merits by insisting upon his laying the first stone of a scientific institution just about to be erected there. They detained him among them as long as they could, and succeeded in seducing his companion and assistant, Julius Haast, to take office as government geologist at Canterbury. He himself, however, tied down by his engagements to the Kaiser, resisted the Sirens of the Antipodes,—at least for the time.

The present work is not without glaring *lacunæ*, which those who are acquainted with New Zealand will at once detect. The Wellington province, with the adjoining districts of Wanganui and Hawke's Bay, is left entirely unnoticed, except in the general physico-political description of the islands, which contains little that any man might not compile for himself in a couple of hours in the British Museum. The great Wairau plain with its related valleys, constituting the province of Marlborough, and the lowland portions of the provinces of Canterbury, Otago, and Southland, are also barely noticed. The book consists of an account of the author's travels in the Auckland province; of a remarkable description, supplied by Julius Haast, of the alpine region that bounds the Canterbury district to the westward and the gold-fields of Otago; and chapters on the plants, animals, and native inhabitants of the islands. There is a full description of the Moa, the gigantic wingless bird of New Zealand, with a pictorial restoration. The author speaks of the Moa as unquestionably extinct, but the point cannot yet be considered as absolutely determined. In the south-western portion of the southern island, there still remains a region covered with primeval forests, about a hundred miles by forty in extent, into which no white man's foot has hitherto penetrated; until this has been explored, it will be premature to pronounce confidently for the non-existence of the Moa. It was on the outskirts of this district that two shepherds belonging to the Southland province, said to be men of credit, declared that they saw an enormous bird, which at their approach stalked away into the impenetrable fastnesses of the forest. The story appeared in the Otago papers about a year ago.

The coloured engravings are extremely beautiful; nothing which has yet appeared goes so near to reproducing the peculiar colouring and atmosphere of New Zealand. Mount Cook, the monarch of the Southern Alps, rearing his snowy peak in lonely grandeur across the blue waters of a bay, is the subject of one of the illustrations, and the lovely Taupo lake of another. The portrait of Ko Paora Matuatera really comes up to one's ideal of the noble savage. It is sad to think that such a race is swiftly passing from the earth; but so it is; and the war which has just broken out afresh will unhappily hasten the process. The Maori is evidently resolved to die hard. The only ground of consolation is that our public relations to the race have on the whole been characterised throughout by a spirit of justice and forbearance.

52. The readers of Professor Ansted's book on the Channel Isles will find but little fresh information in that of M. Théodore Le Cerf, whose knowledge of his subject is extremely imperfect, and whose descriptions are often ludicrously at variance with reality. The only pages which are of any interest are those containing a few authentic and hitherto unpublished documents relative to the expeditions of the Prince of Nassau and the Baron de Rullecourt against Jersey in 1779 and 1781. They furnish sufficient proof that the whole responsibility of those absurd "coups de main" falls upon the minister Sartines, and that they were undertaken almost without the knowledge of the governor of Normandy, and entirely without the knowledge and coöperation of the military commanders of Cherbourg, Granville, and St. Malo.

53. The island of Heligoland, like many of the Friesian islands, such as Föhr, has become a considerable sea-bathing station. The season lasts from the middle of June to the end of September; and about 2000 persons are now said to frequent the baths. During the whole season a steamer plies twice a week between Hamburg and the island, a distance of 25 German miles, or about 125 English; of this, 18 German miles is river navigation on the Elbe, between Hamburg and Cuxhaven. From the middle of July to the end of August, which may be considered the height of the season, the steamer plies even three times a week. The island appears to possess several advantages as a bathing-place,—cheap and very clean lodgings, a casino in which a concert is given each evening and two balls every week, a *table-d'hôte* at which from 200 to 300 frequently sit down. Herr Hallier, having spent a year upon the island, has given us a book on it, after the example of M. Michellet, who became so enamoured of the sea at Arcachory that he wrote his curious book *La Mer* in order to spread his sea-worship. In conception there is a considerable analogy between *La Mer* and *Nordsee Studien*; but the execution is very different. Herr Hallier's book is an attempt to supply the educated people who frequent the North Sea bathing-stations with subjects for intellectual recreation, by interesting them in the scientific causes of the great natural phenomena which contribute to their daily physical enjoyment: the sea and its motions, storms, sand-dunes, geology, the flora of the shores and of the sea itself. This is a very difficult task—far more so than is generally imagined. Accordingly very few have succeeded in being at the same time strictly accurate in scientific exposition and simple and poetic in the execution. It is not given to every one to combine the imagination of the poet with the truth of the philosopher. If Herr Hallier does not equal Alexander von Humboldt in writing a strictly scientific memoir in the form of a didactic poem, or Heinrich Steffens in making his poetical impressions of the same North Sea admirable scientific accounts of natural phenomena, he has certainly succeeded in some of his chapters in expressing in accurate and poetic language the

impressions which the grand phenomena of the sea produce on the mind of a lover of nature. In his botanical chapters he is somewhat too technical for the scope of the rest of the book. He might have found an excellent model in this respect in the *Aspects of Nature* of Alexander von Humboldt.

His geology is very poor and confused. It would appear that the rocky or inhabited island of Heligoland is triassic, either burnt sandstone or keuper. The sand-island, which is separated from the other, and which was formerly connected with it by a dyke of shingle, by which an excellent harbour was formed, appears, however, to consist of a nucleus of oolitic rock, which formerly constituted an extensive protruding crag. This was quarried away, and thus the harbour was destroyed. Around both, on all sides, there appear to be reefs in the sea of cretaceous rocks, which possibly connected the island at one time with the mainland. Near the sand-island, and apparently resting upon the supposed oolitic rocks, bluish-black calcareous clay, locally called "töck," is found. This clay is full of fossils, most of which are converted into iron pyrites, and of which Mr. Wiebel⁵ has given a list. Professor Römer refers them to the Hilsthon or Neocomien. Herr Hallier, however, states that there are two kinds of "töck," a gray and a brown; the former he admits to be Hilsthon, but the latter he considers to be much newer; not older, perhaps, than pleiocene. He has found in this clay remains of forest-trees, the more abundant being species of *Carpinus* (Lin.), and the fruit of one, which is very abundant, resembling *Carpinus betullus*. Next in degree of abundance come oaks, apparently belonging to three species, one being like *Quercus pedunculata*. Next to the oak comes alder. Fragments of walnut-shells, the fruit-bearing part of an umbelliferous plant, three species of moss, one like a *Hypnum*, have likewise been observed. There are also remains of fish, chiefly fresh-water; the shells found, too, are chiefly fresh-water. From the present position of the rock, it is not easy to procure complete specimens of these fossils, of which Herr Hallier promises a full account. The discovery of the remains of pleiocene or other tertiary forests in the North Sea is very remarkable, and of very great importance in connection with the changes of level in that region.

The dunes of Heligoland do not appear to be of very great size, but some of the other Friesian islands must afford an excellent opportunity for studying the formation of aerial rocks; for, according to Hansen (*Chronik der Friesische Uthlande*, Altona, 1856, p. 192), the dunes or hills of blown sand in the island of Sylt, which is about 25 miles long and from a half to 7 miles broad, are 170 feet high, while the red cliffs composing the island are only 110.

54. The biography of Victor Hugo, said by the translator to be written by Madame Hugo, extends from 1802, the time of his birth,

⁵ *Die Insel Helgoland, Untersuchungen über deren Grosse und Gegenwart* &c. Hamburg, 1848.

to 1841, the year of his reception into the Academy, and is meant to tell the story of his literary as distinguished from his political life. Madame Hugo is scarcely as outspoken as her husband; but her biography is valuable as evidence that his works are autobiographical, and that his various romances and poems have as accurately represented his various phases of feeling, more or less exaggerated by his imagination, as his sketch of Marius in *Les Misérables* represents the history of his life. For this reason, we should think that *Les Misérables* is his last work of importance. He has never painted any one but himself, and he has now exhausted all the possibilities of his model. His mother, it appears, was a Voltairian, not a Catholic, royalist, and registered him as a Protestant at the College of Nobles at Madrid. After her death, the Abbé de Rohan persuaded him to go to confession to Lamennais, some of whose letters are printed in the second of these volumes. The history of his quarrels with his father, and of his subsequent moral and intellectual reconciliation, is treated with a tenderness which contrasts strangely with the ravings of *Bug Jargal*. The utter baselessness of his political views is very naïvely indicated by the account his wife gives of their genesis. Thus his principles of universal toleration arose from finding that many of his newspaper critics were good fellows. "I early accustomed myself to look for the motive when any one desired to do me harm, and from that time my anger has almost always changed into a profound feeling of compassion. It happens not unfrequently that I find a good and praiseworthy principle at the root of a bad action" (vol. ii. p. 21). And his revolutionary ideas in politics arose from his experience of the conservatism of theatrical managers and the play-going public, whose approbation he had to conquer by violence. When "he had just headed his own insurrection, and constructed his own barricades at the theatre, he quite understood that all kinds of progress are related to each other, and that, in order not to be inconsistent, we must accept in politics that which we desire in literature" (vol. ii. p. 297).

His great literary struggle was to establish the mixed drama in France, in opposition to the pure tragedy of Corneille or the pure comedy of Molière. It was on the stage that the battle between the romantic and classical schools was fought in France. Hugo was the French champion for Shakespeare. He seems to have conceived Shakespeare's chief merit to lie in the organic combination of the extremes of tragedy and farce, of height and breadth, in one piece. This secret revealed itself to him under the symbol of Punch in a graveyard. One of his favourite haunts was the Boulevard de Mont-Parnasse, where, opposite the cemetery, was a booth of mountebanks. "This antithesis of Punch and the grave fell in with his ideas of a dramatic method which should combine extremes;" and he there conceived part of the plot of *Marion de Lorme*.

A large part of the second volume is taken up with M. Hugo's letters and writings against the punishment of death. The futility and absurdity of his arguments are one more proof of his merely literary talent.

The biography is mainly interesting to those who are well acquainted with M. Hugo's works; and such persons had better read it in French than in a translation which often turns sense into nonsense, as when it tells us that M. Delacroix "tried to disarm his enemies by the originality of his talent, or by giving way in conversation," instead of "those who were offended by his talent he tried to propitiate by his compliance."

55. There are many books on surnames and names of places, but Miss Yonge's is the first English work which makes any pretensions to exhibit the capability of the comparative study of Christian names to illustrate the history of languages, national character, religion, and taste. The questions why one name should be popular and another forgotten, why one should be European and another circumscribed by very narrow bounds, involve other questions of history, genealogy, and especially of hagiography, which branch out over a wide extent of erudition. Some philosophical order is required also in classifying the names, since a mere alphabetical treatment would utterly destroy all their interest and connection.

This extensive demand has been very respectably supplied by the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*. Some special German works have served her as models, and as magazines of materials; and the rest of her store has been picked with great industry from several sources of information,—not always the best, since on the important questions connected with hagiography only the French edition of Butler's *Lives of the Saints* and Mrs. Jamieson's *Sacred and Legendary Art* have been consulted, when the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* would obviously have been the great storehouse of materials.

Two classes of Christian names are omitted in these volumes. The first we may call the comic; those that arise from misconception, as when the parents who had called their first four sons Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, christened the fifth Acts; and the surnames which are now so commonly used for Christian names. And yet nearly all Christian names were originally surnames which have lost their early significance with migration and change of pronunciation, and have become associated with famous personages. The Teutonic nomenclature especially seems to bear in its bosom a memorial of the period when the blue-eyed warriors bore names analogous to those of modern North-American savages: Wood-spear, Wolf-ranging, Forest-raven, and the like.

56. In August 1856, an apothecary of Flensburg discovered some antiquities in a peat-bog near that place. Since then the spot has been very carefully investigated, as is always the case in Denmark where antiquities are known to exist. The objects found have been placed in the Royal Museum of Flensburg, the curator of which, under the auspices of the Minister for the Duchy of Schleswig, has just published a full description, beautifully illustrated, of the principal objects discovered by these researches. The

articles found include a woven shirt and trousers, an ornamented shoe, brooches, gorget, helmet with visor inlaid with gold, cuirass, shields, swords, harness, pottery, wooden implements, &c. The metals of which these various objects are made consist of gold, bronze, and iron; they therefore belong, according to the nomenclature of the Danish antiquaries, to the early iron period. The bronze shields are adorned with dolphins, Medusa heads, &c., and are clearly of Roman workmanship, and therefore belong to the period from the first to the third century of our era. Some of the antiquities were found at a depth of at least ten to eleven feet; and, if we suppose the light peat which covered them to have since grown, it would give a considerable growth of peat in the time which has since elapsed. These antiquities are of comparatively little importance in connection with geology, but they will no doubt prove very interesting to the student of ancient technical art.

57. Until the short, interesting, but uncompleted sketch published about thirty years ago by MM. Milne-Edwards and Andouin,⁶ the importance of the vertical distribution of marine life does not appear to have been fully appreciated. Perhaps this was owing to the immense mine which the study of the aerial distribution of life offered, and which Alexander von Humboldt had merely opened, when he sketched the outline of this new branch of science. Soon after the publication of the work of the French naturalists just named, the real foundation of the geography of marine life was laid by the late Professor Edward Forbes,⁷ and the Danish philosopher Cæsted,⁸ whose works are still models of this kind of investigation. Many other naturalists have since laboured in this interesting field; and some idea of the great extent of the researches which have been already made, and of the important character of the results obtained, may be gathered from the admirable work of Professor Forbes and Mr. Godwin-Austin, *The Natural History of the European Seas* (London, 1859). Dr. Lorenz's new book not only may well be placed alongside the works just mentioned, but is indeed a work of patient scientific labour, which might serve as a model for all young physicists and naturalists. To those young naturalists especially who occupy themselves with dredging operations along our coasts, in the hope of catching some new species to which they may affix their names, we would recommend a perusal of this scientific memoir, in which they will learn the right way to study the marine floras and faunas of our seas. The area of investigation is that embayed part of the Adriatic, at the end of which is situated the port of Fiume, and which is known as the Gulf of Quarnero. It is filled

⁶ *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle du Littoral de la France*, tome i. pp 234-237, Paris, 1832.

⁷ *Report on the Mollusca and Radiata of the Ægean Sea, and on their Distribution considered as bearing on Geology*. British Association Reports for 1833.

⁸ *De Regionibus Marinis, elementa topographiæ historico-naturalis Freti Oresund*. A. S. Cæsted. Havniæ, 1844.

with islands, separated from each other by narrow, and often deep, channels, and presents considerable diversity in depth of sea, and the inclination and lithological character of the coast; above all, it is favourable to currents of air and water, and consequently to changes of temperature and of pressure. These are some of the causes which modify not only the vertical but also the horizontal distribution of life, and consequently needed to be studied carefully. The book accordingly consists of two parts: 1. the physical character of the region; and 2. the distribution of life.

The physical phenomena which the author considered it necessary to study as influencing the distribution of life are included under the following categories:

I. *Functions of geographical position.*

1. The climate of the sea, especially the mean temperature of the whole marine column.
2. Drift-currents, in so far as they depend upon local winds, and conditions of atmospheric pressure.
3. Height and mode of rise and fall of tide.

II. *Functions of the bed and shores of the sea.*

1. Form of the bed of the sea, declivity of shore, and depth of water.
2. Lithological character of shore and of sea-bottom.
3. Influence of fresh water, and consequent relative saltiness of the water of the sea.
4. Breadth of strand left uncovered at ebb tide, as dependent upon the inclination of the coast.
5. Height and character of flood-tide at different seasons, &c.

III. *Pure oceanic functions.*

1. Chemical composition of the salts.
2. Currents produced by difference in the amount of salt.

IV. *Functions of depth.*

1. Zone or strata climate.
 - a. Mean temperature of each zone or stratum of water.
 - b. Extreme temperatures and differences.
 - c. Rapidity of changes of temperature.
 - d. Distribution of temperature in the seasons.
2. Extension of the undulatory motion of the tides, currents, &c. in depth, or commencement of absolute stillness in the water.
3. Transmission of light, &c.
4. Percentage of salt, and specific gravity of water.
5. Pressure at different depths.
6. Whether plants or animals are always immersed, or whether they are uncovered at ebb-tide, and how long, according to seasons and hours of day and night.

From this summary of influencing causes it will at once be seen that the author had to institute a complete series of physical observations upon the temperature of the air and water, the barometric height, winds, tides, and currents, the saltness and specific gravity of the sea, the transparency of the sea, the geological character of the rocks, &c. Although the collection of satisfactory data upon all these important points would require more time than Dr. Lorenz was able to devote to it, yet the chapters on winds, and on the temperature and currents of the sea, are full of interesting facts to the meteorologist. It would be beyond our scope to discuss this interesting book in detail, but there are one or two points which we may notice.

The author, in his section on the colour of the sea, seems to think that the red rays, which, as the least refrangible, ought to reach the greatest depth, are absorbed or dispersed before they penetrate very far down, and consequently that any theory which would explain the colour that prevails at certain depths by the refrangibility alone must be erroneous. He does not therefore admit, with CErsted, that the prevailing colour of the deep sea is red; and he thinks that the red colour observed by divers is subjective, and produced by the pressure of blood. The "purpurne Finsterniss" of Schiller must therefore be looked upon as a beautiful poetic fiction. We do not think the observation of Halley in the diving-bell can be explained by subjective effects; and at all events the question is still open. It is a very important one, and deserves to be solved, as we think it might be by means of photography.

Dr. Lorenz has not determined the nature and amount of the gases dissolved in the water, especially at different depths. Considering the functions which oxygen and carbonic acid play in the growth of plants and the respiration of animals, this is a serious omission. It would require, however, a great deal of labour and skill to make experiments of this kind at all likely to be of any use, and Dr. Lorenz, from some expressions in his book, does not seem to be chemist enough to undertake them.

Professor Edward Forbes recognised four zones of depth: 1. the littoral zone, or the tract between high and low tide; 2. the laminarian zone, from low water to 15 fathoms; 3. the coralline zone, from 15 to 50 fathoms; and 4. the deep-sea coral zone, from 50 to 100 fathoms and beyond. Dr. Lorenz uses the word *region* for zone, and it is, we think, to be preferred. For plants he recognises six regions or zones, and for animals seven, as follow:

Plants.

1. Supra-littoral.
2. Littoral region uncovered at low water.
3. Littoral region covered at low water, from mean of ebb-tide to 2 fathoms.
4. Upper declivial, from 2 to 15 fathoms.
5. Lower declivial, and sea-bottom of middle depth, from 15 to 35 fathoms.
6. Deep-sea bottom, 60 fathoms.

Animals.

1. Supra-littoral.
2. Littoral region uncovered at low water.
3. Littoral region covered at low water, from low-water mark to 2 fathoms.
4. Sub-littoral, from 2 to 10 fathoms.
5. Upper declivial, from 10 to 20 fathoms.
6. Lower declivial, 20 to 45 fathoms.
7. Deep-sea bottom, 45 to 75 fathoms.

He divides each region into a number of *facies*, characterised by some plant or animal occurring there in great abundance and vigour. The number of marine plants examined and tabulated is 515, of which 265 are isocarps and heterocarps, which alone were used in the establishment of the regions and facies, and 250 diatomacea. His animal regions are of course founded upon those species which attach themselves to the rocks, or bury themselves in the mud, &c.; but he also discusses the distribution of those which swim about. He divides the latter into Pelagian, or those which swim over large areas of the sea, and those which inhabit limited basins, and which he therefore proposes to call Koilomatophile, from *κοίλωμα*.

Forbes's hypothesis, that those species which have the greatest vertical distribution have also the widest horizontal range, is supported by the distribution of the algæ in the Gulf of Quarnero. If we look upon the Celtic-Lusitanian province—to adopt Forbes and Godwin-Austin's nomenclature of the different zoological provinces into which the seas may be divided—as closely allied with the Mediterranean, and call the two the middle Europæo-Atlantic province, in contradistinction to the general Europæo-Atlantic—that is the Lusitanian, Celtic, and Coreal—provinces, the distribution of the animals will also accord with Forbes's rule.

58. Two additional parts of the Fossil Flora of the Rajmahal Hills have arrived since the notice of that important work in our last Number. We there described the curious geological circumstances under which the plant-beds occur, and mentioned that the characteristic features of the flora, especially as regards the number of individual plants, was the predominance of Cycadeæ. Here we need only notice the contents of the new parts. The account of the species of the family just mentioned is completed in Part IV., which is chiefly occupied with the genus *Palæozamia*. This genus was established in 1837 by Endlicher, for the reception of certain fossil fronds and leaves which had been referred to the Cycadeæ, and also to the ferns (*Otopteris*), such as some referred by A. Brongniart to *Zamia*, and by Lindley and Hutton to Ferns. Until the fronds are found in connection with their organs of fructification, it must, however, remain uncertain to which of those families they belong, especially the *Opteroid* division: the authors have followed the authority of Alex. Brongniart in placing them in the Cycadeaceæ. Professor Morris,

unaware of what Endlicher had done, formed shortly after a genus *Ptilophyllum* for the reception of a number of plants brought from Cutch by Colonel Grant, and others given him for description by Mr. Lonsdale, and differing in their foliation from the ordinary fronds of *Zamia*. Dr. F. Braun, in 1843, proposed for the same group of plants the generic name *Otazamites*, which has been adopted by Brongniart. The authors have, however, very properly taken Endlicher's name, and propose to divide the group into sections according to the mode of foliation of the pinnæ: *a*, *Ptilophyllum*, with linear pinnæ; *b*, *Otazamites*, with lanceolate pinnæ; and *c*, *Sphenozamites*, with ovate pinnæ. In our former notice we mentioned the occurrence of *Palæozamia* in the district of Trichinopoly, and alluded generally to the importance of these Rajmahal fossils in the coördination of the Indian series of rocks with those of Europe. One of the species described in Part IV. the authors consider to be the *Palæozamia brevifolium* of Braun, which occurs at Veitlahm, near Culmbach, in Bavaria, in beds which are variously referred to the upper part of the Keuper and the lower part of the Lias. A well-marked variety of *Palæozamia acutifolium* of Morris, var. *conferta*, appears to agree generally with the *Zamia pectinata* (Lindl. and Hut.) of the Stonesfield slate. Another plant belonging to the new genus *Stangerites*, established by Bornemann in 1856, the *Stangerites M'Clellandi* (*Tæniopteris acuminata* of Dr. M'Clelland), bears a marked resemblance to the *Tæniopteris Haidingeri* of Ettingshausen, from the Lias of Waidhofen in Austria. It is probable that these beds are therefore oolitic; and while in Europe *Palæozamia* indicates lower or middle Oolite, they may have lived longer in India, and belong to the upper Oolite. No reference is made to the Trichinopoly beds containing *Palæozamia*; it will be interesting to know whether they correspond to any European or Rajmahal species.

Next to the predominance of Cycadeæ, a distinctive *facies* is given to the Rajmahal Flora by the ferns. In Part V. we have descriptions (the figures are in Part IV.) of two new species, established by Professor Morris, of the *Dictyopteris* of Gutbier, established in 1835 for the reception of some remarkable leaves from the coal formation of Zwickaw. This genus belongs to the group of *Neuropteridæ*; and all the species hitherto noticed in Europe,—which are few,—belong to the true coal measures. Professor Oldham considers, however, that the Indian plants are not ferns, but Cycads; and he proposes, in case further researches should prove his views correct, to include them in a new genus *Dictyozamites*, which would indicate the fern character of their nervation, while placing them among the Cycads. In the special beds in which they occur no other fern has been found. If they be found to be Cycads, it will remove the difficulty of the alliance between a coal-measure type and an oolitic one. The plates of Part V. contain figures of several new species of *Pecopteris* established by the authors. It is very inconvenient to separate the text from the plates.

59. M. Cotteau, the distinguished palæontologist, who has undertaken the task of continuing M. d'Orbigny's great work the *Paléontologie Française*, and who is known especially for his researches upon fossil Echinodermata, has published a monograph of the latter class of fossils found in the Pyrenees. The total number of Echinodermata belonging to the region of the French Pyrenees in the departments of the Basses-Pyrénées, Landes, Hautes-Pyrénées, Haute-Garonne, Ariège, Aude, and Pyrénées Orientales, is 171, distributed in 54 genera. Of these, 19, comprising 37 species, are characteristic of the cretaceous formation, and not found in the tertiary; 26 genera, comprising 71 species, are peculiar to the tertiary; 9 genera, comprising 36 species, are common to the cretaceous and tertiary. Of the 102 tertiary Echinodermata, 93 are Eocene (nummulitic group), and only 9 belong to the Miocene. Of the same 102 species, 83 are peculiar to the region of the Pyrenees, and belong to the nummulitic fauna, with the exception of the two species *Conoclypeus Semiglobus* and *Cidaris Paulensis*, which are Miocenes. Only 19 species are found in other localities than the Pyrenees. This shows how well marked the tertiary fauna is. Of the 19 which occur elsewhere, 12 belong to the lower tertiary, and 7 only occur in the Miocene. The species are very unequally distributed in the seven departments comprising the region; the majority of the species group themselves in localities which are peculiar, so that the number common to the different departments is relatively limited.

In 1856 M. Cotteau in conjunction with M. Leymerie published in the *Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France* a catalogue of the fossil Echinodermata of the Pyrenees (2^{me} sér. t. xiii. p. 319). This catalogue mentioned 98 species, belonging to 40 genera, so that the present monograph is a great advance upon the catalogue.

The nummulitic Echinodermata are zoologically as well as geologically important. M. Cotteau mentions, for instance, the new bizarre genus *Brissopatagus*, which has only two species as yet, *B. Caumonti* from Biarritz, and a second from the inferior tertiary of Tjidamar in the island of Java, described and figured by M. Herklot in his *Fossiles de Java* (Echinodermes, p. 13, pl. iii. fig. 2), which M. Cotteau now proposes to call *B. Javanicus*: only a single specimen of each is yet known. According to M. Cotteau, at no epoch nor at any other place were Echinodermata developed in such numbers and variety as at Biarritz; 23 genera, comprising 43 species, are found in this single locality in a space of scarcely two kilometres, and the number will no doubt be largely increased.

The illustrations are entirely taken from the tertiary specimens, and only short descriptions are given of the new cretaceous species, because they are to be figured either in the volume in course of publication of the *Paléontologie Française*, or in the supplement to it. This appears to us a very unsatisfactory way of preparing a monograph, which, if it means any thing, is intended to contain all the information required upon the subject,—descriptions, figures, synonyms. The last the author does not give, because it would in-

crease the size of his book ; but the omission renders the book almost useless.

60. A compact handbook of zoology, containing condensed but complete, and, above all, clearly written descriptions, founded upon the whole form of the animals, and upon their degree of morphological development, of the several orders, classes, families, and genera (at least where it is practicable, which it would not be in the case of the insects), and brought up to the present state of science, is a great desideratum at this moment. If the names of authors could be taken as guarantee, three such men as Professors Peters, Carus, and Gerstaecker ought to be able to supply the want. The second volume of their Handbook, which has been published before the first, promises to be an excellent and useful book. It contains the Arthropoda (insects, Myriopoda, Arachnoidea, and Crustacea), by Prof. Gerstaecker; and the Rotatoria, Vermes Echinodermata, Cœlenterata, and Protozoa, by Prof. Carus. The first volume will contain the Vertebrata, by Prof. Peters; and the Mollusca, by Prof. Carus. Until we have the entire work before us we shall not be able to discuss the plan upon which it is framed, or the principles of the classification adopted in it. The literature of each group appears to be very carefully given.

61. M. Lereboullet's memoir on the comparative embryology of the pike and perch, taken as examples of the type of the Vertebrata, and of the lobster, as one for that of the Articulata, has at length been published, in vol. xvii. of the *Mémoires présentés par divers savants étrangers à l'Académie des Sciences*. The chief results of those valuable and laborious investigations are already to some extent known by notices and abstracts ; we need not therefore attempt an abstract here, especially as our space would be too limited to give an adequate one. It is worth while, however, to give the opinion which M. Lereboullet has come to as the final result of his labours upon the subject to which M. de Blainville's *Principes de Zooclassie* belongs. He says, "In the presence of differences [of embryonic development] so fundamental, one is forced to renounce the idea of a unique plan in the formation of animals ; while the existence of several plans, that is to say, of types, is made evident by all the facts. This, however, does not amount to saying that we should reject the unity of creation ; this idea is too grand and too beautiful not to be true. But this creative unity, it is not in the forms that we should seek it, nor in the order which Nature follows for the constitution of beings. It is in the organic element itself, in the cell that it resides. The cell is the base of all organisation, vegetable as well as animal ; it has the same general constitution in both kingdoms ; but it is endowed with very different properties, according to which it develops itself, and multiplies itself in a determinate direction—a direction which varies according to the animal, or according to the organ of which it forms a part."

62. The speciality of Vienna science is undoubtedly mineralogy. This is shown not only by the number of valuable memoirs which are read to the Academy of that city, but also by the number of text-books which issue from its press. We have a new one now from Dr. Tschermak, whose name is favourably known by his crystallographic papers. It is a small work of only 218 pages, and is consequently a mere introduction; in this respect, however, it is very good, except in the systematic mineralogy. The crystallography is very full and very clearly written, and we are glad to find that the author uses the symbols of Professor Naumann with only here and there an advantageous modification. His classification of minerals is peculiar; it may be practically useful for finding out a mineral, but assuredly it is very unscientific, and must tend to perpetuate the evil of "natural-history" ideas among students. Minerals are chemical compounds formed in nature. Why should this mode of formation separate them from those which the chemist makes in a laboratory? It is to be hoped that the reform in crystallographic symbols which the adoption, by the author and others, of those proposed by Professor Naumann indicates, may soon extend itself to the classification of minerals also, and that the "natural-history" method may disappear from its last resting-place, Vienna, also.

63. Professor Dana has written a Manual on Geology as a companion to his well-known one on Mineralogy, the readers of which need not be told that the new work represents the actual condition of the fundamental facts of the science, as far as labour and research can accomplish it. Manuals of geology used to be manuals of certain divisions of it, such as dynamical or historical geology, rather than expositions of the whole science. Latterly, however, the text-books have been greatly improved in this respect. Take, for example, Professor Jukes's *Student's Manual*, in which the subject is divided into three parts,—Geognosy, Palæontology, and the History of the Formation of the Crust of the Earth. Under Geognosy he includes Lithology, which embraces Mineralogy,—the origin, classification, and determination of rocks; Petrology, which embraces the formation, movements, and disturbances of the earth's crust, including jointing, cleavage, faulting, denudation, formation of igneous rocks, orography, and mineral veins. We know of no book in which the kind of information here included under the head Geognosy could be found in a compact and intelligible form before the appearance of Professor Jukes's book, and yet this is the most important part for the student.

Professor Dana adopts a somewhat similar classification to Professor Jukes, and, like him, is very full upon all the kind of knowledge to which we have just alluded. He extends the domain of geology, however, by very properly including physical geography; and instead of grouping together under one head all the subjects which Professor Jukes includes under petrology, he puts every thing concerning the composition and structure of rocks under the head of lithology;

and under the head of dynamical geology he discusses, at the end, the movements of the earth's crust, and the action of water, heat, &c., upon it. His divisions are consequently: I. Physiographic geology, or a survey of the earth's features, including orography, hydrography, and climatography; II. Lithological geology, mineralogy, lithology properly so called,—that is, the composition and characters of stones, and the arrangements, structure, and accidents of rock masses; III. Historical geology, which includes both palæontology and the laws of the progress of life and stratigraphical geology; or, strictly speaking, it is what M. d'Archiac would call stratigraphic palæontology; and IV. Dynamical geology, or an account of the agencies that have produced geological changes, and the laws and methods of their action, such as the action of life, cohesion or crystallisation, the atmosphere, water, heat, movements of the earth's crust. From this analysis it will be seen that the plan is very philosophical; and the whole book is so excellent that we shall run no risk of seeming to depreciate it if we point out a few of its defects.

For geological purposes, we think the classification of minerals which the author has adopted very bad. Chemistry supplies the proper principles of mineralogical classification. Professor Dana classifies rocks into four great divisions: 1. fragmental rocks, exclusive of limestones; 2. metamorphic or crystalline rocks; 3. limestone rocks; and 4. igneous rocks. He subdivides his metamorphic class into seven groups: 1. mica-bearing rocks; 2. hornblendic rocks; 3. felspathic, epidotic, and garnet rocks; 4. hydrous magnesian rocks; 5. hydrous aluminous rocks; 6. quartz rocks; and 7. iron rocks. Under igneous rocks he includes felspathic trap, phonolite, trachyte, and melaphryte. According to this classification granite and clay slate are put into the same group as the mica-bearing series; and granite, syenite, and diorite, or greenstones, are considered to be metamorphic rocks. In other words, all, or nearly all, the felspathic and hornblendic rocks of the palæozoic age are metamorphic. This may be so, but it is not yet proved; and until it is we think it would be better to classify them upon some other principle, such as their mineralogical constituents, which would leave their mode of genesis undetermined.

In his dynamical geology the Professor looks upon metamorphism as the result of a heat less than that of fusion, in conjunction with pressure, and always in the presence of moisture. He appears to think that very few dykes or veins have been filled by injection, and that in most cases the matters were carried there in solution. If so, why was heat necessary at all? When we know something more about the solubility of substances at high temperatures, and the action of water at those temperatures, the super-heated steam or water metamorphism will disappear in turn like the igneous one. We do not know what our author calls felspathic trap; but if it be any thing like what we have under that name in Europe, it is much more likely to be a metamorphic rock than diorite. He ap-

pears to have adopted in great part many of the views of Mr. Sterry Hunt.

In the historical geology his classification is based upon American examples, though these are coördinated with the European ones. His nomenclature is very good. Thus, his palæozoic time has three ages,—Silurian, Devonian, and Carboniferous,—the Silurian being divided into upper and lower, and the Carboniferous into subcarboniferous and carboniferous proper, or coal measures. Each age is divided into periods, which are named from some locality where the rocks belonging to it are characteristically developed, such as the Potsdam period. The periods, again, include epochs or formations, such as the calciferous epoch. Although the circumstance of the strategraphical part being founded upon American geology unsuits it in some respect for the use of English students, yet, as the author says, American geological history affords the best basis for a textbook of the science. Owing to a peculiar simplicity and unity which it offers, it may be consulted with advantage; and indeed, in consequence of the coördination of American and European geology, it is indispensable to every student who wishes to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the subject.

On the formation of river-valleys, now so much discussed, Professor Dana appears to adopt fully the erosion theory. The rivers of America certainly offer striking proofs in favour of this view; and Lieutenant Ives's Colorado expedition has made us acquainted with eroded river-valleys on such a scale of grandeur as to set aside completely all objections which might be made to the erosion theory on the ground of the inadequacy of water to wear out a wide valley in hard rocks. Dr. Newberry, geologist to that expedition, has described the remarkable Cañon of the Colorado between long. 110° and 115° W. It is 300 miles long, and has walls of rock from 3000 to 6000 feet high, affording sections of nearly horizontal rocks from the granite to the top of the carboniferous formation, and higher up the course of the river to the top of the cretaceous. The granite has been excavated in some places to a depth of nearly 1000 feet; above this there are from 2000 to 2500 feet of palæozoic rock, sandstones, shales, and limestone, 1000 feet of probably subcarboniferous limestone, and 1200 feet of carboniferous sandstones and limestone; and all excavated, in the opinion of Dr. Newberry, by the slow action of running water.

We may add that Professor Dana's book is admirably illustrated by more than 1000 well-executed wood-engravings, chiefly taken from American sources; and being printed in two kinds of type, it can be made to serve two classes of students, the portion in smaller type giving details which the junior student, or those who only intend to acquire a general notion of the subject, may pass over.

CURRENT EVENTS.

A SESSION which had been opened by a speech containing few promises was fitly closed by a message recording but scanty performance. The Queen was able to congratulate the parliament on the diminution of distress in the manufacturing districts, on the continued prosperity of the country at large, in spite of the local suffering caused by the civil war in North America, and on the improvement, "social, commercial, and financial," of our East-Indian possessions ; but the only measures which could claim to be singled out from among the crowd of bills which had received the royal assent were those which provided for the fortification of the dockyards, the revision of the statute-law, the augmentation of certain small benefices, and the future regulation of the volunteer force.

The Fortifications Bill was opposed in the House of Commons on different, and to some extent conflicting, grounds. On the motion for the second reading on the 9th of July, Sir Fortifications. F. Smith proposed as an amendment, "That no further expenditure be incurred for the present upon that part of the project for fortifications which is based on the assumption that an enemy might land in force and attempt to besiege Portsmouth and Plymouth, except on such works as are in a very advanced state of progress." The main argument in support of the amendment resolved itself into two alternatives ;—either we shall be able to prevent an invading force from landing at all, or, if we fail in that, it will at once push on for London without spending time in laying siege to Portsmouth or Plymouth. If there is no invasion, it was argued, the dockyards will be in no danger from the land side, and the money spent on this kind of defence will consequently be wasted ; if there is an invasion, it will be worse than wasted, because when the forts are built they must be garrisoned, and we shall have to find troops for that purpose at the very moment when we want every available man to meet the enemy in the field. And even if these calculations should prove mistaken, and the dockyards should happen to be attacked and be destroyed, still, it was said, the loss would not be very great, as there are private shipyards enough for every purpose in the country, and the Government would only have to give its orders to them. Although the answers to these objections have all been given long ago, they have not lost any of their effectiveness. The English fleet has other work to do than simply to protect our own shores. It is a hard matter to persuade the colonies to undertake a fair share of their military defence, and it has not even been suggested that they should also keep up a navy. It would hardly tend to

the successful conduct, even of a purely defensive war, to shut out our ships from all possibility of offensive operations; and it is tolerably clear that our maritime superiority, even if it is retained to the fullest extent, will be taxed with sufficient severity if it has only to keep alive our commerce, protect our outlying dependencies, and blockade hostile ports. To maintain a navy which shall discharge all these offices, and at the same time include a Channel fleet large enough to make invasion an impossibility, would swell the naval estimates to a bulk hardly accordant with the views of those economists whose enthusiasm for additional ships is never to be relied on except for the moment when they are trying to reduce some item of military expenditure. If we assume an invading army once landed on the south coast, the probability of its marching on London without stopping to attack Portsmouth would be very small, if the latter town were left wholly undefended, since it is only the time and difficulty of reducing it which would be likely to make the attempt unadvisable. Perhaps, however, the greatest danger to which the dockyards would be exposed is the sudden landing of a small force of 20,000 or 25,000 men. The inducement to the enemy to adopt such a course would be in proportion to the difficulties in the way of an invasion in force; and, with a coast of 300 miles of possible landing-ground, it would not be a hard task to keep the attention both of our fleet and of our army fixed on some other point, while a *coup de main* was tried on Portsmouth or Plymouth. If it were successful, the material loss might be immense, while the moral effect would be most disastrous; and even if individual enterprise could still supply us with ships, we should only have to fortify private instead of government yards. As to the supposed difficulty of finding men to garrison the forts when built, it implies, if it is to have any weight at all, that all the troops at our disposal will be fit for an immediate engagement in the field. So far as our regular soldiers are concerned, we may hope that this will be the case, but among our militiamen and volunteers there must always be a large proportion either of raw recruits or of inferior material; and we may well be glad of the additional aid of iron casemates and stone walls when we have to trust to such elements as these against a picked and veteran army.

The second reading of the bill was carried by 130 votes against 61, and on the 13th of July the House went into committee. At this stage, the principal opposition was to the items in the schedule relating to the forts at Spithead. In the former debate, Mr. Cobden had said, that if it were a question as to what forts should be established on the sea-coast, he should be the last person to presume to offer an opinion; but this scruple apparently did not extend to the other members who voted with him. The defences of Portsmouth towards the sea met with the same opposition from the same opponents as the defences on the land side. The width of the channel at Spithead is about 2000 yards; and it was asserted

to be useless to build forts on each side, since our heaviest guns will not penetrate iron-plated ships at more than 800 yards, which would leave an unprotected channel 400 yards across. In the present state of our artillery experiments, this objection might have had considerable weight if it had ever been intended to rest the defence of Portsmouth on land fortifications alone. But as the entire omission of floating defences formed no part of the government scheme, a sufficient answer was ready. It is true that with the guns we now have, the forts will only cover four-fifths of the space lying between them; but as we only look to them for the partial protection of the harbour, we are quite satisfied that they will do so much. Their fire will confine an enemy's ships to the narrow channel in the centre, and will thus enable us to concentrate our moveable batteries on a passage of 400 yards wide instead of on one of 2000. This reasoning would justify the construction of the forts at Spithead, even if there were ground to suppose that we had pushed improvements in artillery to the farthest extent. In truth, however, the probabilities seem all the other way. When the same question was discussed in the House of Commons last year, the *Warrior* target had only been penetrated at a distance of 200 yards. Before the debate of this year, that distance had been increased to 800 yards. This was with a 120-pounder; and the artillery officers engaged in carrying on the experiments at Shoeburyness have every confidence that a 300-pounder gun will produce an equal effect at a distance of 1500 yards. The great and, so far as we can see, the permanent advantage of forts over ships is that in the former case we have only to provide the guns; in the latter we have also to devise ships strong enough to carry them: and it does not seem likely that the improvements in ship-building, great as they have been in the last few years, can keep pace with the improvements in the manufacture of artillery. At all events, the whole science of building iron-clad ships is in a transition state, and money expended in that way this year may turn out two years hence to have been utterly wasted; whereas fortifications will carry one kind of gun as well as another. They are a permanent element in the constantly changing principles of defence against an invasion.

In the twenty-nine weeks ending in June 1863 there had been a decrease in the number of paupers in the cotton district, amounting to 110,380. In the first three weeks of July there was a further decrease of 14,890; but here the tide seemed to be again about to flow. In the fourth week of July there was an increase of 280, which was swelled in the fifth week by 1290 more. In the first week of August the reaction seemed to be checked, and the returns once more showed a decrease, though only to the amount of 20; but in the second week there was again an increase of 180. From that time forward the returns have continued favourable. In the

Distress in
the Cotton
District.

third week the decrease was 1130; and in the fourth week 780. In the first week of September the decrease was 1710; in the second, 490; and in the third, 2150.

The progress of affairs, however, has really been more favourable and more constant than appears by these statistics. The distressed operatives receive aid partly, like ordinary paupers, from the boards of guardians, partly from the local relief committees, and partly from both these sources combined. During the winter, when the distress was at its worst, and the local committees were in full work, the number entirely supported by them was more than half the whole number relieved. As the state of the cotton districts improved, and work became more abundant, this proportion gradually lessened, and by midsummer only about a third of the operatives were dependent on the local committees solely. Under these circumstances many of them closed their accounts, and handed over their remaining clients to the boards of guardians, thus increasing the pressure on the rates, and giving an apparent increase to the amount of pauperism shown by the Poor-Law returns. The actual number of persons in receipt of relief from all sources during the first eight months of the present year is shown by the following table. It will be seen that though in the first column there has been an increase since May, the total number relieved has gone on steadily decreasing from month to month.

	From Guardians (out-door) only.	From both Guardians and Local Committees.	From Local Committees only.	Total Number relieved.
January . .	82,156	138,889	235,741	456,786
February . .	65,946	141,019	233,564	440,529
March . .	70,500	133,002	222,909	426,411
April . .	69,515	114,657	180,247	364,419
May . .	67,766	93,124	133,391	294,281
June . .	73,263	78,175	104,792	256,230
July . .	78,417	56,718	78,980	214,115
August . .	85,264	49,594	70,403	205,261

At the end of February last there were 307,812 operatives at work in the cotton-mills,—141,587 working full time, and 166,225 working short time; and 239,751 were out of work altogether. By the beginning of September the number at work had risen to 362,697,—242,446 working full time, and 120,251 short time; while the number out of work altogether was only 171,535.

It is still, perhaps, too early to form any judgment on the prospects of Lancashire for the coming winter. The statistics of the actual cotton supply up to this time are not very encouraging. In the first half of 1861 the total amount of raw cotton imported into the United Kingdom was 6,857,857 cwt. Of this there came from

Supply of
Cotton.

The United States	.	.	.	.	5,874,435 cwt.
British India	.	.	.	.	695,542 "
Egypt	.	.	.	.	205,915 "
Brazil	.	.	.	.	52,565 "
Other countries	.	.	.	.	29,400 "

In the first half of 1862 the total imports had fallen to 1,652,733 cwt., and the proportion contributed by the different cotton-growing countries was as follows :—

United States	.	.	.	.	37,288 cwt.
British India	.	.	.	.	1,001,427 "
Egypt	.	.	.	.	368,472 "
Brazil	.	.	.	.	103,232 "
Other countries	.	.	.	.	142,254 "

In the first half of the present year the total supply was 2,134,775 cwt., the respective imports being :—

United States	.	.	.	.	6,876 cwt.
British India	.	.	.	.	1,204,763 "
Egypt	.	.	.	.	445,311 "
Brazil	.	.	.	.	120,452 "
Other countries	.	.	.	.	357,373 "

These figures indicate, no doubt, a certain progress in the work of making up for the great deficiency of American cotton. But it is not very rapid progress. In India the ratio of increase in the three years may be put roughly at 70, 100, 120 ; in Egypt, at 20, 36, 44 ; in Brazil, at 5, 10, 12. Thus, under the sudden pressure of high prices, India increased its supply in 1862 by more than one-fourth, Egypt and Brazil by nearly half ; but the impetus had lost much of its force by 1863, for the increase in India and Brazil was only about one-fifth, and in Egypt about one-fourth. Although the aggregate supply from other countries is still small, some of the items are encouraging. From Turkey, which in 1861 sent only 181 cwt., there came 19,269 cwt. in 1862, and 37,463 cwt. in 1863. China, which exported no cotton in 1861, and only 143 cwt. in 1862, contributed 110,469 cwt. in 1863. The supply from the Cape of Good Hope, which in 1861 and 1862 was only 212 cwt., and 1,510 cwt., rose in 1863 to 37,463 cwt. ; and Barbados appears in the market for the first time in the present year with 16,317 cwt. For next year the Cotton Supply Association holds out brighter promises. The Indian supply is to be increased by 250,000 bales, and from Turkey we are to receive 350,000 bales. If we reckon only 250 lbs. to the bale, this will give us something like a total increase of 1,500,000 cwt. With this amount it is reckoned that the mills will be able to work $4\frac{1}{2}$ days a-week ; and though the Indian crop will not arrive till nearly midsummer, the Mediterranean supply will be available by January, so that in the very depth of the winter three-fourths of the distress will be at an end.

It will be observed, however, that these hopeful calculations are all based on the supposition that as soon as there is cotton to be had it will pay the manufacturers to work it up. Very little is said about prices or about where the demand for our manufactured goods is to come from. But these are very important elements in the account, and there is a very intimate connection between them. It is argued, indeed, that as during this last year we have paid to India for cotton 20,000,000*l.* more than heretofore, a great part of that outlay must come back to us in the shape of payment for manufactured goods. But this does not seem by any means a certainty. We have, it is true, been enabled of late years to push the sale of Manchester goods into many parts of India, but this has only been effected by underselling the native manufacturer. We did this when American cotton was selling at 6*d.* a pound ; it does not follow that we shall continue to do it when we have to buy inferior cotton at a higher price.

Apart from the possibility of work being thus resumed, the immediate future of the cotton district is not cheering. During the last winter the savings of the poor were, in many cases, not *all* spent ; the shopkeepers were still in a position to give some credit ; and the charitable feeling of the country was in its first fervour. Now, all these conditions are changed. The poor have exhausted their own resources ; the small tradesmen are reduced almost to pauperism ; and it is hardly probable that the amount of subscriptions will at all equal the vast contribution of last year. On the other hand, the harvest has been abundant, and food will be cheap ; the Central Relief Committee have a balance in hand amounting, on the 14th of August, to 299,853*l.* ; and the provision of a million and a half of money, to be expended on public works in the distressed districts, can hardly fail to create employment for a large section of the population. Much of this labour must doubtless be of a kind which can only benefit the skilled workman ; but even in this case a large class of persons, who might otherwise have increased the pressure upon the rates, will be able to support themselves and their families ; and there will also be a considerable demand for unskilled labour in addition. Whether by these aids alone Lancashire will be enabled to tide over another winter can hardly be determined until the predictions of mills reopened and operatives again employed have been fulfilled or falsified.

On the 23d of July Sir Charles Wood brought forward the Indian Budget. The estimated revenue of India for the year 1861-1862 was 42,911,000*l.* ; the actual revenue was 43,829,000*l.* The expenditure amounted to 43,880,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 56,000*l.* In 1862-3 the revenue, according to the Budget estimate—that is, the estimate laid by the Government of India before the Council of the Governor-General at the beginning of the financial year—

Indian Finan-
cial Statement.

amounted to 42,971,000*l.* According to the regular estimate—that is, the estimate made up shortly before the close of the year—it was 45,105,000*l.*; and there is no doubt that the actual revenue will be found to have exceeded this latter sum. The expenditure was 43,825,000*l.*, leaving a surplus, even according to the estimated revenue, of 1,280,000*l.* For the year 1863-4 the Budget estimate is 45,306,000*l.*; and, judging from the experience of the preceding years, the actual revenue will probably be much in excess of this calculation. For the first time the Budget estimate of expenditure is below the estimated revenue, being only 44,490,000*l.* Having thus a probable surplus of 816,000*l.*, the Indian Government have taken one per cent off the income-tax, and lowered the duties on iron and beer. These reductions amount to 335,000*l.*, leaving a probable surplus of 480,000*l.* From 1859-60 to 1862-3 there was an increase in the revenue of 5,402,000*l.*, and a decrease in the expenditure of 6,650,000*l.* The increase in the expenditure of the current year is chiefly shown in the items of public works, police, and courts of law. The local Indian navy has been discontinued, as the protection of English interests in these seas now demands the presence of a more imposing force than the Indian Government can maintain. During 1862, 747 miles of railway were opened, and 759 in 1861; the whole distance now open being 2500 miles. The traffic returns have risen from 390,000 in 1861-2, to 868,000 in 1862-3, proportionately lessening the amount of guaranteed interest for the payment of which the Government is liable. Since 1861 431,000*l.* has been laid out by the Indian Government in making nearly 5000 miles of road, more than half of which are open for traffic; while 100,000*l.* has been expended in improving the navigation of the Godavery river.

German history presents few scenes more strange or more significant than the recent Conference of the Members of the Germanic Confederation to deliberate concerning its reform. It was an astonishing thing to see the princes and the magistrates of the free cities assembling at the invitation of the Emperor of Austria, under no immediate pressure from abroad, nor in obedience to an urgent popular movement. None of the sovereigns, except the King of Prussia, refused the invitation on any grounds of principle, and excepting two others, the King of Denmark, and the Prince of Lippe-Deimold, who rules about 400 square miles of federal territory, none held aloof. All who came remained to the end, and committed themselves in detail to the various measures that were adopted. Only the grand-dukes of Baden, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Saxe-Weimar, and the Prince of Waldeck, governing altogether about 13,000 square miles, refused at the last moment to be bound to their word by signing the final protocol. In ten General Sessions, between the 16th of August and the 1st of September, the remaining confederate sovereigns completed a scheme of reform on

The Frankfort
Congress.

the basis of the Austrian proposals, and pledged themselves to its execution. The actual innovations in the existing constitution of the federal system are: the parliamentary representation of the nation in the central government, with supreme authority in a variety of matters; a federal tribunal formed of independent judges, to decide disputed questions in the name of the Confederation, partly judicially and partly as arbitrators; the conversion of the Diet of thirty members acting on instructions into a directory of six sovereign princes, which, when equally divided, must decide according to the majority of the population represented by them; and lastly, periodical conferences of the princes, which will have the influence of a House of Peers over the initiative of the House of Deputies, but without any power over the executive directory.

These institutions might have been made far more liberal, and yet they mark a very great advance in the constitutional life of Germany. Prussia, after refusing to take part in the proceedings, proposes no better scheme. She has made play again and again with her conviction of the necessity of federal reform; and now that a complete scheme of reform is presented to her, with the request that she will indicate the modifications which she would exact as the condition of her acceptance, she declares that the moment for reforming the federal constitution has not arrived. Though unsuccessful in inducing a single prince, by the circular of the 5th of August, to decline the imperial invitation, and unable by private influence to detach any of her adherents from the Congress, Prussia now takes refuge in that provision of the constitution which requires absolute unanimity as the necessary condition of organic change, and which she has repeatedly denounced as the most pernicious regulation of all. Her object is to delay the improvement of the federal system until her own constitutional difficulties are settled. On other occasions the government of Berlin has refused to be controlled by the majority in the Diet; but it now requires that the overwhelming majority, united in the work of reform, should submit to the refusal of an obstructive minority. For Prussia, together with all the partial dissenters from the Frankfort plan, represents at the outside 17,500,000 of the federal population, scattered over several separate territories. But the federal territory subject to the princes who have adopted the project of reform extends uninterruptedly from the Adriatic to the North Sea, and contains a population of 28,000,000. And if we reckon the additional power the two parties derive from possessions beyond the limits of the Confederation, the reforming party disposes of a population of 50,000,000, whilst the fragmentary coalition of its antagonists does not command above 23,000,000.

This comparison of forces is the chief element in the question, so far as the rest of Europe is concerned. By a firmer consolidation of the federal system, which preserves its character as a confederation of sovereign states, and remodels it on constitutional principles, there is some prospect that the practical object of its original

institution will be finally realised. That object was to form the passive centre and security of the balance of power in Europe. It has never yet been attained, and Germany has exercised no moderating influence in political affairs, because the federal constitution remained in the rudimentary and undeveloped state in which it was left by the Congress of Vienna. The Frankfort reforms are only the beginning of the further development and combination of the national economy of the Germans ; and, although they are confined to internal affairs, they are calculated to give the awkward and tottering edifice the solidity and consistency requisite to secure to it its due weight and importance in the present state of the world. The aggressive Powers cannot of course be gratified at a change which does not affect the original design and character of the confederation, and therefore gives no opening for international interference. On the other hand, the states of the second rank, which feel the pressure of the military powers, will necessarily gravitate towards that great central body whose constitutional and at the same time federative character is an absolute guarantee that Germany will never become formidable as a conquering state. But for England especially the establishment of a great defensive union in the centre of Europe is of the highest importance, as a security against the preponderance of Russia and of France, and a guarantee for the peace of Europe.

It is not difficult to show not merely ideal shortcomings, but practical defects, in the Frankfort project. It would have been better if the original proposal of Austria had not been modified so as to serve as a compromise between divergent interests. Nevertheless, the scheme adopted is a vast improvement on the existing system, chiefly because it places the federal government, by means of its liberal provisions, in harmony with the constitutional life of the several states. This brings to an end a species of dualism which has been more injurious to Germany than that of Austria and Prussia. The constant and energetic action of Austria during the last few years in favour of the reform of the federal system is of course intimately connected with the progress of the empire itself in the course of constitutional reform. And the more and more decided coalition between the middle states and Austria is principally due to the fact, that their constitutional habits place them more naturally in affinity with the honest development of popular institutions under Francis Joseph, than with the endeavour of Prussia to disguise the essentially absolutist and bureaucratic nature of the state by the counterfeit drapery of liberal institutions. In addition to this, it is so certain that the constitutional development of the federal system must react on the progress of political freedom in the minor states, and secure its permanence, that Prussia is only able to conceal her opposition to the change beneath an impracticable theory.

This was the reason of the long struggle between Prussia and the lesser states which were known as the Würzburg alliance.

For a long time Prussia succeeded in representing their fidelity to the federal constitution as a hypocritical attempt to preserve the absolute sovereignty of each minor state. This delusion lasted until the lesser states, abandoning their purely defensive attitude towards the aggressive policy of Prussia, came forward with reforming schemes of their own, such as that of the Saxon minister, Baron Beust, in 1861. They provoked that note of Count Bernstorff, in December 1861, which sought to counteract the feeble beginnings of reform that proceeded from the lesser states, by putting forward a project for the radical alteration of the confederation according to the Berlin pattern, and thus, by means of a merely chimerical idea, intercepted the progress towards attainable reform. At the same time the Prussian Government openly demanded that Austria should be excluded from the Bund, and that the remaining confederates should submit to the hegemony of Prussia; and thus it not only occasioned the simultaneous protest of the Emperor and the four Kings, in the identical note of February 4, 1862, but also forced Austria, who was growing stronger by degrees, under the constitution of February, to connect herself with the reforming policy of the other states. It was now no mere question between *Grossdeutsch* and *Kleindeutsch*, federalism and centralisation, but between constitutionalism in the national government and the maintenance of virtual absolutism in the disguise of almost radical professions, which obviously could not be realised without civil war and foreign intervention. It was quite natural, therefore, that Austria should coalesce more closely with the lesser states in the schemes of reform, while Prussia became almost utterly isolated in the German question. This position of the two powers towards the national movement promoted alike the prosperous advance of Austria in the path of freedom, and the rapid decline of the "new era" in Prussia into the almost naked absolutism of the Bismarck administration.

When in August 1862 eight of the principal German States proposed that delegates should be appointed by the several parliaments to deliberate concerning the introduction of useful laws, and of a federal supreme court for the whole of Germany, the attitude of Prussia made it necessary so to limit and abate the projected improvement that it fell far short of satisfying the popular demands, and was offered only as a commencement of a system of reforms. The scheme of delegates was therefore practically a last appeal to Prussia, to learn whether she would or would not agree to a constitutional reform of the Confederation. It was rejected by the new ministry at Berlin and by their diminishing adherents, and they declared, on the 14th of January, that they would have either no reform, or such a complete change as they themselves proposed. It seemed for a moment as if Prussia had succeeded in baffling the reforming movement, and in throwing discredit on the projects of the states which were faithful to the federal constitution. But Count Bismarck's circular of January 24 revealed so completely

the real designs of Prussia, that the pretence of a public-spirited policy could no longer be maintained, and the anti-constitutional tendencies could not be continued with impunity. Austria's opportunity had arrived.

The idea of calling a meeting of the confederate princes, to discuss in person, instead of through their ministers, the conditions of the desired change, was not first suggested by the false manœuvres of Prussia. It has been entertained at Vienna for some years, and was only postponed until it was ascertained that an understanding really existed between the leading German states as to the necessity, the principle, and the extent of the coming reforms. The required harmony manifested itself more and more distinctly after the joint protest of the four Kings with Austria against Count Bernstorff's note; and the Austrian proposals of last August were an attempt to give it form and expression. Two unavoidable considerations affected the integrity of the scheme. It was necessary, without sacrificing the just expectations of Germany, to frame the plan in such a way as to facilitate, as far as possible, the adhesion of Prussia and the states that accept her lead. Secondly, it was necessary to draw up the scheme in such a manner that, even if the unanimity requisite for its adoption as an organic alteration could not be obtained, it might yet be possible to carry it into execution by means of that "closer alliance" which is permitted by the eleventh article of the Act of Federation, within the actual limits of the constitution. Without this precaution, the opposition of Prussia might have rendered the whole undertaking fruitless. It followed that Austria was obliged to refrain from working out many consequences which were evidently involved in the fundamental idea of the scheme; and uncommon ability was shown in preparing the proposals so as to break none of these conditions, and yet to secure to the present measure the possibility of further development. The Austrian proposals would probably have been made immediately after the failure of the project of delegates last winter, but for the menacing aspect of affairs by reason of the Polish insurrection, which would have furnished adversaries with a welcome excuse for indefinitely postponing the hour of reform. When at length the favourable moment had arrived, it was important not to divulge the tenour of the intended proposals, in order not only to avoid the intrigues of adversaries, but also to prevent previous discussion by diplomacy and by the press, which would have deprived the personal deliberation of the sovereigns themselves of its special character and significance. Instead of endless conferences of ministers, there would then have been a useless conference of princes, for they would have acted not spontaneously and directly, but under the influence of the counsellors of various parties whom they would have consulted. That patriotic energy and that generous and unselfish spirit which animated the princes at the Frankfort Congress, and crowned it with a genuine though not unqualified success, would at once have been sacrificed.

Prussia had no valid grounds for her unconditional and immediate refusal. The invitations of the Emperor of Austria were dated the 31st of July, but were not despatched at once. On the 2d of August he visited the King of Prussia at Gastein, and fully explained to him the nature and details of his scheme, without extracting any definite reply. On the 4th of August the letter of invitation was presented by an aide-de-camp to King William, and on that day only was it forwarded from Vienna to the other courts. All the others, with the exception of Denmark, accepted: Prussia alone refused. On the 16th of August all but Prussia, Denmark, and Lippe-Detmold, appeared at Frankfort. The plan of reform which was submitted to the assembled princes placed Prussia on exactly the same footing as Austria in every particular, except the dignity of presidency, which already belongs by law to the Emperor. It was at once acknowledged by the assembled princes as "in all respects a fitting basis for discussion;" and the Congress then conveyed through the King of Saxony a joint invitation to King William to join their deliberations. But the King of Prussia would only promise that the result of the Frankfort conferences should be carefully examined by his ministers. The Congress rose on the 1st of September, and on the 4th Count Latour presented to him the protocols and resolutions, with an address, signed by eighteen members of the Confederation, inviting his adhesion. On that very day, however, the manifesto of Count Bismarck, explaining the dissolution of the parliament, which was dated the 2d of September, designated the labours of the Congress as "endeavours the unmistakable object of which is to deprive the Prussian state of its influential position in Germany and in Europe," and appealed to the Prussians "to prove by their acts in the coming elections that no political differences in the country penetrate deep enough to place in jeopardy the unanimity of the people in presence of an attempt to impair the independence and the dignity of Prussia, or to imperil its unalterable fidelity to its hereditary dynasty."

Meanwhile the confederate princes who had pronounced in favour of reform were received every where with enthusiasm on their return from Frankfort. The journey of the Emperor was an unexampled ovation. The Bavarian parliament and the Austrian Reichsrath have solemnly congratulated the German princes on their work. Every German patriot, and all who have at heart the peace and the freedom of the Continent, must desire the execution of the reforms, with the confident hope that when they are put in practice the law of political progress will remedy their undeniable defects, and overcome by degrees the reactionary elements that remain. The grand-dukes of Weimar and Mecklenburg have already partially withdrawn their opposition, and Baden alone shares the isolation of Prussia.

By the convention of Soledad, which was concluded on the

19th of February 1862, England and Spain desisted from hostilities against Mexico, on the condition of holding certain towns in pledge till the debts should be arranged. It was, however, rejected as "contrary to the dignity" of France by the government of Napoleon III., who from the first had views extending far beyond the immediate and acknowledged objects of the expedition, and had already in October 1861 offered the crown of Mexico to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. French commissioners, M. Dubois de Saligny and Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, were therefore instructed to proclaim to the Mexicans the real scope and object of the expedition. The original design of the French in the triple alliance was "to avenge the honour of France and the blood of her children, and to obtain reparation for damages incurred." The design of France, when deserted by her allies, was, in order to secure the validity of the guarantees given for the satisfaction of the original demands, to enable the Mexicans themselves to organise a regular government strong enough and honest enough to respect treaties. The first expedition came to a stand-still with the failure of General Lorencez before Puebla on the 5th of May 1862. The success acted upon the Mexicans as that of Baylen did on the Spaniards in 1808; they considered themselves invincible, and proclaimed that the eagles of Solferino and Magenta had come across the ocean to fling themselves down before the Mexican flag. The French retired upon Orizaba, where they entrenched themselves, and with some difficulty maintained their communications with Vera Cruz, occasionally, however, inflicting exemplary chastisement on the Mexican troops who ventured to approach them.

The effect of this first failure upon the French mind was very unfavourable to the Imperial cause. The Mexican expedition was viewed by the liberal party as a clerical and reactionary one, undertaken, like that of Cochin China, to soothe a discontented clergy, and based, like that of Rome in 1848, upon principles incompatible with those of the French democracy. The same voices which had applauded the Italian intervention of 1859, and demanded war with Russia in favour of Poland, protested against the Mexican expedition. Even the parties whose politics are generally subservient to their zeal for the Church, overlooked the Papal blessing which had been accorded to it, and only saw in it a disastrous source of weakness for France, whose strength and influence consisted in her concentration,—in having no outlying dependencies with garrisons, which, in the event of any difficulty with England, would be simply hostages given to the great maritime power for the good behaviour of the great military power. It was in vain that M. Billault contended, in reply to M. Jules Favre, that France was doing for Mexico in 1863 exactly what she had done for Italy in 1859—enabling a great and beautiful country to throw off a hateful tyranny which had oppressed and weakened it for forty years, and to change misery for prosperity.

The argument could not give popularity to an expedition which had not yet the prestige of success to recommend it, and which for the time threatened so to employ the whole force of France, that none would be left for the intervention, which every Frenchman desired, in favour of "those poor Poles."

The very reason which made the expedition unpopular in France was its political justification. A first-class state has a right, and is under a necessity, to exert its power and influence abroad. Deprived of the mission of colonising desert or barbarous lands, or organising peaceful but uncivilised populations, by the loss of its American and Indian colonies, France was obliged to exert her superfluous energy on her neighbours, and, in imposing upon European states chimerical ideas which only disorganised their close confederation, to waste the force which might have been utilised in organising inferior races. Algiers is not a sufficient safety-valve for the explosive and expansive forces of France, because the character of the Arab population is such that it is scarcely susceptible of French culture. The colonisation of Cochin China has not yet attained sufficient proportions to enable one to calculate its probable success; but there the institutions of an ancient civilisation seem almost as great obstacles to French success as the personal character of the Arabs in Algeria. Mexico was a much more promising field; and, provided the Mexicans could be gained over to the French views, their magnificent country would open out an area for the peaceable expansion of France, without the drawbacks which render Algiers a possession of such doubtful utility.

These views are presented to the French mind in connection with the protectorate and championship of the Latin race. Compared with what they were three centuries ago, the Latin nations make now a very poor figure in the world. They have lost their expansive power; and their internal condition, if it has not absolutely deteriorated, has not made progress in proportion with that of the Teutonic and Slavonic stocks. France, with the consciousness of vast force, wishes to redress this reproach;—wishes on the one hand to bring Catholicism into harmony with the principles of material progress, and on the other to raise one of the Latin colonies out of the state of hopeless degradation in which it has laid for forty years.

There is a mixture of sham and earnest which it is difficult to disentangle in this enthusiasm for the Latin races. Politicians can scarcely hope that Italy and Spain will ever become the humble satellites of France either in the political or the religious sphere. The Spanish jealousy of the present French expedition is sufficient to show the futility of the expectation. But on the other hand the defiance thrown in the teeth of the United States by this expedition, in spite of a strongly-marked sympathy for France among the American Republicans, and in spite of the similarity between the political institutions to which they are

gravitating and those of the French, shows a feeling founded on nationality which is stronger than the feeling founded on similarity of political tendencies. M. Chevalier's attempt to prove that the expedition is simply a blow to slavery, and a barrier against the filibusters of the Southern Confederacy, is refuted by the protests of the Washington Cabinet, and the famous pamphlet *La France, le Mexique et les Etats Confédérés*, which demonstrates that the expedition involves a future alliance with the South.

It is not easy to discover whether the French government, in undertaking the intervention, considered that the Confederate States would be strong enough to afford the new empire a guarantee against the resolve of the North to carry out the Monroe doctrine, or whether it was thought that no umbrage would be given to the North. It is, however, certain that the expedition is now most unpopular with all those political heads who prefer alliances founded on political similarities to alliances resting on the sentimental sympathies of race. They dread a future antagonism to the United States, which can only be either avoided by making haste to establish the new empire, and then withdrawing the army of occupation before the American civil war is over, or else provoked at once by recognising the Confederate States, and thus entering on "a cruel conflict, in which victory itself would be fatal, since it would destroy one of the mightiest creations of French policy (*i.e.* the American Republic), and one of those most useful to France."

General Forey landed at Vera Cruz in September 1862, and proclaimed that it was not against the Mexican people, but against those men whose rapacity was selling the territory of their country to foreigners, that the French made war; the nation, when liberated from these rulers, would be free to choose the government it thought proper; the part of France would be to aid Mexico in forming herself into a powerful, independent, rich, and free state.

By the middle of November, after the sick season, General Forey commenced the operations which ended in the capitulation of Puebla, after a long siege; the dispersion of Comonfort's army without striking a blow; the flight of Juarez, the President, from Mexico to San Luis de Potosi, on the 31st of May; and the triumphal entry of the French into the capital. Now it was General Forey's duty to execute the directions contained in the Emperor's letter of July 3, 1862;—to attach to the French interest the notabilities of all parties; not to take the side of any faction; to exhibit a great deference for religion, and at the same time to give guarantees to the purchasers of national (formerly ecclesiastical) property; to set up a provisional government; to call together a legal assembly; to help the new power in introducing order and regularity into the administration; to impose no particular form of government, but to encourage the foundation of a monarchy, if the Mexicans should be willing.

In his proclamation of June 12, 1863, General Forey, after recounting the military career of the French army, expressed his

views on the political question. "Its solution," he said, "will depend upon you. Be united in sentiments of fraternity, concord, and patriotism; let all honest and moderate men of all opinions unite in one party, the party of order; do not aim at the unworthy objects of party victories; take a higher view; abandon these party names of liberal and reactionary, which only engender hatred, perpetuate the spirit of vengeance, and excite evil passions; let your object be to be Mexicans, to form a united and great nation." He then went on to promise the abolition of forced contributions; the protection of life and property by the laws and police; the stability of purchasers' titles to the national domains; freedom of the press, "regulated after the system of *avertissements* established in France;" a legal conscription, instead of the forcible and fraudulent recruiting; a systematised taxation, instead of forced loans; proper payment of functionaries; protection of the Catholic religion, and recall of exiled bishops; the repression of brigandage, and the organisation of legal tribunals. It would, however, he said, give the Emperor pleasure to see the great principle of modern society, the liberty of religions, introduced into Mexico.

The principle of the first part of this proclamation and the details of the second are equally French. Marshal Forey states in other language exactly what M. de Persigny maintained in his circulars upon the elections,—the destruction of the old parties, and the establishment of a single one, the party of order, in its room. Singularly enough, the Spanish government has proposed the same principles to the European Spaniards as the French have to those of America. In a circular of August 13, Senhor Vahamonde tells the provincial governors that there no longer exist in Spain any great political parties capable of forming a majority in the Cortes, and of supporting a party ministry; there only remain fractions of parties, which are continually subdividing themselves further. Hence the nation is invited to send to the Cortes of October "a majority capable of consolidating conservative and liberal interests, that is, those of order and liberty, which are, if not compromised, at least threatened by the weak support given them by coalitions of men more or less illustrious, but numerically weak, wanting in the unity and cohesion necessary for a political party." In France the hostility of all the political parties to the government, in Spain their inability to form a solid administration, in Mexico their unprincipled anarchy,—equally lead to swamping them all in one non-political party, consisting of the democracy, which has no aspirations but for peace and comfort, and is docile under the rule of an army of administrators and functionaries.

It is not to be supposed that this theory does away with parties from the world in the same way that it destroys parties in the State; its tendency is to destroy the lesser divisions, to reproduce them on a larger scale and in greater mass. Instead of a France governed by political parties, it would have a kind of Latin confederation, of which France should be the empire state, and Italy and

Spain the constitutional opposition; instead of the rivalry between neighbouring states, it would substitute a rivalry of nationalities — of Latinism, Teutonism, and Panslavism. This is the French theory of the balance of power, which forces France to set a barrier to the increase of the American Anglo-Saxons, and to prevent Latin America from being annexed to their system of states. In order to fuse states into greater masses, all their delicate internal differentiation, all their corporate and municipal privileges, must be destroyed; they must be reduced to a less complicated and more atomic form, so as to make readier and handier materials for the presiding genius which guides them. The political passions are to be inflated to strut on a larger field, and to lose themselves in impossible generalities, so as to offer no real resistance to the absolute power of the bureaucracy which governs.

On the 18th of June General Forey named a Junta Superior of thirty-five persons, who were first to elect a provisional government of three persons, and then to associate to themselves 215 notables of all ranks, to decide upon the future form of government. As Paris dictates to France in revolutions, so has Mexico dictated to the rest of the republic; the notables of the city have always assumed the right of electing the President, who has been generally recognised by the rest of the country, and always by foreign powers. The French general's method of obtaining a pre-arranged result was in strict accordance both with French and with Mexican precedents.

The Junta named a provisional government, consisting of General Almonte, the Archbishop of Mexico, and Señor Salas, to whom the French general at once resigned the reins of government. The extent of this resignation was tested within a week; for one of the first decrees of the new government having prohibited all work on civil and religious feast-days, under pain of fine and imprisonment, the French commander insisted on its being annulled, which was accordingly done. His hope is to lead the country away from its intolerance and party spirit, by developing its wealth, its commerce, its industry, and its amusements.

The form of government voted by the Assembly was a limited hereditary monarchy, under a Catholic prince, to be styled Emperor. The throne was offered to the Archduke Maximilian, and, in case of his refusal, was left to the disposition of Napoleon III. The report of the committee on which this resolution was founded defined monarchy to be "a combination in which the sacred person elevated to the throne is not indeed the state, but its most august personification; wherein the king, stronger than all, superior to the plots of anarchists, finds no individual necessary to him, fears no one, and therefore can recompense merit without humiliation, and can execute justice without vengeance. The intrigues of parties cannot frighten him; and he applies himself, free from care, to the realisation of the boldest plans for national aggrandisement, which he always brings to a good issue, because he

can do what he wishes,—*il peut ce qu'il veut*,—and he wishes for the glory of his people coupled with the glory of his name." This definition of a moderate or temperate monarchy shows clearly how exclusively the Mexican notables belong to the party of reaction, and how docile they have been to the promptings of Imperialist flatterers. The ascendancy of this party is visible in the modest manner in which General Forey pleads for liberty of worship, which was a fundamental element of the republican constitution of 1857. The clergy seem to be as necessary to influence the vote of the Indian peasantry as the French clergy were to influence that of the French democracy in 1857. The alliance between the government and the clergy may be maintained longer in Mexico than in France, which is more advanced in culture, and where the ideas of 1789 have penetrated among the peasantry.

The difficulties with regard to the titles of the ecclesiastical property which has been sold are not so great as might have been expected. Since the concordat which Cardinal Pole negotiated with Queen Mary,—an instrument which was the model and basis of the concordat with Napoleon in 1801,—the Church has learned to be not difficult in giving validity to the sequestration of her property. In respect to Church robbery, there has been little difference between the liberals and the reactionists of Mexico; they have equally subsisted on ecclesiastical funds; but what the one obtained by good words and promises the other obtained by violence and threats. The mercantile classes preferred the liberal Juarez to the reactionist Miramon; but they prefer European intervention to either. They would have chosen a joint intervention of the three powers, such as it was in the beginning, because it would have borne down all opposition by its mere prestige, without the necessity of striking a blow, and because it would have saved Mexican commerce from the sovereign interference of French administrators, who have not the least conception of commercial matters, which they always attempt to regulate, and always disarrange. The prohibition of the exportation of silver from Mexico, now that silver is the only product of the country, is for the time almost fatal to the commercial revival which the French politicians unanimously recognise as being an essential of their success in the intervention.

The victory of Chancellorsville carried the reputation of the Southern commander and his army to a height which they could not maintain, and invested the Confederate cause with a deceitful halo of success. In spite of the valiant defence of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the government of Richmond foresaw the probable loss of the Mississippi; and while General Bragg was threatened by a superior force under Rosecranz in Tennessee, Johnstone, who was long deemed the ablest officer in America, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Jackson. It was determined, therefore, once more to invade the North, in the hope that some great stroke

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North America.

would terrify the Union people, who from a safe distance sent their mercenaries to the war, and would give evidence to the world that that which had failed in September no longer exceeded the resources of the South. Although a hostile force was within sight of Richmond, and could not be dislodged, and although a new attempt was about to be made against Charleston, which rendered it impossible to spare troops for the expedition, Lee commenced a campaign in which he saw little promise of success. On the 12th of June he broke up his camp on the Rappahannock, and moved his army into the mountains. With one part of his force he watched Hooker, whilst Ewell led Jackson's old division into the valley of the Shenandoah. On the 13th Ewell surprised Milroy at Winchester, and made many prisoners. On the 15th the advanced guard crossed the Potomac north of Harper's Ferry, at a point from which it was possible to reach Pennsylvania on the same day, and occupied Chambersburg. The mass of the army followed on the 18th, and the remainder on the 26th. Hooker, who had done nothing to prevent the passage, now returned to Washington, and on the 28th his army was at Frederick. Meantime Lee had appeared in force in Pennsylvania, was threatening Harrisburg, and supplying abundantly the wants of his soldiery. Here he remained for a fortnight unmolested and unpursued.

On the 28th the command of the Union army at Frederick was assumed by General Meade, the officer who had covered Hooker's retreat after the battle of Chancellorsville, and he advanced immediately against the Confederates. Lee rapidly collected his various corps in the neighbourhood of Gettysburg, at the head of the Monocacy, in a position from which his retreat towards Hagerstown and the Potomac would be protected by the South Mountain, whilst it gave him possession of the railway to Philadelphia and Baltimore. Before he could concentrate his force he encountered the van of General Meade's army, to the north of Gettysburg, on the 1st of July. The Federals fell back on their main body, and on the following day Meade offered battle in a strong position, where he was attacked, late in the afternoon, by the Confederates. On the 3d the attack was renewed by Longstreet and Ewell, but they were repulsed with great loss; and on the same night Lee commenced his retreat, leaving 4000 prisoners in the hands of his enemy, but carrying away a still larger number of prisoners, and an enormous train of wagons. His bridges over the Potomac had been destroyed, and the rains had made the river impassable. He remained for a week in a defensive position, to the south of Hagerstown, and twice inflicted severe losses on Federal detachments that had ventured incautiously near his right wing. Meade followed slowly, receiving considerable reinforcements of untried troops, with whom he hesitated to attack; and between the 11th and the 14th of July Lee crossed safely with his guns, his sick, and his baggage into Virginia.

The defeat of the chief Southern army, under a general of whom

but a few weeks before an excellent judge had written that he "must be ranked among the very greatest of modern strategists beyond a doubt," announced that the Confederates had put forth all their strength, and that a tide of disaster might be expected to set in in other quarters, where they were contending with less of the prestige of success. On the 4th of July Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant, after a siege of forty-eight days, during which it had been necessary for the besiegers to fortify their position against Johnstone, who was threatening their rear. Four days later, when the news reached the garrison of Port Hudson, they also surrendered to General Banks, and several ships coming down from St. Louis to New Orleans showed that the Confederates had no remaining stronghold on the river. Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, was abandoned by the Confederates on the 18th. The Federals occupied it, and discovered the private correspondence of Mr. Jefferson Davis, but soon after evacuated the city, and did not pursue Johnstone in his retreat to the east. General Bragg had already retired from Tennessee, and taken up a fortified position at Chattanooga for the defence of Alabama, whither he was slowly followed by Rosencranz, one of the most wary officers in the Federal service. While the Confederates were falling back from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, General Morgan crossed the Ohio for a raid in Indiana, and spread alarm into Cincinnati. He was soon involved in the general disaster, was pursued, defeated, and taken prisoner. Then the attention of the Americans, which had so long been fixed on Vicksburg, shifted to Charleston, where Beauregard was making the most scientific defence of the whole war against a land and sea force under Gilmore and Dahlgren, supplied with the newest and most formidable engines of destruction. Here, during two months from the middle of July, forts Sumter, Wagner, and Moultrie were attacked from the shore and from the iron-clads, with guns more powerful than any known to European artillerists, and a continued excitement was kept alive in the North by the premature tidings of success, until, on the 6th of September, Morris Island was abandoned by the defenders.

But with the exception of the siege of Charleston the vigour of the Federal advance seemed all at once to collapse. Meade stood inactive on the Rappahannock, where Pope and Burnside and Hooker had been before, and Grant did not at first pursue his brilliant triumph. The conquerors were exhausted by their own efforts, and Mr. Lincoln ordered a conscription of 300,000 men, in order to reinforce his victorious armies. This measure brought the political question once more to the front.

When Lee was on the Susquehanna nothing but the energy of the government and the valour of the army of the Potomac saved the Union. In Pennsylvania itself there was more despondency than alarm. The democratic party was predominant in the neighbouring states of Ohio and New York, and the longing for peace was growing stronger than the hatred of the enemy. The guns of fort Mac-

kenzie were pointed against Baltimore, for fear of a revolt in favour of secession. A correspondent wrote from New York: "It seems—so complete is the change in the public sentiment—that if General Lee would only be good enough, having captured Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and left Generals Hill, Longstreet, and Ewell in charge of them, to march to New York, every body would be well pleased. People who six months ago were almost rabid in their passionate assertions that under no circumstances would the North consent to a separation, are resigned to the catastrophe; while many who still believe that the Union can be restored consider that General Lee is far more likely to achieve the object than Mr. Lincoln." The prospect of the conscription encouraged these feelings, and on the 13th of July a riot broke out in New York, which was not entirely quelled till the fourth day. It was directed chiefly against the Abolitionists; and the hatred which the lower orders in that city, especially the Irish, bear to the Negroes, whom they regard as the cause of so much bloodshed, was displayed in a general attack on them, and the slaughter of many. Archbishop Hughes addressed the Irish in a speech which, either because few of the rioters were present, or because it failed to deal with the real cause of the passion that excited them, appears to have made but little impression. Yet one mob was so largely composed of Irishmen that it was turned from its purpose by a few words from a priest. 25,000 Union soldiers were sent to New York to enforce the conscription, and lists were prepared like those of the proscription of Warsaw, by which in a single district no less than 14,000 persons suspected of disaffection were summoned beyond the just quota. Governor Seymour compelled the government to correct the list, and the draft was enforced without further tumult. It met with resistance in other states,—in Maine, Ohio, Indiana, and Maryland; and many thousands of the conscripts deserted.

These were the consequences of success. The reverses of the Confederates reduced them to much greater straits. The State of North Carolina, from the beginning an unwilling seceder, was the first to show signals of distress and disaffection. The men deserted fast from the armies of Bragg and Lee. The President issued an encouraging address to the troops, conceived in his usual manly and sensible style. Lee put forth a brief but eloquent general order, which is a model for defeated generals. The Vice-president started for the interior, and made speeches to exhort the people not to despond, and to stand by the Confederate government. But these leaders did not disguise to themselves or the nation the magnitude of the disasters which had befallen them. They set to work to contrive means of recruiting their defeated forces. A general levy of men capable of bearing arms was ordered; and those who had purchased substitutes—and their numbers were very large—were called to the standard. There remained for the last emergency one resource, which promised, indeed, to be infallible,

but which the planters could not contemplate until they were driven to extremity,—the arming of the slaves.

At the siege of Port Hudson and the siege of Charleston regiments of runaway slaves had been employed by the Federals, and they had fought with ferocity and with disproportionate loss. In Louisiana General Banks had caused the Negroes to be taken forcibly from the plantations to be enrolled in his army. At New Orleans the secessionist inhabitants were at the mercy of Negro soldiers fresh from the slaughter of their brethren up the river. The government of Richmond attempted to put a stop to a practice which menaced them with such intolerable horrors, and declared that they would give no quarter to white officers in command of blacks, and that Negro prisoners would be dealt with by their own states. Mr. Lincoln replied that he owed equal protection to all the soldiers of the Union, and that he would retaliate on Confederate prisoners. At the very moment of the disasters of Gettysburg and Vicksburg Mr. Stephens made an attempt to go to Washington to obtain an understanding on this point; but he was not allowed to proceed. Since the victories of Grant and Banks, the slaves of the whole States were almost entirely at the disposal of the Federals, and the Federals were determined to use them. Mississippi and Louisiana together contained above 750,000 slaves, and might furnish whole armies of Negro troops. Not the hatred the slaves bore to their masters made the prospect appalling, but the ease with which they might be first taught by the discipline of the army, then urged on by the frenzy of bloodshed, and inflamed by philanthropists and preachers, to inflict upon an enemy from whom they could not hope for quarter atrocities such as stained the revolution in Hayti.

The vagueness of the rumour that has announced the deliberations of the Southern statesmen on this terrible crisis, and the prolonged doubt as to the result, prove how momentous the resolution will be. No terms can be offered which will make the slaves fight bravely for their masters, short of the virtual emancipation of the whole slave population. The slave-owner must ultimately lose nearly the whole value of his property; and the mode in which freedom can be regulated in the plantation States has never yet been discovered. And, besides the obvious consideration of private interest, slavery has become to the Southern patriot, as the ring and crozier in the great mediæval controversy, a sort of symbol of independence and self-government. The institution has become dearer to the planters from the attacks to which it has given rise, not out of obstinacy and resentment, but because it has been identified with the whole system of their rights, just as the question of free trade might have been, or the bank question. In one sense they have fought for slavery, inasmuch as the consent to emancipate would have disarmed a large section of their enemies.

Yet it is easy to understand the strength of the motives which must overcome sooner or later the force of these objections. The spirit of material sacrifice has been strengthened by much practice

among the slave-owners. Devastated homes, slaughtered kindred, the absence of luxuries and the scanty supply of necessities, ruin at the doors of thousands of families,—all this must have broken in many minds to the idea of one sacrifice more, if there is a prospect that it may retrieve many other losses. Cotton has lost its supremacy, for England has stood the worst, and is not coerced by the want of it. Every field planted with corn shakes the basis of slavery. So firm has hitherto been the resolution of the South not to submit, that it is hard to believe that there is any sacrifice which it will refuse to make for independence. Rather than save slavery by returning to the Union, we can hardly doubt that the Confederates will choose freedom at the price of emancipation.

There has always been in the North one great party that would give up the Union to deliver America from the curse of slavery. The tyranny with which the government has carried on the war to satisfy this party has strengthened in another political section the respect for state-rights and self-government. The same exhaustion from the effort to maintain so vast a struggle may remove in the South the great source of difference from the North, and develope in the North a principle of amity and alliance with the South. An act of emancipation would place the strict Abolitionists, as well as the whole Democratic party, on far better terms with Mr. Davis than with Mr. Lincoln and the Republicans. The decision to turn their slaves into soldiers will bring before the Southern statesmen a problem on which they have always closed their eyes, namely, the possibility of a restored Union on their own political principles, by a victory of self-government over the absolutism of the majority, and of freedom over Slavery. A confederation embracing the old Union, without a popular despotism at Washington or slavery at Richmond, offers a prospect which the leaders of secession ought not utterly to repudiate. It would redeem the American Democracy from both its supreme defects, and constitute the freest and most powerful nation in the world.





